BLACKIE'S

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

WILLIAM III

Drawn by J. L. Williams.

Engraved by W. M. Lizars.

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER,
IN ST GEORGE'S HALL, WINDSOR CASTLE.

WILLIAM III.

William III., Stadtholder of Holland and King of England, was the son of William II. of Orange, and Mary, daughter of Charles I. In early childhood he became an orphan, and the boy was treated almost as a state prisoner by the brothers De Witt, who virtually ruled the Dutch Republic. His health was never robust, but he had a firm will, and his natural reserve deepened into habitual reticence under the constant surveillance to which he was subjected. Ultimately, William was declared Stadtholder of the United Provinces, and in 1677 he married Mary, daughter of James II. of England. When the latter became unpopular with his people, some of the leading men invited his son-in-law to come over to England and lead the revolution against the king, and in November, 1688, he arrived in Torbay suddenly with 14,000 troops. James fled to France in the following month, and in February, 1689, William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen. After a campaign in Ireland, in which he defeated the Catholic forces, and a war with France in which his defeats became final victory, William died from the effects of a fall from his horse in 1702.

BLACKIE'S

COMPREHENSIVE HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND

CIVIL AND MILITARY,
RELIGIOUS, INTELLECTUAL, AND SOCIAL.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD
TO THE JUBILEE OF VICTORIA, QUEEN AND EMPRESS.

ILLUSTRATED BY A SERIES OF FINELY ENGRAVED HISTORICAL PICTURES,
AND ABOVE 1000 ENGRAVINGS IN THE TEXT.

DIVISIONAL-VOLUME V.
FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE REIGN OF GEORGE III., 1688-1766.

BLACKIE & SON, Limited,
LONDON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.
1895.

9112

iSBN-134876

CONTENTS OF DIVISIONAL-VOL. V.

BOOK IX.—PERIOD FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE II.

A.D. 1688–1760.

Civil and Military History.

Chap. I. Interregnum: A.D. 1688–1689.—Question about the succession—A convention assembled—Their decree that James had abdicated—The Prince and Princess of Orange declared king and queen, pp. 1–3.

Chap. II. William and Mary: A.D. 1689–1691.—Proclamation of the reign of William and Mary—Meeting of the Scottish Convention of Estates—Opposition of Viscount Dundee—William's tolerant views on church government—James lands in Ireland—Battle of Killiecrankie—Brave defence of Londonderry—Quarrels in the royal family—The Abjuration Bill—Battle of the Boyne—Miserable condition of Ireland—William goes to Holland—His triumphal entry into the Hague, pp. 3–17.

Chap. III. William and Mary: A.D. 1691–1694.—Termination of the war in Ireland—The question of taxation—Battle of Steinkirk—Conspiracy against William's life—Naval victory of La Hogue—William opens parliament—Marlborough's double-dealing—Bill for triennial parliaments passed—The war with France continued—Attempts in Scotland to restore James—Plan to tranquillize the Highlands—Massacre of Glencoe—Death of Mary, pp. 17–31.

Chap. IV. William: A.D. 1695–1697.—William's right to reign questioned—The Darien Company—Proceedings in Ireland—Siege of Namur—Public grievances—The East India Company—Intrigues of the Jacobites—Plot to assassinate William—Overtures for a general peace—Increase of the national debt, pp. 31–46.

Chap. V. William: A.D. 1697–1700.—The Peace of Ryswick—Attempt to establish a standing army—Discontent in Scotland—Progress of the Darien Company—Scheme of a partition treaty—William's proposals opposed by parliament—He threatens to leave the kingdom—Popularity of the Darien expedition in Scotland—Its failure, and subsequent fate of Paterson—Intrigues against Lord Somers, pp. 46–63.

Chap. VI. William: A.D. 1700–1702.—Meeting of the Scottish parliament—Another partition treaty—Proceedings of the English parliament—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—Proposed war with France—Increasing difficulties of William—The "Legion Memorial"—The new succession bill—Death of James II.—Last illness and death of William—His character, pp. 64-81.

Chap. VII. Anne: A.D. 1702–1704.—Ascendency of Marlborough—Anne's aversion to the Whigs—War with France—Marlborough's operations on the Continent—Conspiracy called "Fraser's Plot"—The queen's provision for the poor clergy—Victory of Donauworth, pp. 82–97.

Chap. VIII. Anne: A.D. 1704–1707.—Fame of Marlborough—Battle of Blenheim—Gibraltar captured—Earl of Peterborough's campaign in Spain—Anxiety to secure a Protestant succession—Battle of Ramillies—Union of England and Scotland, pp. 97–113.

Chap. IX. Anne: A.D. 1707–1709.—War of the Spanish Succession—Intrigues on behalf of the Pretender in Scotland—The first parliament of Great Britain—Rumours of an invasion by the Pretender—State of Ireland—The war in Spain—Death of Prince George of Denmark—France applies for peace—Victory of Malplaquet, pp. 113–128.

Chap. X. Anne: A.D. 1709–1712.—Trial of Dr. Sacheverell—"Church-in-danger" riots—Attempt to assassinate Harley—Unfortunate campaign of the British in Quebec—Proceedings of parliament against Marlborough and Walpole—Concessions of Louis XIV. to obtain peace, pp. 129–147.

Chap. XI. Anne: A.D. 1712–1714.—Character and proceedings of Lord Bolingbroke—The Treaty of Utrecht—Proposal to extend the malt-tax to Scotland—Intrigues in favour of the Pretender—Steps to secure the Hanoverian succession—State of parties in England—Alarm of a civil war—The oppressive "Schism Act"—The Hanoverian succession secured—Death of the queen—The Elector of Hanover proclaimed king, pp. 148–164.

Chap. XII. George I.: A.D. 1714–1716.—Regency previous to the king's arrival—Ministerial arrangements—Proclamation of the Pretender—A Whig parliament returned—The new king's opening speech—The late ministers brought to account—Unpopular manners and appearance of George I.—Rebellion in Scotland—Jacobite conspiracy in England—The Earl of Mar's military incompetence—Battle of Sheriffmuir—The Pretender lands in Scotland—Hopeless condition of his affairs—The rebels' flight from Perth—Punishment of the rebel noblemen and officers, pp. 165–183.

Chap. XIII. George I.: A.D. 1716–1720.—The Septennial Bill passed—Affairs on the Continent—The "Triple Alliance" signed—Resignation of

Walpole—Dissensions in the king's family—The "Quadruple Alliance" formed—Preparations to resist invasion—War between France and Spain—Co-operation of the British—Peace restored, pp. 183–202.

Chap. XIV. George I.: A.D. 1720–1727.—Origin and history of the South Sea Company—Its ruinous failure—Law's Mississippi scheme in France—Birth of a son to the Pretender—Plot for a Jacobite revolution detected—Banishment of Bishop Atterbury—Opening of parliament—The peace of Europe again threatened—Death of George I., pp. 203–218.

Chap. XV. George II.: A.D. 1727–1737.—Character and habits of the new king—Queen Caroline—Lady Suffolk, the royal mistress—The Pretender's court—Prosperous state of England—Financial measures—War on the Continent—A British fleet in the Tagus—Gin-drinking in England—The Porteous riot in Edinburgh, pp. 218–230.

Chap. XVI. George II.: A.D. 1737–1741.—Intrigues of the Prince of Wales against his father—His undutiful conduct—Death of Queen Caroline—Prospect of war with Spain—The story of "Jenkyns's Ears"—William Pitt in the House of Commons—Operations against Spain in South America—Frederick the Great succeeds to the crown of Prussia—State of Russia at this period, pp. 231–242.

Chap. XVII. George II.: A.D. 1741–1742.—Charges brought against Walpole—Parliament resolves to aid Maria Theresa—A French alliance with Prussia—Failure of expedition under Admiral Vernon—Renewed attack on Walpole, who retires from office—British expedition to Flanders, pp. 243–256.

Chap. XVIII. George II.: A.D. 1742–1745.—State of the contending parties on the Continent—Battle of Dettingen—The young Pretender invited to Scotland—Commodore Anson's exploits in the South Seas—Continued war on the Continent—Death of Walpole—Battle of Fontenoy, pp. 257–271.

Chap. XIX. George II.: A.D. 1745.—Prince Charles lands in Scotland—His reception from the Highland chiefs—His standard erected—Proceedings of Sir John Cope—The Highlanders enter Edinburgh—Charles proclaimed king—Cope defeated at Prestonpans—Condition of the Highlands, pp. 271–286.

Chap. XX. George II.: A.D. 1745–1746.—Rebellion in Scotland continued—Proceedings of the Pretender in Edinburgh—His march into England—Enters Preston—A retreat commenced—Glasgow laid under contribution by the rebels—They defeat Hawley at Falkirk—Stirling Castle besieged, pp. 286–303.

Chap. XXI. George II.: A.D. 1746–1747.—Close of the rebellion—Duke of Cumberland advances upon the rebels—They retreat to Inverness—Battle of Culloden—Merciless proceedings of the victors—Extravagant rewards voted to Cumberland by parliament—Ingratitude of government to President Forbes—Wanderings of Charles—Flora Macdonald aids his escape—Proceedings against the rebel leaders, pp. 304–320.

Chap. XXII. George II.: A.D. 1746–1755.—The war on the Continent—British naval successes—Pitt's increasing influence—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—The Pretender expelled from France—Death of the Prince of Wales—Adoption of the Gregorian Calendar—Evils of the game-laws—Gretna Green and Fleet marriages—Origin of the British Museum—Hostilities commenced by the French in Canada—Pitt's parliamentary opposition, pp. 320–338.

Chap. XXIII. George II.: A.D. 1756–1760.—Combination of Russia, France, and Austria against Prussia—Alliance of George II. with Prussia—Admiral Byng's unhappy expedition—Pitt becomes premier—The "Seven Years' War"—Victories of Frederick of Prussia—The war in Canada—New war-taxes imposed—Wolfe captures Quebec—Conquest of the Canadas—Death of George II., pp. 338–357.

Chap. XXIV. History of Religion: A.D. 1689–1760, pp. 357–374.

Chap. XXV. History of Society: A.D. 1689–1760, pp. 374–422.

BOOK X.—PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS. A.D. 1760–1802.

Civil and Military History.

Chap. I. George III.: A.D. 1760-1764.—The new king's first proclamation—His marriage—Success of Frederick the Great—Pondicherry taken by the British—Pitt resigns office—War with Spain—Peter III. of Russia assassinated—Peace established with France—New taxes imposed—John Wilkes and the *North Briton*, pp. 423–442.

Chap. II. George III.: A.D. 1764–1768.—Proposal to tax the American colonies—Their determined opposition—Benjamin Franklin sent to England—Parliament persists in its design of taxation—Illness of the king—Riot of the Spitalfields weavers—Hostility of the Americans to the stamp act—Pitt's speech against American taxation, pp. 442–448.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

HISTORICAL PICTURES.

Page

Portrait of William III. (born 1650, died 1702).
From the picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in St. George's Hall, Windsor Castle. Drawn by J. L. Williams, ... *Frontis.* --

The Lords and Commons offering the Crown to William and Mary, 1689.
From the fresco painting by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the Commons' Corridor of the Houses of Parliament, Westminster, ... *to face* 4

The Battle of La Hogue, 1692.
From the picture by Benjamin West, *P.*R.A., executed for Earl Grosvenor about 1774, and considered one of the painter's finest works from English history, ... ,, 22

Portrait of Queen Mary II. (born 1662, died 1694).
From the picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in St. George's Hall, Windsor Castle. Drawn by J. L. Williams, ... ,, 30

Portrait of Queen Anne (born 1664, died 1714).
From a drawing made by J. L. Williams from the marble statue by Ryssbrack at Blenheim House, the seat of the Duke of Marlborough, ... ,, 84

Portrait of George I. (born 1660, died 1727).
From the picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller, in St. George's Hall, Windsor Castle. Drawn by J. L. Williams, ... ,, 168

Portrait of George II. (born 1683, died 1760).
From the picture by Zeeman, in St. George's Hall, Windsor Castle. Drawn by J. L. Williams, ... ,, 218

First Meeting of Prince Charles with Flora Macdonald, 1747.
From a picture by Alexander Johnstone, first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1846, ... ,, 314

Relics associated with Prince Charles.
Drawn by J. L. Williams, mostly from the objects themselves, in various private collections, ,, 324

The Death of General Wolfe, 1759.
From the picture by Benjamin West, *P.*R.A., executed for Earl Grosvenor in 1770, and considered the painter's masterpiece, ... ,, 354

ILLUSTRATIONS IN THE TEXT.

No. Page

1. Initial Letter—Scroll work Louis Quatorze style, 1
2. William III.—From the portrait by Kneller, . . 5
3. Mary, Queen of William III.—After Kneller, . . 5
4. Pennyburn Mill, near Londonderry, . . . 8
5. Carrickfergus.—From an old drawing in the King's Collection, British Museum, ... 12
6. The Boyne Water, near the spot where it was crossed by King William at the Battle of the Boyne, . 13
7. Beachy Head, ... 14
8. Kinsale, ... 15
9. The Townhall at the Hague.—From an old view in the King's Collection, British Museum, . . 16
10. Limerick, King John's Castle and old Thomond Bridge, ... 18
11. Sketch Map of part of the French Coast, to illustrate the Battle of La Hogue, ... 21
12. Plan of Brest, and its approaches, as fortified in 1694, 30
13. Namur, on the Meuse, ... 33
14. Palace of St. Germain, ... 37
15. Ryswick, ... 47
16 The Loo, in Gelderland, a favourite residence of William III.—From a print of his time, . . 53
17. Dutch Guards of William III., ... 55

No. Page

18. Admiral Russell, Earl of Orford, ... 57
19. Vice-Admiral Sir George Rooke, ... 65
20. John, Lord Somers, ... 73
21. Wreck off Tynemouth of the "Betsy Cains", the vessel which conveyed William III. to England, in 1688, ... 81
22. Queen Anne.—After Sir G. Kneller, . . . 83
23. Sidney, Earl of Godolphin.—After Sir G. Kneller, 84
24. John, Duke of Marlborough.—After Sir G. Kneller, 86
25. The Order of the Thistle, ... 92
26. Prince Eugene of Savoy, ... 94
27. Sketch Map to illustrate Marlborough's Campaign on the Danube, in 1704, ... 96
28. Medal struck by the Party opposed to Marlborough, ... 98
29. Plan—to illustrate the Battle of Blenheim, . . 101
30. The Rock of Gibraltar, from the Neutral Ground, 103
31. Blenheim House, Woodstock.—From a drawing in the King's Collection, British Museum, . . . 105
32. Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, . . 105
33. The Cock-pit, St. James's,—From Aggas' Map of London, ... 110
34. Almanza, from the Field of Battle, ... 114

No. Page
35. Sarah Jennings, Duchess of Marlborough, . . 117
36. General View of the Hague at the period, . 126
37. Medal struck on the occasion of Sacheverell's Trial, ... 133
38. Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford.—After Kneller, . 137
39. The Townhall, Utrecht, ... 144
40. Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, . . . 146
41. George I.—From a print by Vertue, after Kneller, 166
42. Braemar Castle.—From an old drawing, . . 171
43. Hexham, by Moonlight.—View by H. G. Hine, . 173
44. James Francis Edward, the old Pretender, . . 178
45. Perth, from base of Moncrieff Hill, ... 180
46. Avignon, the Castle of the Popes, ... 181
47. The Palace of Herrenhausen, ... 185
48. Holland House, London, ... 191
49. The Coast of Calabria, from Sicily, . . . 193
50. Plan of the Strait and Environs of Messina, 194
51. Admiral Sir George Byng.—After Sir G. Kneller, 198
52. Messina, ... 200
53. Sketch Map—Part of the Sicilian Coast, including the Environs of Palermo, to illustrate military operations, ... 202
54. The Old South Sea House, London, . . . 206
55. Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, . 211
56. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, . . 212
57. George II.—From a picture by T. Worlidge, . . 220
58. Caroline, Queen of George II.—After Sir G. Kneller, 221
59. Norfolk House, St. James's Square, London, . 234
60. William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, ... 237
61. Sir William Wyndham.—After J. Faber, . . 239
62. Plan of the Town and Harbour of Carthagena, as fortified in 1741, ... 250
63. Fort San Lazaro, Carthagena.—From an old view, 251
64. Houghton Hall, Norfolk, the Residence of Walpole, 253
65. Plan—to illustrate the Battle of Dettingen, . . 260
66. John Carteret, Earl Granville, ... 262
67. Sir Robert Walpole.—Statue by John Bell, . . 268
68. Plan—to illustrate the Battle of Fontenoy, . . 269
69. Charles Edward Stuart, the young Pretender, . 273
70. Loch Shiel, as seen from Glenfinnan, . . . 275
71. Military Accoutrements worn by Prince Charles Edward in 1745, ... 278
72. Pistols that belonged to Prince Charles, . 279
73. Prince Charles Edward, in the Costume he wore at his Receptions at Holyrood, ... 280
74. House at Duddingstone, where Prince Charles slept the night before the Battle of Prestonpans, . . 282
75. Sketch Map—to illustrate the Battle of Prestonpans, 283
76. Colonel Gardiner's House, and the Field of Prestonpans, ... 284
77. Facsimile—Autograph of Sir John Cope, . . 284
78. Edinburgh Castle at the period, . . . 289
79. Prince Charles's Autograph and Signet-ring, 291
80. Holyrood House at the period, ... 291
81. Carlisle Castle.—View by Luke Clennell, . . 293
82. Exeter House, the Pretender's quarters at Derby, 295
83. Fire-pan on the Turret of Hadley Church, . 297
84. Penrith.—View by P. Dewint, ... 298
85. Stirling Castle, the side attacked by the Rebels. —From a drawing of the time, ... 300
86. French Cannon used by the Rebels in the Siege of Stirling Castle.—From a drawing of the time, 303
87. Culloden Moor, looking towards the Beauly Loch, 310
88. Skein Dhu, found on the field of Culloden, . . 311
89. The Isle of Skye and Sound of Rasay, at the place where the Chevalier crossed, as seen from Rasay, 314
90. Loch Ericht and Benalder, ... 316
91. Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat.—From Hogarth, . . 319
92. Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle, . . . 322
93. Henry Pelham, Chancellor of the Exchequer, . 324
94. Leicester House, Leicester Square, London, . . 326
95. William Pitt, first Earl of Chatham, . . . 336
96. Plan of Port Mahon, Minorca, ... 339
97. Richard Grenville Temple, Earl Temple, . . 344
98. Cherbourg, ... 349
99. Havre-de-Grace, ... 350
100. Quebec, from near Point-des-Pères, ... 352
101. Plan of Quebec and its Neighbourhood to illustrate the operations of Wolfe and Montcalm, 1759, 352
102. Cape Diamond and Part of Quebec, . . . 353
103. Rev. John Wesley.—After J. Jackson, R.A., . 369
104. Rev. George Whitefield.—After N. Hone, . . 370
105. The Original Bank of England, ... 380
106. Exchequer Tallies, ... 382
107. William Dampier.—From a rare print, . . . 383
108. City Merchant's House of the 17th Century, . 384
109. The Royal Exchange (second building), . . 385
110. Old London Trade-signs, ... 386
111. Costumes of the time of William III., . . 387
112. Costumes of the time of George II., . . . 388
113. Head-dresses and fashion of wearing Patches, 388
114. Costumes of the time of George II., . . . 389
115. St. James's Park.—From a print, 1750, . . . 394
116. Bath—the King and Queen's Bath and the great Pump-room.—From a print of the period, . . 395
117. Tunbridge Wells at the period, ... 396
118. The Cold Bath House, Clerkenwell, at the period, ... 397
119. Stage Costumes of the period, ... 398
120. Vauxhall Gardens.—From a print, 1751, . . 400
121. Belsize House, Hampstead.—From a drawing, 1750, 401
122. Marybone House.—From an old view, . . . 402
123. Sedan Chair, of date 1755, ... 406
124. Coach, of date 1713, ... 407
125. Sir Isaac Newton.—After Vanderbank, . . . 409
126. John Locke.—After Sir G. Kneller, ... 410
127. William Hogarth.—From the picture by himself, 412
128. Alexander Pope.—After Hudson, ... 413
129. Fleet Bridge, London, at the period, . . 414
130. Initial Letter—mixed French style, end of the 18th century, ... 424
131. George III., at the time of his Accession, . . 425
132. John Stuart, Earl of Bute, ... 427
133. Plan of Havana, ... 429
134. The Harbour of Manilla, ... 430
135. Martinique during the Attack.—From an old view, ... 431
136. George Grenville, Chancellor of the Exchequer, . 437
137. John Wilkes.—After R. E. Pine, ... 438
138. Doorway of Medmenham Abbey, ... 439
139. Charles Wentworth, Marquis of Rockingham.—After Sir Joshua Reynolds, ... 446
140. Government Stamp prepared for America, 1765, 447

THE COMPREHENSIVE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IX.

PERIOD FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE II.—72 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1688—1760.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.
1689 WILLIAM & MARY.
1694 WILLIAM.
1702 ANNE.
1714 GEORGE I.
1727 GEORGE II.

France.
1643 LOUIS XIV.
1715 LOUIS XV.

Spain.
1665 CHARLES II.
1700 PHILIP V.
1746 FERDINAND VI.
1759 CHARLES III.

Portugal.
1683 PEDRO II.
1706 JOHN V.
1750 JOSEPH.

Germany.
1658 LEOPOLD I.
1705 JOSEPH I.
1711 CHARLES VI.
1742 CHARLES VII.
1745 FRANCIS I.

Russia.
1682 JOHN III. & PETER I.
1696 PETER I. (THE GREAT.)
1725 CATHERINE I.
1727 PETER II.
1730 ANNE.
1740 JOHN IV.
1741 ELIZABETH.

Denmark.
1699 FREDERIC IV.
1730 CHRISTIAN VI.
1746 FREDERIC V.

Sweden.
1697 CHARLES XII.
1719 ULRICA ELEONORA.
1720 FREDERIC I.
1751 ADOLPHUS FREDERIC.

Prussia.
1700 FREDERIC I.
1713 FREDERIC WILLIAM I.
1740 FREDERIC II. (THE GREAT.)

Poland.
1674 JOHN III. (SOBIESKI.)
1697 AUGUSTUS II.
1704 STANISLAUS I.
1709 AUGUSTUS II. (restored.)
1734 AUGUSTUS III.

Turkey.
1687 SOLIMAN III.
1691 ACHMET II.
1695 MUSTAPHA II.
1703 ACHMET III.
1730 MOHAMED V.
1754 OTHMAN III.
1757 MUSTAPHA III.

Popes.
1689 ALEXANDER VIII.
1691 INNOCENT XII.
1700 CLEMENT XI.
1721 INNOCENT XIII.
1724 BENEDICT XIII.
1730 CLEMENT XII.
1740 BENEDICT XIV.
1758 CLEMENT XIII.

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1688—1689.

INTERREGNUM.—A.D. 1688—1689.

Question about the succession to the crown—A convention assembled—Their decree that James had abdicated—They declare the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England.

BY the flight of James, the work of the Revolution was not completed; the crown was in a state of abeyance for nearly two months, or from the 23d of December, 1688, to the 13th of February, 1689, during which time the Whigs were brought to the enunciation or admission of principles bold and wise, which were equally new to the people. Up to a certain point all parties seemed to agree (the Papists were too inconsiderable to merit the name of a party); but the Tories and high churchmen soon hung back, and left the danger and the honour of settling the problem to the Whigs, who proceeded, not by the stated rules of the English government and laws, but by the general rights of mankind.[1] The Prince of Orange, who had taken up his residence, not at Whitehall, but at St. James's, seemed to leave the nation to settle the business in their own way, most scrupulously avoiding any assumption of right and any symptom of eagerness. On the 25th of December, the lords spiritual and temporal, to the number of about ninety, who had taken their places in the House of Lords, requested William to take upon him the administration of affairs and the disposal of the public revenue, and to issue writs for a "Convention," to meet on the 22d of January; and on the following day an assembly of such persons as had sat in parliament in the reign of Charles II., to the number of about 150, together with the aldermen of London, and fifty of the common council, having met at St. James's pursuant to the desire of the prince, immediately proceeded to the commons' house, and there agreed upon an address similar to that of the lords. The prince despatched circular letters, accordingly, to the several counties, universities, cities, and boroughs; and in the meantime the country, the fleet, and all that remained of James's army, submitted quietly to his authority. In Ireland it was very different; but in Scotland men were as prompt in their obedience as in England.

---

[1] Hallam, *Constitutional History.*

A.D. 1689. On the appointed day—the 22d of January—the English convention, or parliament, as it was afterwards declared to be, assembled in the Houses of Parliament, and proceeded vigorously to their important business. The Marquis of Halifax was elected to the presidency in the lords, and Mr. Poole, one of the patriots of Charles II.'s parliaments who had taken bribes from France, was chosen speaker in the commons. A letter from William was read in both houses. His highness told them that he had endeavoured to the utmost of his power to perform what had been desired of him, in order to the maintenance of the public peace and safety; that it now rested with themselves to lay the foundation of a firm security for their religion, their laws, and their liberties.[1]

In the commons, Poole, the speaker, embraced all the prince's views with a most ardent zeal. His speech threw the house into a sort of transport; the old walls rang with warlike shouts, and everything was agreed to that William or his party desired. Nor was the upper house either cold or critical. In a very full meeting, from which scarcely any were absent even among the bishops, except Sancroft, the primate, they appointed a day of public thanksgiving to Almighty God for having made his highness the glorious instrument of the great deliverance of the kingdom from Popery and arbitrary power; and they joined the commons in an address of thanks to the prince, to whom, "next under God," this happy deliverance was owing. The lords and commons in a united body presented the address. They said—"And we do most humbly desire your highness to take upon you the administration of public affairs, and the disposal of the public revenue, for the preservation of our religion, rights, laws, liberties, and properties, and of the peace of the nation." The phlegmatic William delayed giving any answer till the next day, and then he coldly and laconically said, "My lords and gentlemen, I am glad that what I have done hath pleased you; and since you desire me to continue the administration of affairs, I am willing to accept it." The two houses then adjourned to the 28th, on which day the commons, having re-assembled, resolved themselves into a committee of the whole house to take into consideration the state of the nation. Mr. Hampden was in the chair. Dolben, son of the late Archbishop of York, "was the bold man who first broke the ice, and made a long speech tending to prove that the king's deserting his kingdom without appointing any person to administer the government, amounted, in reason and judgment of law, to a demise." This opinion was taken up and defended by several other members. The Tories, including Sir Edward Seymour, who had been one of the first to join the Prince of Orange, made a vain effort to procure an adjournment; and the committee, after a stormy debate of many hours, voted the resolution—"That King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has *abdicated* the government, and that the throne is thereby become vacant." Mr. Hampden was ordered to carry up this resolution to the lords, and to request their concurrence. On the morrow, the commons, still in committee, voted, "That it hath been found, by experience, to be inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish prince." The Whigs, in their anxiety to settle the Protestant William upon the throne, were too much disposed to overlook the restrictions proper to be put upon his power; and the Tories, in their eagerness to keep the question open, stood forward in the new light of champions for the liberties of the people. When Mr. Hampden carried the resolution to the upper house, their lordships subjected it to a long and critical examination. Lord Clarendon, uncle to the Princess of Orange, led the opposition, and proposed that the fugitive king should be nominally left on the throne, and a Protestant regent appointed during his life.[2] In the end the project of a regency was rejected, but only by a majority of two—fifty-one to forty-nine. A motion was made for an inquiry into the birth of the *pretended* Prince of Wales. It was rejected; but it seems to have been tacitly understood by both sides that that child was to be presumed spurious;[1] and, without that deep-rooted belief in the minds of the people, this revolution would certainly not have been so easy of accomplishment. After long arguments about the propriety of substituting the word *deserted* for *abdicated*, and upholding the hereditary character of the succession, which would allow of no vacancy, the lords took time to debate among themselves, and the commons adjourned. The capital was in a ferment. Yielding to the force of circumstances, and the steadiness of the commons, the lords gave up their amendments; and then, by a majority of sixty-two to forty-seven, they resolved that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England and all the dominions thereunto belonging. This vote, passed on the 6th of February, was sent down to the commons on the 7th. The final resolution to which both houses, after several conferences, came, on the 12th of February, was —"That William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them, the said prince and princess, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the prince and princess, during their joint lives; and, after their decease, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; for default of such issue, to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange."

---

[1] *Ralph; Roger Coke;* Narcissus Luttrell, *Diary.*

[2] "*Some,*" says Burnet, "intended to bring King James back; and went into this as the most probable way for laying the nation asleep, and for overcoming the present aversion that all people had to him. That being once done, they reckoned it would be no hard thing, *with the help of some time,* to compass the other."

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1689—1691.

WILLIAM AND MARY.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1689—DEATH OF MARY, A.D. 1694—DEATH OF WILLIAM, 1702.

Arrival of Mary in England—Proclamation of the reign of William and Mary—Meeting of the Scottish Convention of Estates—Viscount Dundee attempts to interrupt its proceedings—Difficulties at the commencement of William's reign—New oath of allegiance administered—It produces the schism of the Nonjurors—Revenue settled on William by parliament—He proposes a repeal of the test act—His tolerant views in church government thwarted—Measures in Ireland for the restoration of King James—He lands in Ireland—Decrees passed by his Irish parliament—Viscount Dundee's efforts in the cause of James in Scotland—Battle of Killiecrankie—Death of Dundee—Siege of Londonderry—Its brave resistance—The town relieved—Treachery of William's ministers—Quarrels in the royal family—Parliamentary proceedings—Contentions of the Whigs and Tories—Controversy on the abjuration bill—William repairs to Ireland—Necessity of his arrival—State of James's affairs in Ireland—Battle of the Boyne—Defeat of James—His flight from Ireland—Attempts of his partizans to rally—Progress of the war—Naval engagements with the French—Battle at sea off Beachy Head—The French fleet retires—Irish war continued—Miseries of the country—Proceedings for the entire reduction of Ireland, and for the war with France—William repairs to Holland to prosecute the French war—Members of the confederacy who meet him in the neighbourhood of the Hague—His triumphal entry into the Hague.

ON the same busy day, Mary, the new queen, arrived from Holland at Whitehall; and, on the morrow, the prince and she being seated in the Banqueting House, both houses of the convention waited upon them in a body, when the clerk of the crown read the declaration and resolution of the two houses, and the Marquis of Halifax, in their name, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses. On the same day, being Ash Wednesday, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, "with great acclamation and general good reception, with bonfires, bells, great guns, &c."[2]

The Scottish Convention of Estates met on the 14th of March; and, through the ingenious management of Sir James Dalrymple (afterwards Lord Stair), hardly any were returned to it except Whigs and Presbyterians. The Duke of Hamilton was appointed president: the waverers were fixed by the success of the Revolution in England, and everything proceeded with rapidity and spirit. The sheriffs were ordered to seize all persons found in arms without the authority of the convention, and the Duke of Hamilton was invested with a dictatorial power of securing all *suspected* persons. The fiery Dundee did what he could to dissolve the convention by cannon-balls. He urged the Duke of Gordon, who held out in Edinburgh Castle, to fire upon the city. Gordon refused, or hesitated, and then Dundee attempted to get up a counter-convention at Stirling; but he was ill seconded by his friends, the Marquis of Athole and the Lords Balcarras and Mar. Dundee was eager to be in the field; but James had instructed him to remain quiet until assistance should be sent over from Ireland, where he had landed on the 12th of March, two days before the opening of the Scottish convention. Urged on, however, by his natural impetuosity, or fearing for his life, which he said was threatened by some of the Covenanters, upon whom he had practised infamous severities "aforetime," he mounted his horse, and galloped through Edinburgh with a troop of cavalry, consisting of some fifty men, who had deserted to him from his regiment in England. In passing under the outer walls of the castle, on the road that leads to Dalkeith, he dismounted, scrambled up the precipice at a place where it is almost perpendicular, and held a conference with the Duke of Gordon, whom he vainly pressed to retire with him into the Highlands. While the conference lasted, a crowd collected at the foot of the precipice. A rumour reached the convention, which was then sitting, that Dundee was at the gates with an army, and that Gordon was going to bombard the town. The Duke of Hamilton, who was better informed, turned the panic to the advantage of his party. He ordered the doors of the house to be shut, and the keys to be laid on the table—exclaiming, that there was danger within as well as without doors—that traitors must be held in confinement until the danger was over—but that the friends of liberty had nothing to fear, as thousands were ready to start up in their defence at the stamp of his foot. At his order drums beat and trumpets sounded, and swarms of west-country Covenanters, who had been brought into Edinburgh by Hamilton and Sir John Dalrymple, started from their hiding-places in garrets and cellars, and showed themselves in the streets with arms in their hands. When the doors of the convention were thrown open for the members to retire, the few Tories present were assailed with threats and curses; which had such an effect, that some of the adherents of James fled at once into the country, and still more adapted themselves to circumstances and changed sides. The Revolution over both England and Scotland was now complete.

---

[1] "This, at least," says Mr. Hallam, "was a necessary supposition for the Tories, who sought in the idle rumours of the time an excuse for abandoning his right. As to the Whigs, though they were active in discrediting the unfortunate boy's legitimacy, their own broad principle of changing the line of succession rendered it, in point of argument, a superfluous inquiry."—*Const. Hist.*

[2] "She seems," says Evelyn, "to be of a good nature, and that she takes nothing to heart; whilst her husband has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderful serious and silent, and seems to treat all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affairs: Holland, Ireland, and France calling for his care."

William's first measure was to announce that all Protestants found in office on the 1st of December last should continue in their places until further notice. On the 17th of February he published a list of the privy counsellors, at the head of whom was *Est-il possible,* who was considerable in nothing except in being the husband of the Princess Anne.[1] The number of disinterested patriots was exceedingly small: every man of any consequence that had assisted in making the Revolution put in his claim for reward; and there was a general scramble for pensions and places and court distinctions. If England had been El Dorado, and William the most giving and liberal of princes, there would have been no satisfying all those claimants; and, of the dissatisfied, too many were prone to extend their dissatisfaction to the whole Revolution, with the principles it established, and were soon ready to undo what they had done. Under almost any other sovereign the effect would soon have been seen in the worst of all revolutions—a restoration; but William, whose vices no less than his virtues—whose strange imperturbable, cold manners, no less than his extraordinary abilities—fitted him for the crisis, conjured the worst part of the storm, and turned some of its conflicting elements to the advantage of himself and of the nation, which, perhaps, never more than at this moment depended upon the character and talent of a single individual. On the 18th of February he made his first speech from the throne to the two houses. It was short and cogent. The commons returned a solemn vote of thanks, which passed *nemine contradicente;* but on the next day the lords brought in a bill to remove and prevent all questions and disputes concerning the legality of the assembling and sitting of this present parliament. There was hot debating, for the Tories and the Jacobites were eager for a new election; but, in the end, a bill was passed declaring the convention to be to all intents and purposes a legal parliament. On the 1st of March the new oath of allegiance was tendered. It was conceived in the simplest form: the words "rightful and lawful sovereigns" being, upon mature deliberation, omitted. But, notwithstanding this modification, several lords and several members of the House of Commons withdrew without

---

[1] This is the list:—The Prince of Denmark, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquises of Halifax and Winchester; the Earls of Danby, Lindsay, Devonshire, Dorset and Middlesex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, and Nottingham; the Viscounts Falconberg, Mordaunt, Newport, and Lumley; the Bishop of London; the Lords Wharton, Montagu, Delamere, and Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Poole, Mr. Russell, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Boscawen. The majority were men who had ventured farthest in the revolution: and as for the archbishop and that sturdy Tory Nottingham, they were named "by way of sweetener to the church," it being thought advisable to do something to conciliate that great body.—*Burnet; Ralph.*

THE CROWN OFFERED TO WILLIAM AND MARY.

The tyranny of James II. had so estranged the good-will of the English people that all classes combined to invite William, Prince of Orange, to come over from Holland and redress their wrongs. The prince, having accepted the mission, made his plans with secrecy, and successfully landed 15,000 troops at Torbay, on 5th November, 1688. On the march to London this army and its leader were everywhere welcomed; all parties flocked to join the prince's standard; the king fled from the kingdom; and the throne of England was declared vacant by the Convention Parliament. After long debate by both Houses it was finally agreed on 12th February, 1689, that William of Orange and his wife Mary (who was an English princess) should be declared King and Queen. *Accordingly, on the morrow the prince and his wife seated themselves in the banqueting-house at Whitehall, where the resolution of the Convention was read to them by the clerk of the crown*; and the same day, being Ash Wednesday, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen amidst general acclamations and rejoicings.

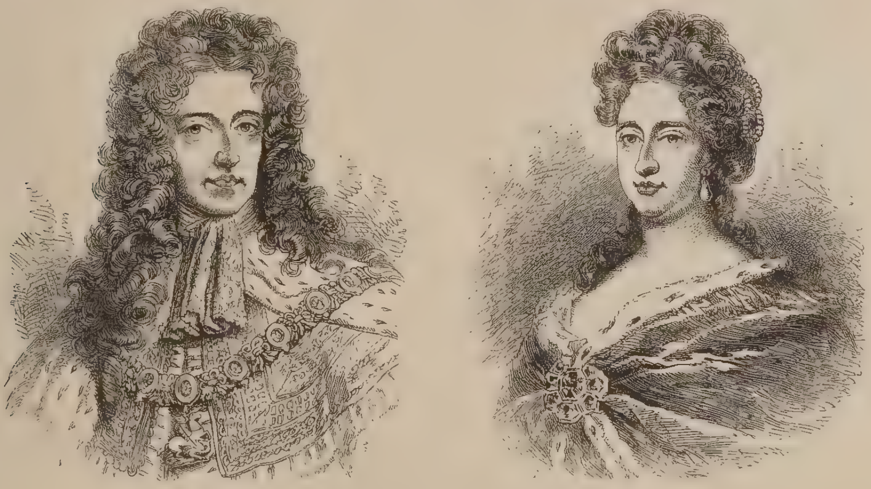
THE CROWN OFFERED TO WILLIAM AND MARY

[illegible] COMMONS [illegible]

[illegible] M WARD, [illegible] IN THE [illegible]

permission, and the Earls of Clarendon, Lichfield, and Exeter, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and seven of the bishops, refused the oath. Among these spiritual lords were five of the seven who had been sent to the Tower for refusing obedience to the mandates of James. Above 400 of the clergy, including some of the highest distinction, followed the example set by the primate and these seven bishops; and thus began the schism of the *Nonjurors*—a term which now becomes as prominent as that of *Nonconformists* had been under the two last Stuarts.[1]

The first parliament of Charles II., in the heat of their loyalty, had settled upon him a revenue *for life* of £1,200,000; and this precedent was followed on the accession of James. William, it appears, expected to have the same kind of grant for life; but the commons had learned a good lesson, and both Whigs and Tories opposed the vote. Upon a careful examination of accounts, they had discovered that the real value of the late king's revenue was far above its nominal amount; that James had been in the receipt, altogether, of £2,000,000 per annum; and that in the expenditure nearly £90,000 per annum was set down under the suspicious head of secret service money.[2] They now voted £1,200,000 for the current year, only one-half to be appropriated to the civil list, the other half to the public defence, &c.; but they soon improved upon their original scheme of a definite revenue by taking a close and constant superintendence of the navy, army, and ordnance, having estimates regularly laid before them, and seeing, as far as was possible, that the supply granted was appropriated to the services to which it was voted. This great and fundamental principle became henceforward an invariable usage, and by means of it the House of Commons acquired that controlling position which it now maintains; and this alone will make Englishmen grateful for the Revolution of 1689. For the current year, the commons fixed the allowance for the navy at £700,000 instead of at £1,100,000, as proposed by ministers; and they made only provision for six months for the army which was to defend, or, rather, recover Ireland. They voted £600,000 as compensation to the Dutch for the services rendered, in ships and men, at the Revolution. William had only demanded £700,000, but the reduction displeased him much; and generally he complained of parsimony and a want of confidence.



WILLIAM III. AND MARY, HIS QUEEN.—From portraits by Kneller.

William had been bred a Calvinist, a circumstance which did not endear him to the Church of England; but in Holland he had witnessed the agreeable prospect of all sects and religions living peaceably together, and he was, both by heart and head, disposed to toleration. He proposed a repeal of the test act, trusting that the great dread of the Papists would be removed with the removal of a Roman Catholic king, and that the professions of good-will which had passed between the Established church and the dissenters, when threatened by James, would lead to some amicable and lasting agreement. But the lords rejected the repeal by a great majority, and took no notice of a petition from the city of London, praying that the king might be at liberty to use indiscriminately the services of all his Protestant subjects without any imposition of the sacramental oath, which offended the consciences of so many. At the same time, the church party in the House of Lords eagerly grasped at a clause —also recommended by the tolerant king—which went to dispense with the oaths of the bishops and established clergy to the new government. But the dissenters in the House of Commons resolved to show as little regard to the consciences of churchmen as the churchmen had shown to theirs; and they moved for an amendment, to oblige the established clergy to take the oaths of allegiance before the 1st of August, without any excuse, and under the pain of suspension, to be followed in six months by deprivation. The lords, in their turn, rejected the amendment. Conferences ensued; but all that the commons would allow was that the king should have power to grant, during his pleasure, a third of their benefices to any twelve clergymen who should incur deprivation by refusing to take the oath. William was never easily turned from any serious project. Though surprised at the religious animosities of his new subjects, he attempted to carry a bill of comprehension, by which he flattered himself that the Established church, the kirk, and the conventicle might, by degrees, be amalgamated. The commons united with the lords in oversetting the project; but, in the end, they agreed upon a free toleration to all Christian sects except the Roman Catholic. William, who had no notion of being merely the king of one party, recommended an act of indemnity, which should include the Tories who had made such an abuse of power in the two preceding reigns. The Whigs, who certainly aimed at monopolizing all favour, all power and trust, represented that all kings were fond of prerogative, and that William wanted a pardon for the ministers of the late reigns *only* with a view to employ servants who would be as obsequious to him as they had been to James and Charles. In both houses numerous exceptions were proposed, which would have changed the indemnity into something very like a sweeping proclamation of treason and misdemeanour against the Tory chiefs; and that liberal project also fell to the ground. The Declaration of Rights was embodied in a bill, which, however, was not passed until the following year, when it became an invaluable portion of the law of the land. After a pretty full examination of witnesses, and of written evidence, parliament reversed the attainders of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, declaring their sentence to be iniquitous, their execution murder.[1]

---

[1] *Coke; Ralph; Burnet;* Luttrell's *Diary; Evelyn; Life of King James II.; Hallam.*

[2] Hallam, *Parl. Hist.*

The fugitive James had met with a very kind, and what was called a very honourable, reception at the court of Versailles; for Louis, who was menaced by a vast coalition, was sensible of the great use that might be made of him; and the "*grand monarque*," though exceedingly *little* in many essentials, had a kingly bearing, and a disposition which sometimes looked like magnanimity. It was universally known that Ireland was our vulnerable part. Tyrconnel informed his proscribed master that all the Roman Catholics there would take up arms for him; and it was forthwith resolved that James should be landed in Ireland with a French army.[2] Louis drove on the preparations for the expedition with uncommon earnestness, and appointed D'Avaux to accompany "his Britannic majesty," with the title of ambassador extraordinary. Tyrconnel had played his part with rare vigour and success. He amused the friends of the English Revolution with half promises and delusive assurances, and seems to have made even the cautious and incredulous William believe that he would submit quietly to his government. In the course of two months he had 40,000 or 50,000 men under arms, all Papists, and all eager to establish their religion and recover their ancient possessions.

James arrived at Brest on the 5th of February. There he found a crowd of English and Irish exiles, about 2500 soldiers, and a fleet of fifteen sail, manned and commanded by some of the best sailors and marine officers of France. On the 12th of March he landed at Kinsale, where he was received with enthusiasm by the native Irish. From Kinsale he proceeded to Cork, and from Cork to Dublin. The English fleet, under Admiral Herbert, having missed the enemy on the French coast, found them, greatly reinforced, in Bantry Bay. The engagement which took place lasted the whole day; but in the evening the English, who were far inferior in numbers, steered off for the Scilly Islands. James summoned an Irish parliament, to meet at Dublin on the 7th of May. Of the Irish Protestants who had not fled, the far greater part were in arms against him. Only six Protestants were returned to the House of Commons, and only five lords and four bishops of that faith attended in the upper house. There was no reconciling the rival interests and antagonist feelings: what gratified the Irish and Papists was worse than a declaration of war to the knife to the English and Protestants. This strange parliament passed a bill of attainder against all who abetted or assisted the Prince of Orange; they voted £20,000 a-year as a proper reward for Tyrconnel, to be taken out of the estates forfeited by the Protestants; and they voted £20,000 per month for King James. They also passed an act for liberty of conscience to all Christians; but as the Catholics formed the immense majority, such of the Protestant clergy as had not fled were left without the means of support. All schools and colleges, from which the Protestants had excluded everything in the shape or likeness of a priest or monk, were now seized by the Roman clergy and monastic orders. The Protestant churches fell, of course, into the hands of the triumphant majority; and, which was not quite so inevitable, but which showed in a clear light the popular interpretation of religious liberty, the Protestants were forbidden to assemble in churches or elsewhere under pain of death. At the same time they were plundered of their goods and money. James had brought only some 400,000 crowns from France; and Louis, though oftentimes pressed, was unable to send him more money. The desperate resource, in such circumstances, was sure to suggest itself to a mind like that of James. He debased the currency, and, by proclamation, ordered his brass coinage to pass for a hundred times more than it was worth. He was as impatient of all opposition to his royal will, as incapable of controlling his arbitrary temper, as ever. When this Irish House of Commons opposed him in a particular measure, he fell into a violent passion, and exclaimed, "I find all commons are the same;" and when they preferred a complaint against his secretary of state, the rash and insolent Melfort, he said that they were using him unkindly and basely; and declared, that if he had thought they would not let him choose his own servants he would never have come amongst them. At the same time, his poverty-stricken court was the scene of incessant turmoil and intrigue. Nor could James make up his mind to any fixed plan of operation. At one time he thought of repairing with his Irish army to England, at another time of going to Scotland to join Dundee. In the end, he resolved to subdue the Protestants in Ulster, and complete the conquest of Ireland; and Dundee was soon lost to that cause of which he was the bravest and ablest champion. Before he fell, he equalled the romantic adventures of his model hero Montrose. He received orders from James not to risk a battle until he should be joined by reinforcements from Ireland, which were promised in abundance, but which, when they arrived, amounted only to 500 men, miserably armed and equipped. The partizan leader was obliged continually to shift his quarters, by making prodigious marches, in order to avoid or harass the enemy, or to obtain provisions. The regular troops of General Mackay, one of the best soldiers of Scotland, who had been sent against the insurgents, were no match in these evolutions for the light-footed, half-naked Highlanders. In his marches, Dundee generally walked on foot with the men, and fared as they fared. He talked with them, sang Celtic songs with them, and joked with them; yet the severity of his discipline was dreadful. Towards the enemy he was merciless whenever he obtained the advantage, even as he had been against the Covenanters and Cameronians when simply Graham of Claverhouse. After many brilliant operations, and one of the most remarkable of flying marches, he appeared in the neighbourhood of Blair Castle, and advanced to the pass of Killiecrankie, near Dunkeld. On the morning of the 16th of July, General Mackay moved from Dunkeld, and marched very cautiously and slowly through the pass; but Dundee had no intention to dispute that passage, his plan being to engage in the open plain beyond it, while some Athole clans should press on Mackay's rear, occupy the mouth of the defile on the side of Dunkeld, and make retreat impossible or dangerous in the extreme. Thus Mackay and his regulars got through the pass without seeing any living creatures except the eagles and other birds of prey that wheeled and screamed over their heads; but, a little beyond Killiecrankie, they discovered Dundee and his army resting upon the side of a hill. At a favourable moment, when Mackay's line was thin and far extended, Dundee led up his Highlanders in compact columns. The clans fell on with their broadswords, and soon cut their way through and through Mackay's line. The English horse, who were very few, galloped off without firing a shot; the artillery was seized; some of the infantry threw down their arms as token of surrender, and all the rest ran away in confusion. When Mackay halted on a hill-side to the west of Killiecrankie, to rally that portion of his little army which had kept near him, and looked back from the heights upon the field of battle, he saw that there was no pursuit, and said to his officers that he was sure the enemy had lost their general. Nor was he mistaken: Dundee had fallen in the moment of victory. According to a Highland tradition, he had a charmed life, and could expose himself, without chance of injury, to showers of musket-balls made of lead or iron; but one of Mackay's soldiers, knowing this fact, and perceiving that their shot took no effect upon him, tore off a silver button, put it into his piece, and so gave him his death-wound. Some of the regulars that fled back through the pass were roughly handled by the Highlanders, who had met at its southern mouth; but the whole amount of slaughter appears to have been greatly exaggerated. Mackay soon collected the fugitives; and the Highlanders, completely dispirited by the loss of their leader, retired to their homes, leaving, according to their custom, a great heap of stones to mark the spot where he had fallen.

---

[1] Subsequently the same resolutions were passed concerning Armstrong and Cornish.

[2] *Life of James*, &c., collected out of memoirs writ of his own hand. Published from the original Stuart MSS. in Carlton House, by the Rev. J. S. Clarke.

Pennyburn Mill, near Londonderry.—From Hall's Ireland.

By degrees, all the Jacobite clans accepted King William's proclamation of pardon, and laid down their arms. Some time before the battle of Killiecrankie, the Duke of Gordon had surrendered the castle of Edinburgh; and, by the end of the year, the whole of Scotland was tranquil and submissive to the new government, with the exception of the insignificant garrison of the Bass Rock, which had the doubtful honour of being the last to strike the banner of the Stuarts.

A few days after losing the brave Dundee, James lost all hope of winning the city of Londonderry,[1] upon which the fate of the north of Ireland depended. The Protestant inhabitants of that city, consisting chiefly of Scottish Presbyterian colonists and their descendants, had acted with admirable spirit; and they continued so to act in spite of the treachery of Lundy, the military governor of the place. When they became aware of his double-dealing, they boldly deposed him, and chose two better defenders, Mr Walker, rector of Donaghmore, and Major Baker, who were appointed joint-governors of Londonderry. When James summoned the place in person, they fired upon him. The fortifications were rudely but effectually repaired. A few brave Scotsmen, well acquainted with the art of war, threw themselves into the beleaguered city. Even their first sally tended by its success to raise their spirits and confirm their hopes. It was made upon a detachment of the besieging army composed of French and Irish, whose post was at Pennyburn Mill, now a picturesque ruin in the neighbourhood of Londonderry; and so vigorous was the attack of the townsmen, that they slew more than 200 of the enemy, with the loss of only nine or ten of their own party. In this encounter, also, the brave Colonel Murray, the leader of the sortie, after a combat three times renewed, killed the French general, Maumont, whose death was a serious disaster to the besiegers. After eleven days of unsuccessful attacks, James drew off, and went to Dublin to open the Irish parliament, whose session has been already described. Gene-

---

[1] "After some anxious hours the day broke. The Irish, with James at their head, were now within four miles of the city. A tumultuous council of the chief inhabitants was called. Some reproached the governor with treachery. When the altercation was at the height, the sentinels announced that the hostile army was in sight. Lundy's authority was at an end. Major Henry Baker and Captain Adam Murray called the people to arms. Soldiers, gentlemen, yeomen, artisans rushed to the walls. James, who, confident of success, had approached to within 100 yards of the southern gate, was received with a fire from the nearest bastion. An officer fell dead by his side. The king and his attendants hastened out of reach of the balls. Lundy hid himself during the day, and at night, with the generous connivance of Murray and Walker, escaped in disguise. His name is to this day held in execration by the Protestants of the north of Ireland.

"And now Londonderry was left destitute of all military and of all civil government. The defences were weak, the provisions scanty—an incensed tyrant and great army at the gates. But within was that which has often, in desperate extremities, retrieved the fallen fortunes of nations. Betrayed, deserted, disorganized, unprovided with resources, begirt with enemies—the noble city was still no easy conquest. The whole world could not have furnished 7000 men better qualified to meet a terrible emergency with clear judgment, dauntless valour, and stubborn patience. They were all zealous Protestants, and the Protestantism of the majority was tinged with Puritanism. The English (and Scotch) inhabitants of Ireland were an aristocratic caste, which had been enabled—by superior civilization, by close union, by sleepless vigilance, by cool intrepidity—to keep in subjection a numerous and hostile population. Almost every one of them had been trained both to military and to political functions. In all ages, men situated as the Anglo-Saxons in Ireland, have had the virtues and vices of masters as opposed to those of slaves. The member of a dominant race is, in his dealings with the subject race, seldom indeed fraudulent, for fraud is the resource of the weak—but imperious, insolent, and cruel. Towards his brethren, on the other hand, his conduct is generally just, kind, and even noble. His self-respect lead him to respect all who belong to his own order. His interest impels him to cultivate a good understanding with those whose prompt, strenuous, and courageous assistance, may at any moment be necessary to preserve his property and life. His very selfishness, therefore, is sublimed into public spirit; and this public spirit is stimulated into fierce enthusiasm by sympathy, by the desire of applause, and by the dread of infamy.

"No sooner had the first burst of the rage excited by the perfidy of Lundy spent itself, than those whom he had betrayed proceeded, with a gravity and prudence worthy of the most renowned senates, to provide for the order and defence of the city. Baker took the chief military command. Walker's especial business was to preserve internal tranquillity, and to dole ral Rosen, who was left to conduct the siege, was a savage that had improved his natural brutality in the exterminating war which Louis XIV. had waged in the Protestant and defenceless Palatinate. He ordered that all the inhabitants within ten miles round Londonderry should be driven under the walls of that place, and all the country wasted and burned: he proclaimed that, if the town did not surrender in ten days, he would put every one within it to the sword; and, in fact, a vast crowd of men, women, and children were collected, and driven, naked and famishing, under the walls of the famishing town, wherein the defenders were reduced to eat their horses, their dogs, and their garbage. The besieged, on the other hand, erected a tall gibbet on one of the bastions to hang whatever prisoners fell into their hands; and intimated to the enemy that they had better send priests to confess these victims of a fair retaliation. James certainly neither commanded nor approved of these atrocities; but he was away in Dublin; and many hundreds of the country people, including mothers with infants at their breasts, were left to perish outside the walls of Londonderry, while those who, at the end of two days and two nights, were permitted to go back through Rosen's lines, found their homes in ashes, and their cattle and all their property whatsoever destroyed or carried off. William's choice of officers was, at the least, singular. Kirk, who had committed such cruelties in the west of England for James, but who had contrived to recommend himself as a good soldier to the new king, was sent over to the relief of Londonderry; and, after forcing a boom which obstructed his passage up the river, and silencing some batteries which the Irish had thrown up on the water's edge, he, on the 30th of July, succoured the heroic garrison, who had scarcely strength left to thank their deliverers. Including the townspeople, 8000 or 9000 had perished by famine, disease, or the shot of the enemy. On the very next day Rosen raised the siege, which, altogether, had lasted nearly four months. On the same day, the brave Enniskilleners, who had kept their town, and caused great loss to the Papists by sallies and surprises, defeated General Mackarty and 6000 Irish at Newtown-Butler, killing, it is said, about 2000, and causing about 500 to drown themselves. Ulster was now safe; and, on the 13th of August, old Marshal Schomberg landed at Carrickfergus with 16,000 men—English, Scotch, Dutch, Danes, and French Huguenots. At the same time, the English fleet, after some disgraceful signs of sloth, or cowardice, or treachery in the commanders, was assuming a respectable attitude; and Brest was closely watched or blockaded by it.

William had much to suffer from the factious and intriguing spirit of his new subjects, or at least that part of them who figured as public men and made politics their trade. Proof has been accumulated upon proof to show that he was continually betrayed by some of those who held office under him, but who, considering that they had not been sufficiently rewarded—that they had not gained enough by the Revolution—were willing to bring about a counter-revolution in order to have one throw more of the dice. Danby and Halifax, Shrewsbury and Nottingham, Admiral Herbert and Lord Churchill, were among those who either desired the return of James, or looked to a counter-revolution as a probable event for which they must provide. Others, again, who were merely timid and selfish waverers, lauded King William at one side of the mouth and blessed King James with the other, so that, come what might, they might pass for loyal and faithful servants. Nominally the public ministers of the crown were Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Halifax, and Danby, who thwarted one another, and only agreed in complaining that the king did not repose sufficient confidence in them, but preferred the advice of Sidney, now created Lord Sidney, and that of his countryman Bentinck, now Earl of Portland, who both were true to his interests. But in spite of William's caution, nearly every secret of the cabinet of St. James's was communicated to Versailles, to St. Germain, and to the court of King James at Dublin.[1]

---

out supplies. In a few hours every man knew his post. Eighteen clergymen of the Established church, and seven or eight Nonconformist ministers exerted themselves indefatigably to rouse and sustain the spirit of the people. All disputes about church government, postures, ceremonies, were forgotten."—*Macaulay*, iii. 191.

[1] "What is now called a ministry, William III., in 1689, did not think of forming. Indeed, what is now called a ministry was never known in England till he had been some years on the throne. Under the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts, there had been ministers, but there had been no ministry. The servants of the crown were not, as now, bound in frank-pledge for each other; they were not expected to be of the same opinion, even on questions of the gravest importance; often they were politically and personally hostile to each other, and made no secret of their hostility. It was not yet felt to be inconvenient or unseemly that they should accuse each other of high crimes, and demand each other's heads. No man had been more active in the impeachment of the Lord-chancellor Clarendon, than Coventry, who was a commissioner of the treasury; no man had been more active in the impeachment of the Lord-treasurer Danby, than Winnington, who was solicitor-general. Among the members of the government there was only one point of union—their common head, the sovereign. The nation considered him as the proper chief of the administration, and blamed him severely if he delegated his high functions to any subject. Clarendon has told us that nothing was so hateful to the Englishman of his time as a prime minister. They would rather, he said, be subject to an usurper, like Oliver, who was first magistrate in fact as well as in name, than to a legitimate king, who referred them to a grand vizier. One of the chief accusations which the country party had brought against Charles II. was that he was too indolent and too fond of pleasure to examine with care the balance-sheets of public accounts, and the inventories of military stores. James, when he came to the crown,

On the 19th of October William opened the second session of his first parliament. The bill of rights was passed with the additional clauses about royal marriages. The Princess Anne, who was completely in the hands of Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, and his bold and able wife, after agreeing to the act of settlement, had come to an open quarrel with the new court, and was disposed to do whatever the spirit of party might suggest in opposition to it. Anne wanted £70,000 a-year to be settled upon her by parliament, and for life, wholly independent of her brother-in-law and sister. William, who had notions of economy, wondered very much how she could spend £30,000 a-year. Anne's present friends were the Tories, and they stood out in the House of Commons for the £70,000 a-year; but in the end they compounded the matter for £50,000. The consequence of the struggle was a complete breach between the two royal sisters, which was never made up. When the king's revenue fell under consideration, it was settled, as before, for one year. It was found that even in the commons the Tories already pretty nearly equalled the strength of the Whigs—in the lords they surpassed it. Parties were so nearly balanced that the king could make either of them the stronger; and the Tories, who promised more liberality in voting supplies and less jealousy of the prerogative, won a share of his favour without acquiring much of his confidence.

A.D. 1690. On the 27th of January, William put an end to this convention parliament. Halifax had retired from office; Mordaunt, Delamere, Godolphin, Admiral Herbert, were dismissed, and the business of government was committed to Danby, who had been created Marquis of Caermarthen, to Nottingham, and Sir John Lowther, a dependant of Danby; and it was found that this Tory ministry had a Tory majority in the new parliament, which met on the 20th of March. Sir John Trevor, a bold and dexterous Tory, who had been speaker and master of the rolls under James, and who is said to have been the first to begin the practice of "*buying off men*," was elected speaker of the commons. Still, however, this ministerial majority was unsteady: the voting of Whigs and Tories (and it is not always easy to distinguish the one from the other) was wavering and uncertain; and, as happens wherever parties have not been thoroughly organized and drilled in parliamentary business, it was difficult to divine from one vote or motion what they would do next. And, besides, a certain degree of honour and good faith, though it be but as "the honour among thieves," is essential to party men; and of this two-thirds of the public men of that time seem to have been utterly incapable. In some respects the Tories answered to their engagements, seeming, as usual, more free in voting money than the Whigs. In his opening speech, William told them that his presence in Ireland would be absolutely necessary, and that he continued in his resolution of going thither as soon as possible. He spoke of his earnest endeavours to extinguish or compose all differences among his subjects, and of his frequently recommending an act of indemnity to the last parliament; and told them that, since part of it, which related to the preventing of private suits, was already enacted, and because there was now little time to spare for debate, he intended to send them an act of grace, with exception of some few persons only. The commons unanimously passed a vote of thanks, and pledged themselves to support the government of their present majesties, King William and Queen Mary. On the 27th of March (the seventh day of the session) they resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a supply be given to enable his majesty to prosecute the war against France and reduce Ireland with speed and vigour: and on the 28th they came to the following resolutions:—"1. That the hereditary revenues which the late King James was entitled to in December, 1688, became and are vested in their present majesties, in right of the crown of England, except the late revenue arising from fire-hearths and stoves. 2. That a bill be brought in to declare that the said revenues are so vested, and to make provision that they shall not be alienated from the crown, or charged with any gift or grant to be made for the future. 3. That a bill be brought in for settling for life that moiety of the excise which was granted to the late Kings Charles and James for their lives, with a clause to make the said revenue a security for raising money. 4. That a bill be brought in to grant to their majesties, for the term of four years from Christmas next, the customs which were granted to the late Kings Charles and James for their lives, with a clause to make the said revenue a security for raising money," &c. On the 1st of April, the amount of the supply for the public occasions, between that time and Michaelmas was fixed at

---

had determined to appoint no lord high-admiral or board of admiralty, and to keep the entire direction of his maritime affairs in his own hands; and this arrangement, which would now be thought, by men of all parties, unconstitutional and pernicious in the highest degree, was then generally applauded, even by people who were not inclined to see his conduct in a favourable light. How completely the relation in which the king stood to his parliament and to his ministers had been altered by the Revolution, was not at first understood, even by the most enlightened statesman. It was universally supposed that the government would, as in times past, be conducted by functionaries independent of each other, and that William would exercise a general superintendence over them all. It was also fully expected that a prince of William's capacity and experience, would transact much important business without having recourse to any adviser."—*Macaulay.*

£1,200,000: on the 2d, the sum to be raised on the credit of the bill or bills for settling the revenue as part of that supply was fixed at £1,000,000: on the 3d, it was agreed that the remaining £200,000 should be provided by another tax.

The measure which gave rise to the greatest debate in the lords was a bill brought in by the Whigs, and eventually carried, for recognizing and acknowledging that their majesties King William and Queen Mary "were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland," &c.: and also declaring all the acts made in the late convention parliament to be, to all intents and purposes, laws and statutes of the kingdom. This bill of recognition was easily passed through the commons, who, however, made a loud and firm resistance to another bill which was also introduced, in the lords, by the Whigs. This was the "Abjuration Bill," which provided that all persons in any employment or trust, ecclesiastical, civil, or military, should take an oath abjuring the late King James and his title to the crown. According to Lord Dartmouth, William was present during the whole of the debate in the upper house. Of late there had been a vast deal of swearing and forswearing—those useless ceremonies which attend all revolutionary changes. Lord Wharton said that he was a very old man, and had taken a multitude of oaths in his time, and hoped God would forgive him if he had not kept them all, for truly they were more than he could pretend to remember;[1] and he for one should be very unwilling to charge himself with more oaths at the end of his days. Lord Macclesfield, who had come over with William from Holland, said that he was much in the same case as Lord Wharton, though they had not always taken the same oaths; that he never knew oaths of any use but to make people declare against government that would have submitted quietly to it, if they had been let alone; that he himself had made very free with his oath of allegiance to King James, but should be loath to be under the temptation of breaking any more. Among the lords nearly every Tory opposed this abjuration bill, which was lost in the commons by a majority of 192 to 178. Hereupon the Earl of Shrewsbury, one of the stanchest of the revolutionists, resigned his places, seeing that the king was driven more and more to the Tories, and that Danby, now Marquis of Caermarthen, had gained more credit in the cabinet than he could tolerate. The party war of bills and counter-bills was continued with no lack of violence and vehemence. On the 20th of May, after William had given the royal assent to an act for the exercise of the government by her majesty during the king's absence, and to the act of reversing the *quo warranto* judgment against the city of London, &c., the lords, who had unanimously agreed in the great measure of policy and mercy so strongly recommended from the throne, sent down the following message to the commons, by Mr. Justice Eyre and Mr. Baron Turton:—"Mr. Speaker, his majesty has been pleased to send this bill, intituled 'An act for the king and queen's most gracious, general, and free pardon,' which the lords have passed and accepted, *nemine contradicente*, and now send it down to this house." To the honour of the commons, the roar of opposition was hushed; not a voice was raised against the healing measure, and the bill was immediately carried through all the forms of the house. Out of this act of grace or amnesty were excepted by name thirty-one individuals, of whom the most noted were the Marquis of Powis, the Lords Huntingdon, Sunderland, Dover, Melfort, and Castlemaine; the Bishops of Durham and St. David's; the Judges Herbert, Withens, Jenner, and Holloway; Sir Roger l'Estrange, Colonel Lundy, the false governor of Londonderry; Father Petre, the Jesuit; and George, Lord Jeffreys, *deceased.* [That firebrand had gone out like a snuff, in the Tower, where he died of disease on the 19th April, 1689.] On the very next day William went down to the lords, and, having witnessed the passing of the act of grace in the usual form, put an end to the session.

Twelve days after the prorogation, William left London for Ireland; and on the 14th of June he landed at Belfast with a force not very considerable in point of number, but perfect in discipline, appointment, spirit, and devotion to his cause. It included English, Scots, Dutch, Danes, and French; and, when it was joined to Schomberg's forces and the Protestant volunteers that flocked in from various parts of Ireland, it made up an army of 30,000 men. In the ten months that Schomberg had held the chief command, little had been done towards the reduction of that unhappy island. On his first landing he took Belfast, Carrickfergus, Newry, and Dundalk; but at the latter place he was brought to a stand by De Rosen, and about the middle of September King James came up in person with the remainder of his army, and obliged the old marshal to intrench himself at and round about Dundalk. The Jacobites endeavoured to force him to a battle, but they failed in their attempts. On the 27th of September Schomberg wrote to William, that the best thing he could do was to lie there on the defensive. On the other side, De Rosen would not venture an attack upon Schomberg's positions and intrenchments, and, as the bad weather set in, King James retired to Ardee and fortified himself there. Schomberg's forces lay, for the most part, out upon cold wet ground, and suffered severely. In the beginning of February James's natural son, the Duke of Berwick, who had most of the qualities of a good soldier, made an attack upon the advanced position of Schomberg at Belturbet; but he was worsted and nearly killed in the action, having his horse shot under him. In the month of May, Charlemont, which had been bravely defended by Sir Teague O'Regan, was forced by famine to surrender to the Protestants. And by this time the English fleet scoured St. George's Channel, carried provisions to Schomberg's half-famished troops, and took the only man-of-war James had, out of the very roadstead of Dublin, where it lay at anchor.

---

[1] The reader will remember, here, the parallel case of Prince Talleyrand.

CARRICKFERGUS.—From an old drawing in the King's Collection, British Museum.

His absolute dependency upon France showed the hopelessness of James's cause, and prevented many from joining it that were otherwise well disposed towards him. Louis was, as we have seen, in the greatest difficulties himself, and to him the war in Ireland was, and could be, nothing but a temporary diversion. Yet he now sent over 6000 men, some money, and some clothes for James's army. De Rosen having retired in despair or disgust, these French troops were intrusted to the Count de Lauzun, who, on his arrival in Ireland, assumed the chief command of the whole army. But Lauzun was incompetent and arrogant; he was constantly quarrelling with the Irish, and he found the French officers weary of the hard service in Ireland, and completely disheartened. Even in this situation were James's affairs when he was apprised that William had landed, and would soon be upon him. After various consultations and conflicting opinions, he resolved to advance as far as Dundalk, to eat up the forage thereabout, and preserve his own country behind him; and in pursuance of this plan he left Dublin on the 16th of June. Upon that day King William was at Belfast, attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford, Scarborough, and Manchester, Mr. Boyle, and many other persons of note, civilians as well as military, Irish as well as English. The preceding day, being Sunday, Dr. Rouse had preached before him on the text, "Through faith they have subdued kingdoms," upon which occasion William had said, "My chaplain has begun the campaign bravely." Two or three days after, he told his officers that he did not come there to let grass grow under his feet; and moving forward to Loughbrickland, he reviewed his whole army, and found it to consist of about 36,000 men, all in good order. From that point he marched towards Newry, and was so well pleased with the prospect of the country, that he said to those about him, "It is worth fighting for." In the meanwhile James had encamped behind the small river which runs into the sea at Dundalk, where he lay till the 23d of June, when he fell back upon Ardee. William, making a compass, crossed the hills between Newry and Dundalk; and on his approach on the 27th, James retired from Ardee to Dumlane, and on the 28th, to the left bank of the river Boyne. On the 29th James crossed the Boyne and took up an excellent position on the right bank. On the 30th William reached the Boyne, and found his enemies encamped along the river in two strong lines. He, however, resolved to force the passage on the morrow, and rode along the left bank to reconnoitre. While engaged in this service, the enemy brought two field-pieces to bear upon him, and at the first shot they killed a man and two horses that were very near him. This ball was presently followed by another, that had like to put a period to William's own life; for this second ball, having first grazed on the bank of the river, rising, *en ricochet*, slanted on the king's right shoulder, took out a piece of his coat and tore the skin and flesh, and afterwards broke the head of a gentleman's pistol. Lord Coningsby rode up to his majesty and clapped his handkerchief on the wound; but William said coolly that it needed not—that the ball should have come nearer to do him harm. But the enemy on the opposite side of the river, seeing that he stooped in his saddle, and that there was some disorder among those who attended him, joyfully concluded that he was killed, and this false report was conveyed with wonderful rapidity to Dublin, from Dublin to Paris, and from Paris to every capital in Europe. The rapturous joy felt by his enemies, and the grief and despair of his friends, were alike tributes to the merits of William, or proofs of how much was considered to depend upon his person. In the meantime, having got his flesh-wound dressed, he continued on horseback nearly the whole of that day. About nine at night he called his officers together, and declared that he would pass the river on the morrow. That day of slaughter soon dawned—it was the first of July, and the weather was beautifully clear. The *générale* was beat in the camp before day, and as soon as the sun was up, Schomberg and General Douglas moved with the right wing towards Slane. The Irish, by a corresponding movement, brought their left wing to Slane, but the English dashed into the river and forded it there. The wretched James had already sent off his baggage and all his cannon but six towards Dublin; and his left wing, after a smart fight, retreated before the horse, foot, and artillery of Douglas, who, with little loss, got a firm footing on the right bank of the Boyne. Nearly at the same time William made an attack on the pass at Old Bridge, and the Dutch blue guards, beating a march till they got to the water's edge, went in eight or ten abreast, and waded across with the water above their girdles. When they got into the middle of the stream they were saluted with a terrible peal by the Irish, who had lined the houses, hedges, and breast-works on the other side; but the Dutchmen went on, got a footing on the bank, formed in two lines, and soon drove the Irish from their intrenchments. The blue guards then advancing into the open fields, were set upon furiously by the Irish horse; but they stood close and firm, and, as other regiments came up to their assistance the Irish retired. At another point the Irish horse, who behaved very gallantly, drove a body of Danes and of French Protestants back into the river. Old Schomberg, perceiving this disorder, and that the French Protestants were left much exposed and without a commander, passed the river himself, in order to lead them. Pointing to the French Papists in James's ranks, he exclaimed to his Huguenots, "Allons, messieurs, voilà vos persécuteurs;" but he had scarcely said the word when he was slain, being shot through the neck by a fleeing party of James's horse-guards, or, "through a fatal mistake," by some of his own men.[2] When James was already edging off to the Dublin road William crossed the river, and, drawing his sword, not without pain, his arm being stiff from the wound he had received the day before, he marched at the head of the Enniskilleners and Dutch guards rapidly towards the enemy's centre, which, though somewhat confused, was as yet unbroken. Once, if not twice, William was driven back and put in imminent danger by the Irish horse and the French troops of Lauzun; but the Enniskilleners performed most manfully, Schomberg's horse came up, General Ginckel made some brilliant charges; and, in the end, James's army was beaten, right, left, and centre, and pushed off the field. The fleeing James got to Dublin that night, but he no longer considered himself safe there, and, travelling all night, he got to Duncannon about sunrise, and there embarked for France. Attempts have been made to give a different

THE BOYNE WATER, near the village of Old Bridge.[1]—From a view by A. Nicholl.

---

[1] This view represents the river near the spot where it was crossed by King William at the battle of the Boyne. The obelisk in the foreground was erected in 1736, in commemoration of the battle. It is 130 feet high, and bears a lengthy inscription.

[2] Another account is, that Schomberg was "said to be killed by Sir Charles O'Toole, an exempt of the guards, as he was passing the ford."—*Life of James.*

colouring to his conduct; but a cool examination of facts enforces the impression that he really ended as a coward the enterprise which he had begun and conducted like a fool.

The poor Irish, smarting under defeat, and forgetting other considerations, said, with some humour, that if the English would only change kings with them they would be glad to fight the battle of the Boyne over again. They and their French allies had lost about 1500 men in the battle and retreat, and among them some persons of note, as Lord Dangan, the Earl of Carlingford, Fitzgerald, Sir Neal O'Neal, the Marquis d'Hoquincour, Colonel Casanova, &c. Driven from the Boyne, they resolved to make a stand on the Shannon, where the standard of James still floated over the strong walls of Athlone and Limerick. Drogheda, at the mouth of the Boyne, surrendered the day after the victory, and on the 3d of July the Duke of Ormond, with nine troops of horse, secured Dublin for King William, who on the 4th marched that way with his whole army, and on the 8th rode in a triumphant manner into that capital, where the Protestants, and for the same sort of reasons, were as joyful as the Papists had been the year before at the arrival of King James. He went directly to the cathedral church of St. Patrick, now again restored to the Protestant faith, and returned thanks for his victory. On the 9th he marched away with part of his army southward, detaching General Douglas with another body to besiege Athlone. William reduced Waterford, Dungarvon, and other places in that neighbourhood without difficulty; but Douglas was obliged to raise the siege of Athlone by the movements of the bold and skilful Sarsfield. Nor was William himself more successful when he came to Limerick, where the Jacobites had concentrated the mass of their forces, and were commanded or instructed by French officers and engineers well skilled in the art of defending places. William invested Limerick on the 9th of August; and on the 30th he raised the siege to hasten back to England, where his presence had been several times much wanted. While he was fighting on the Boyne and Shannon, the French fleet had agreed to sail up the Thames, to give countenance and assistance to the Jacobites, who had engaged to rise in London, seize Queen Mary, and re-proclaim the legitimate sovereign, who, on his part, had promised to leave the war in Ireland to be managed by his generals, and to hasten to London with a part of his forces. A squadron of French galleys was to have landed some troops at Torbay, and then the whole French fleet united was to have prevented William's return from Ireland. But though the scheme was well laid—though some of William's naval commanders were ready to betray him—and though the Jacobites in London plotted might and main, the grand project fell to the ground because (among other reasons) the French fleet could not obtain or maintain the mastery of the narrow seas, and because James would not trust himself among his English subjects. But, had it not been for the Dutch fleet, the French might have ridden in triumph in the Thames and Medway, even as the Dutch themselves had done in the year 1667. On the 30th of June, the day before the battle of the Boyne, eighty-two men-of-war, bearing the flag of Louis, encountered an united fleet of English and Dutch off Beachy Head. The Dutch, who were in the van, fought bravely, and were as bravely seconded by some of the English; but the rest of the English shirked the action as much as they possibly could. The Dutch lost two admirals and a considerable number of men, and were obliged to sink several of their vessels to prevent their capture. The English that engaged did not fare much better, but several ships under our flag had neither given nor received a single shot. The French, however, had suffered so much in the battle, which lasted from morning till evening, that they were glad to seek the shelter of their own coast. It

BEACHY HEAD.—From a view by James Danby.

was suspected that the English officer in command, Admiral Herbert—now, through the gratitude of William for services rendered at the Revolution, Earl of Torrington—had gone back to the interests of King James. He was afterwards brought to trial and acquitted, being even praised by some for his caution and prudence in avoiding fighting at Beachy Head, and so sparing the fleet.[1] But whatever was the trim of his politics at this moment, it is proved beyond a doubt that subsequently Herbert maintained a close correspondence with the courts of St. Germain and Versailles.

Upon the departure of William from Ireland the conduct of the war there fell to General Ginckel, who retired from before the well-defended walls of Limerick to Clonmel. The Earl of Marlborough, though allied with the Princess Anne and a disaffected party that met at Sion House, and though regarded with suspicion and dislike by William and his queen, was eager to have a share in the glory or the profits of the Irish war; and, by means which are not very clearly explained, he actually got appointed to a command, and landed at Cork on the 21st of September, with about 5000 English troops, who were presently joined by about 4000 Danes, already in the country, under the command of the Duke of Würtemberg. Marlborough's mission was to take Cork and Kinsale, through which principally the Irish kept up their communications with France; and this duty he performed completely and with alacrity, returning to England with triumph in little more than a month. William, it is said, declared that he knew no man who had seen so little of war so fit to be a general as Marlborough.

KINSALE.—From a view by Willis, in Hall's Ireland.

After the departure of the luckless James the Irish and French quarrelled worse than before; and to make the confusion still more hopeless, the Irish themselves were split into two or three factions. Louis XIV. recalled his troops, and the Duke of Berwick went over to France in disgust and despair. On the approach of winter, a great part of the wasted country was like a hell: famine and disease, violence, murder, and all the darkest crimes held a horrible jubilee. The expedition of James had produced an amount of human misery which has been rarely equalled in any other country in modern times. The brave and active Sarsfield remained to carry on the war for James.

On the 2d of October William again met his parliament, having previously received congratulations on the success of his arms, from the city of London and from various other quarters. He told them it was too plain from what the French had done, and were doing, that if the present war were not prosecuted with vigour, England would be in the greatest danger: that he would lay before the commons a statement of what would be necessary for the proper support of the fleet and the army; and that he must recommend to their care the clearing of his revenue, so as to enable him to subsist and maintain the charges laid on the civil list. And he assured them that the support and success of the confederacy abroad, which was equally meant to defend the liberties of England and the integrity of the continental states from the encroachments of the French, would absolutely depend upon the speed and vigour of the English parliament.

The commons forthwith voted that a supply should be given to their majesties for the entire reduction of Ireland, for securing the peace of this kingdom, and carrying on a vigorous war against France. They proposed that £1,000,000 of this money should be raised upon the credit or by the sale of the estates forfeited in Ireland by those who had taken up arms for King James. This, in effect, would have included the estates of all the Papists; and prudential and merciful objections were offered. The commons, however, brought in a bill for attainting the persons that were or had been in rebellion either in England or Ireland, and for confiscating their estates and applying them to the use of the war; with a clause for reserving a portion of the forfeitures for his majesty's disposal. The lords let this bill sleep; and in spite of messages from the commons, it was finally allowed to drop. On the 25th of November, William told them that the posture of affairs abroad required his presence at the Hague before the end of the year, and that, consequently, he must desire them to expedite their further supplies. Altogether the money voted for the support of the ordnance—of the army, which was to consist of 69,000 men—and of the fleet, with 28,000 seamen—amounted to £4,000,000—the greatest sum that had as yet been voted by an English parliament. The commons presently after voted £500,000 more for the building of new ships of war.

---

[1] Notwithstanding this acquittal of the Earl of Torrington, William dismissed him from his service, promoted his rival Russell, and would never again admit Herbert into his presence. Lord Nottingham, then the only secretary of state, ascribed the miscarriage at Beachy Head expressly to the treachery of Herbert, who was accused either of treachery or cowardice by the whole Dutch fleet. On the 22d of July a French squadron got into Torbay, where they landed about 1000 men, who burned a village and some fishing-boats, and then returned to their ships, with the conviction that the people in the west of England were not at all disposed to rise for King James.

The Townhall at the Hague.
From an old view in the King's Collection, British Museum.

A.D. 1691. On the 5th of January, William took his leave of the parliament. In the course of his speech he said: "I think it proper to assure you that I shall not make any grants of the forfeited lands in England or Ireland till there be another opportunity of settling that matter in parliament, in such a manner as shall be thought most expedient." His departure from his promise—which, however, he never broke to the extent represented by his enemies—was one of the worst steps taken by William, and one that caused him most trouble in the sequel. On the 6th of January, while the Londoners were enjoying the festivities of Christmas, William set off on his journey. But the weather became most inclement: a severe frost set in, with strong and contrary gales of wind, and when he had got as far as Canterbury he was obliged to return. He remained at Kensington till the 16th, when he again set out in the midst of frost and snow. On the same day he embarked at Gravesend; and on the 18th, about noon, his convoy, consisting of twelve men-of-war and seven yachts, and having on board many persons of distinction, made the Dutch coast, after a troublesome and dangerous voyage.[1] On the next day William got to the neighbourhood of the Hague, where he was waited upon by the states-general, the states of Holland, the council, the public bodies, the foreign ministers, and an immense body of princes and confederates, who looked to him as their defender and champion against the victorious and insulting French. Among these princes and potentates were the Electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg; the Dukes of Zell and Wolfenbüttel; Prince Christian Louis of Brandenburg; the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; Prince Waldeck; the Prince of Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland; the Princes of Nassau-

---

[1] "The passage was tedious and disagreeable. . . . . . The sea fog was so thick that no land could be seen; and it was not thought safe for the ships to proceed farther in the darkness. William, tired out by the voyage, and impatient to be once more in his beloved country, determined to land in an open boat. The noblemen who were in his train tried to dissuade him from risking so valuable a life; but, when they found that his mind was made up, they insisted on sharing the danger. That danger proved more serious than they had expected. It had been supposed that in an hour the party would have been on shore. But great masses of floating ice impeded the progress of the skiff; the night came on; the fog grew thicker; the waves broke over the king and the courtiers. Once the keel struck on a sandbank, and was with great difficulty got off. The hardiest mariners showed some signs of uneasiness. But William through the whole night was as composed as if he had been in the drawing-room at Kensington. 'For shame,' he said to one of the dismayed sailors, 'are you afraid to die in my company?' A bold Dutch seaman ventured to spring out, and, with great difficulty, swam and scrambled through breakers, ice, and mud, to firm ground. Here he discharged a musket and lighted a fire as a signal that he was safe. None of his fellow-passengers, however, thought it prudent to follow his example. They lay tossing in sight of the flame which he had kindled, till the first pale light of a January morning showed them that they were close to the island of Goree. The king and his lords, stiff with cold and covered with icicles, gladly landed to warm and rest themselves."—*Macaulay.*

Saarbrück, Nassau-Dillenburg, and Nassau-Idstein; the Duke-administrator of Würtemberg; the two Princes of Anspach; the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, and his brother the Duke of Saxe-Eisenach; Prince Philip Palatine; the Duke of Zulsbach; the Prince of Würtemberg; the Duke of Courland; the Prince of Anhalt-Zeerborst; the Landgrave of Homberg; three Princes of Holstein-Beck; the Duke of Holstein; the Prince of Commerci; the Prince Palatine of Birkenfeldt; the Princess of Nassau-Friesland; the Princess of Radzevill; the Countess of Soissons; the Princess of Saxe-Eisenach; and others, attended by counts and barons far too numerous to name. William was no stage hero—no parading, dramatic prince: his manners were cold and retiring, his dress and personal bearing as simple as those of a plain Dutch or English gentleman; yet, though he was indifferent or averse to such pageantries, he consented to make a triumphal entrance into the Hague; and on the 26th the stadtholder-king rode under arches and through streets studded with inscriptions and hung with tapestry, while a congratulatory address, delivered in the town-hall, celebrated his late success, and welcomed his return. Before the cannon had done roaring, or the bonfires had burned themselves out, William proceeded to business; and in a day or two the assembled princes, and the other members of the confederacy represented by their ambassadors, sat as a congress to provide for their own security and the general independence of Europe.

CHAPTER III.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1691—1694.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

William's address to the confederacy—He unsuccessfully attempts to raise the siege of Mons—His campaign against Marshal Luxembourg—Progress of the war in Ireland—Its termination—Parsimonious economy of the House of Commons—Its unskilfulness in taxation—Changes of office in the ministry—Unsuccessful campaign of William on the Continent—Battle of Steinkirk—Conspiracy against the life of William detected—Naval victory over the French at La Hogue—Conduct of King James on the destruction of his fleet—Charges against the Earl of Marlborough—His imprisonment in the Tower—He is released—William opens the parliament—Marlborough's double-dealing—Intrigues of the Whigs and Tories—Bill passed for the exclusion of servants of the crown from the House of Commons—Bill for triennial parliaments discussed and passed—Remodelling of the administration—War with France continued—William defeated at Landen—The war of the French in the Palatinate—William's plans betrayed to the enemy—His project of an attack upon Brest—Causes of its failure—The French repair their naval losses—They capture and destroy the Smyrna fleet—Attempts in Scotland to restore King James—Quarrels and intrigues in the Scottish parliament—Measures proposed and passed in it—Stair, secretary of state for Scotland—Plan to tranquillize the Highlands—The massacre of Glencoe—William's principles and modes of government—Reverses of the English at sea—Renewed attempt upon Brest defeated—Recovery of the naval superiority of England—Continued reverses of the war by land—Death of Queen Mary.

WHILE William had been defeating the Jacobites and the French in Ireland, the Dutch and their allies had been wasting their time, or misdirecting their efforts on the Continent, and the French had gained a great victory over them at Fleurus in Flanders. The real head of the league, and life and soul of the confederacy, now told this congress that the imminent danger wherein they were thrown sufficiently showed the errors they had committed. He spoke broadly of the errors and vices which have been inherent in every coalition of the sort; and which, in spite of all his efforts, and the accumulated proofs of the fatal consequences, continued to vex him till his dying day. He told them that all parties in the confederacy ought to be persuaded that their respective interests were comprised in the general one; that the French were united, and were formidable in that union; that it was in vain to clamour and complain, or to trust to protests against their injustice; that it was not the resolutions upon paper of a diet or congress, nor the hopes of some men of fortune arising from frivolous foundations, but soldiers, strong armies, and a prompt and sincere union among all the forces of all the allies that must do the work, put a stop to the conquests of Louis, and snatch the liberty of Europe from his grasp. His speech gave courage to the desponding, and a momentary union to the conflicting elements of the coalition; and the congress resolved that 222,000 men in all should take the field. On the 5th of March, accompanied by the Duke of Zell and a great train of princes and nobles, he left the Hague for Loo; and in his way he learned that the French had invested the city of Mons. He immediately ordered all the Dutch troops that were in readiness to march into Flanders, and he soon after followed in person. His great rival, Louis, accompanied by the dauphin, the Duke of Orleans, and the Duke of Chartres, arrived before Mons five days after the siege began, and the mass of the French army was rapidly and skilfully concentrated upon that point. An immense quantity of artillery was brought to bear upon the walls of Mons; breaches were opened; a redoubt was carried sword in hand; the inhabitants threatened to rise against the garrison; and the governor capitulated on the 20th of April, before William could collect the Spanish troops in Flanders and his other dilatory allies. After the fall of Mons he hastened back to England, where more than one conspiracy had been detected during his absence. He got the English fleet to sea under the command of Admiral Russell; and filled up *at last* the bishoprics which were held to be vacated by the prelates that would not take the oaths of his government. Dr. Tillotson became Archbishop of Canterbury; and, generally speaking, the vacated bishoprics were filled with men superior in learning, morality, and decency to those who had displaced themselves by refusing the oaths. But this fact did not, of course, moderate the complaints of the Nonjurors, who contrived to disturb and vex the queen, though they could never irritate William into a persecution.

By the 1st of May the king was again on his way to Holland. Some English levies had already been sent over—others went with him; and he was attended by Lord Sidney, secretary of state, and the Earls of Marlborough and Portland. Ever since the beginning of the year Marlborough had been corresponding with King James, expressing in unqualified terms his contrition for his past conduct, and his anxiety to make amends to his dethroned sovereign and benefactor. Together with his friend Godolphin, he had made, and was actually making, communications of the state of public affairs and domestic transactions in England. Yet Marlborough was treated with every show of esteem and confidence by King William; and, so soon as he was on the Continent, he attracted universal admiration by his talent for military affairs. At the head of about 70,000 men William advanced to the capital of Spanish Flanders, covered Brussels, which was threatened by the main body of the French army, under Marshal Luxembourg, forced that able general to retire, and then advanced to the Sambre, and crossed that river, with the view of engaging Luxembourg in a pitched battle. Luxembourg, who was outnumbered, but whose army was one consonant whole, while the army of William was made up of many parts, and those so heterogeneous that they could scarcely be kept together, retreated, marched and countermarched, and baffled every attempt to bring him to action. William gave up the command to the Prince of Waldeck, and retired in September to his hunting-seat, the Loo, near Apeldoorn, in Gelderland, whence, after a fortnight's diversion, he repaired to England. In other quarters the success of the war was various. The French were successful in Catalonia; but on the side of Savoy and Italy they were beaten by Prince Eugene of Savoy, who now began to display those qualities which afterwards made him the compeer of Marlborough. The Emperor Leopold, who was the nominal, as William was the real head of the league, was made easy on one of his frontiers by a sanguinary defeat given, at Salankement, on the Danube, to the Turks, who had been excited to a new war chiefly through French diplomacy.

But in Ireland the campaign had been decisive. The Dutch general, Ginckel, reinforced by some excellent troops from Scotland, took the town of Athlone, beat the French generals at Aghrim, and carried everything before him. After this great victory, Galway surrendered. Limerick stood a siege, but was reduced to capitulate by the 3d of October. This successful siege put an

LIMERICK, King John's Castle and old Thomond Bridge.
From a view by Creswick, in Hall's Ireland.

end to the war. By the articles of capitulation, the garrison of Limerick were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, with their arms and baggage, and either to embark for France or enter the service of King William, at their option. Of 14,000 or 15,000 Irish soldiers, about 10,000 chose to embark for France, where they entered the service of Louis XIV., and became that gallant corps so constantly mentioned in the wars as "the Irish brigade." But, though the army of England had been so triumphant in Ireland, her fleet had scarcely done more under Russell than they had done the preceding year under Herbert — and precisely for the same reason, or because the commander was lukewarm in the cause, and actually corresponding with the court of St. Germain. Russell, during his long cruise, scarcely fired a shot; and the maritime trade of England was almost ruined by French privateers.

William met his parliament on the 22d of October, and then called for more troops and for more ships; but all those who had been shut out of the "court pasture" set themselves in strong opposition to every money bill. The commons complained loudly of the abuses and peculations of officers in the army, of officers in the navy, of commissioners, of men in office, and of the servants of government generally; they challenged the right of inspecting all public accounts whatsoever; and the party out of place had the enthusiastic generosity to propose that all the profits arising from any place in the gift of the crown, either by salary, fee, or perquisite, above and beyond £500 per annum, should be applied to the charge of the war, with an exception in favour of the speaker of the House of Commons, the commissioners of the great seal, the judges, ambassadors and ministers residing at foreign courts, and the officers of the fleet and army. It is scarcely necessary to pause to explain how soon the wheels of this mighty move came to a dead-lock, or how it was demonstrated that the three kingdoms could not furnish persons disinterested enough to serve the public for £500 a-year. In the course of the months of November and December supplies of unprecedented magnitude were voted "for the carrying on a vigorous war against France." For the service of the navy they voted £1,575,898; for that of the army £1,935,787, to be paid by England, and £165,000 to be taken out of the revenue of Ireland. The army was to be raised to 65,000 men, exclusive of officers.

A.D. 1692. Several new taxes were imposed, and the odious poll-tax was revived, by which all persons, except children, servants, and paupers, were to pay 1*s.* every quarter; every gentleman of £300 a-year, 20*s.* a-quarter: every person worth £300, 10*s.*; every beneficed clergyman or teacher worth £80 a-year, 20*s.*; every lord of parliament, £10; and Nonjurors double. Two things are here made apparent—the great expensiveness of a continental war, and the unskilfulness of the legislature in the art of taxation. The very name of poll-tax had always been odious to the English people; but perhaps the unpopularity excited by it was the reason why many men in parliament voted for the bill.

On the 29th of February the parliament was prorogued. Several important changes were made in court and cabinet; and these changes were almost entirely in favour of the Tory party, or of the trimmers, who could be Whigs and Tories by turns. The Earl of Rochester—maternal uncle to Queen Mary, and the head of the high-church party, Lord Ranelagh, Lord Cornwallis, and Sir Edward Seymour—who had opposed the king in everything, were brought into the privy council, and the Earl of Pembroke was made lord privy-seal. Pelham, a Whig, was turned out to make room for Mr. Montague, the ablest head of the Tory party. A damp fell upon the whole Whig party, and not a few of them were suddenly converted into flaming Jacobites. But, before these appointments, the Earl of Marlborough, who called himself a Tory, was suddenly disgraced and dismissed from all his employments, and prohibited from appearing at court. As the Princess Anne espoused the cause of the husband of her friend, and joined Lady Marlborough in styling William "a monster," "a Dutch abortion," &c., the bitter quarrel between her and her sister, the queen, which had begun with the new reign, became irreconcilable. Various reasons were assigned for Marlborough's disgrace. Some said that it was owing to his excessive taking of bribes, covetousness, and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers;[1] others said that he was endeavouring to breed divisions in the army;[2] while others again held that he was undone by the jealousy of Bentinck, Lord Portland, and the hatred of King William's favourite lady or mistress, Mrs. Villiers, afterwards Lady Orkney.[3] On the 5th of March William embarked for the Continent, and was soon with the grand army of the confederacy, which was assembled near Louvain. On the 20th of May Louis XIV. joined the French army, which was still commanded by Luxembourg, who had with him the celebrated Vauban, the greatest military engineer of the time. On the 29th of May the French opened the trenches before Namur, which strong place surrendered on the 30th of June, William being unable to relieve it, through various causes. After this disappointment William failed in an attempt to surprise Mons, and Louis went back in triumph to Paris. On Sunday, the 24th of July, the allies brought the French under Luxembourg to a general action near Steinkirk. Count Solmes, one of the Dutch generals, behaved infamously, and was the main cause of the loss of the battle, remaining inactive on the field. William brought up in person a strong body of infantry, and an unequal and most desperate fight was continued for nearly three hours, the English and French occasionally fighting with their muskets muzzle to muzzle. In the end, William was obliged to retreat before Luxembourg, who had been strengthened by some fresh troops brought up at a critical moment by Boufflers. The retreat was effected with excellent order, the English grenadiers covered the rear, and the French infantry scarcely venturing near enough to fire a shot. The carnage on both sides was tremendous, amounting, it is said, to 5000 killed on the side of the allies, and nearly as many on that of the French. The brave and devout Mackay, Sir Robert Douglas, and General Sir John Lanier, fell in the thickest of the battle. There was still an observable want of strict discipline and proper military training among them; but the headlong intrepidity which the British infantry displayed on this memorable day raised them and their country in the estimation of their foreign king. Though Luxembourg claimed a victory, he could not deny that he had sustained a perilous surprise, and he was in no condition to follow up his advantages. Little or nothing was done in this campaign after the battle of Steinkirk; but in the month of August a detestable conspiracy against the life of William was discovered through the skill of one Leefdale, a Dutchman. M. de Grandval, a captain of dragoons in the French service, was arrested at Eindhoven, and brought to trial before a military court, where he and one Dumont, his accomplice, confessed that King James, at St. Germain, in the presence of the queen, had engaged him to shoot King William. De Grandval was shot in the allied camp, and William proclaimed to the world the guilt of James and the connivance of Louis, by publishing the confession of the hired assassin. Neither the court of St. Germain nor that of Versailles replied to the foul accusation, though great pains were afterwards taken to exculpate James, who himself explicitly denied participation in any of the schemes which were repeatedly proposed to him for *killing* William. But the weight of this royal denial, and the arguments of the Jacobites, fall to the ground before the documentary evidence which has been produced in our own days from the friendly obscurity of the archives of Versailles; and M. Mazure, by proving that James subsequently employed conspirators against the person of William, has made it more than probable that he had employed this Grandval, or at least sanctioned his foul attempt.[1]

---

[1] Evelyn, *Diary*.

[2] Letter from Lord Basil Hamilton to the Duke of Hamilton, in *Dalrymple*, Appendix.

[3] *Account of the Conduct of the Duchess of Marlborough, &c.*

If France had been victorious in the Low Countries this year, she had felt the shame and the mischief of foreign invasion on her own frontiers in the south. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, accompanied by Schomberg—son of the old marshal who fell at the battle of the Boyne—and his small body of English, rushed into Dauphiné, crossed the Durance, took several towns, levied large contributions, burned eighty châteaux and villages, and threatened Grenoble, and even Lyons, the second city in the kingdom. But the great blow of the year was struck by British sailors.

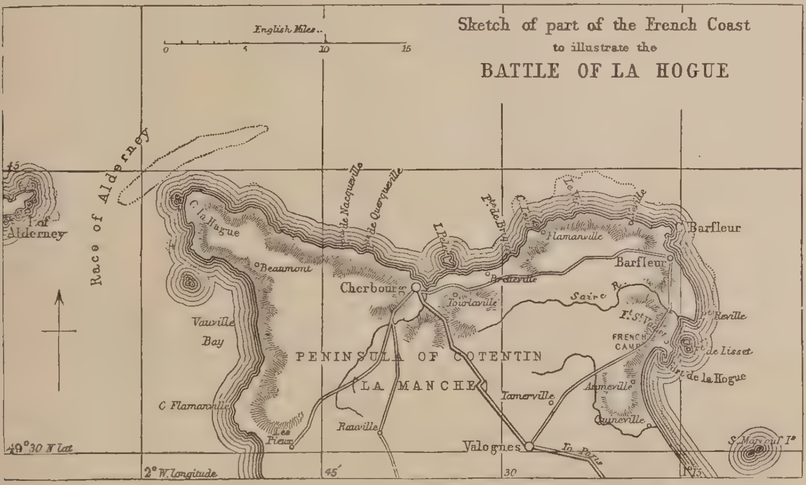
Shortly after the departure of William for the Continent, the French began to collect a large fleet of men-of-war and transports to carry over King James and a formidable army for the invasion of England, where the Jacobites were full of insolent hope, and, encouraged by William's absence, were plotting and combining with wonderful activity. In some of the northern counties, where the Papists were numerous, considerable numbers of men were enlisted for the service of the dethroned king, who by the month of April reached the port of La Hogue, where he lay surrounded by a considerable army of French, Irish, and English refugees, all ready to embark. At this dangerous crisis several avowed Jacobites, including Lord Middleton, the Lords Griffin and Dunmore, Sir John Fenwick, and Colonels Slingsby and Sackville, were taken into custody; and on the 5th of May the Earl of Marlborough was suddenly arrested and conveyed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Warrants were also issued against the Earls of Huntingdon and Scarsdale, and Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester. The Princess Anne herself expected to be put in durance; and she had some grounds for this apprehension, seeing that she had been making overtures to her dethroned father.[2]

---

[1] Note, Sur une Conjuration contre la Personne de Guillaume III. In Appendix to *Histoire de la Révolution de* 1688 *en Angleterre*, par F. A. J. Mazure.

[2] Anne, it appears, never wrote to her father till there was an appearance that he must succeed in his new enterprise and recover his lost kingdoms. Then she deemed it necessary to avert the wrath of the parent she had abandoned, and expressed her concern for his misfortunes, the sense of her own unhappiness, and her long-nourished wishes of redeeming her fault by undoing all that had been done.—See her letter in the *Memoirs of James*. Dalrymple says, boldly, "At length all things were settled; and the French king got assurances that the army would be directed by Marlborough, the fleet by Russell, and a great part of the church by the Princess Anne." And upon the evidence of the papers collected by Dalrymple and Mazure, of the Stuart MSS., and of other documents which have been suc-

On the same day that Marlborough was sent to the Tower, Admiral Russell set sail from the Downs in search of the French fleet at La Hogue. Off Beachy Head Russell was joined by the squadrons of Carter and Delaval, who had been watching the French ports, and by a portion of the Dutch fleet; so that altogether he was at the head of ninety-nine men-of-war, the greatest force that had been seen in the Channel since the Spanish Armada. On the 19th of May he discovered the French fleet off Cape Barfleur, bearing down upon him full sail. The French admiral, the Count de Tourville, who it appears did not know that Russell had effected his junction with the Dutch, kept his course and actually engaged, though at long shots, with only sixty-three ships. The loose combat lasted from ten in the morning till five in the evening, when the French towed away with all their boats, and the English after them. At six there was a fresh engagement, but a fog fell, and under its cover the French made for the westward. It appears either that De Tourville counted upon the superior sailing qualities of his ships, or that he still was ignorant of the amount of the force at sea against him, and from various causes, including treachery, perhaps, many ships of the allied fleet had neither come into battle nor hove in sight. During the night there was a calm with heavy fogs, which lasted nearly till noon of the following day, when the greater part of the French fleet was seen about two leagues in advance of the English and Dutch. Soon it grew calm again, and all came to anchor on the coast, the pursued being still considerably in advance of the pursuers. But on the morning of the 21st there was a brisk breeze, if not a rough gale, and as the English and Dutch advanced they discovered part of the French fleet making into the "Race of Alderney," a narrow strait between the island of Alderney and that part of the French coast which forms the peninsula of Cotentin.



That channel, though safe in calm weather, and deep enough for the passage of the largest ships, is very dangerous in stormy weather, owing to irregular and conflicting currents. The Dutch and the blue squadron of the English, who pursued to the mouth of the Channel, hesitated about engaging in it, and finally stood off and allowed all the French ships that entered it to escape.[1] For this Sir John Ashley, admiral of the blue, was called to account in parliament, but was honourably acquitted. Sir Ralph Delaval, vice-admiral of the red, who was foremost of the rest of the allied fleet that had kept their course without turning to the Race of Alderney, was more successful; for, off Cape de Wick, near Cherbourg, he found, dismasted or stranded, De Tourville's ship, the *Soleil Royal*, of 119 guns, the *Admirable*, of 102 guns, the *Conquérant*, of eighty guns, and three smaller rates, and Delaval

---

cessively brought to light, we may also venture to say that there was something very like an arrangement of this kind. It should be remarked, however, that in some respects Admiral Russell was rather a bad politician than a bad or selfish man. In his correspondence with the exiled king he had insisted on terms and concessions all favourable to the liberties of his country, and which, indeed, if James had been restored, and had observed them (which he never would have done), would have converted the government of England into a republic.

[1] "So," says Burnet, "twenty-six of them, whom if Ashley had pursued, by all appearance he had destroyed them, got into St. Malo." Though acquitted by parliament, Ashley was not acquitted by the nation.

burned and destroyed them all. Eighteen French ships of the line which had hauled for the Hogue, got safe in, between the forts De Lisset and De la Hogue, and before Admiral Russell came up they had been allowed time to provide for their defence. The ships were drawn up as far upon the shallows as tides and cables would bring them, and so left aground with their broadsides to the enemy; platforms and batteries, *à fleur de l'eau*, were raised on shore, and planted with all the artillery of the army intended for the invasion of England; *chaloupes* filled with infantry were stationed among the shoals and along the beach; and upon the heights behind stood the whole army, with King James, the Duke of Berwick, the Marshal de Bellefonde, and other great officers. When Russell discovered these dispositions he lay to, and sent Vice-admiral Rooke, on the 22d, to attempt the destruction of the ships. This was the really brilliant part of the battle of La Hogue; and most brilliantly was it performed. Rooke advanced with some light frigates and nearly all the open boats of the fleet, the ships of the line being unable to approach on account of the shallow water. He stationed his frigates as near as he could, and then trusted to the men in the boats, who had only a general order to board and burn, and do the best they could. The brave sailors pulled away and handled nothing but their oars, while they were assailed by a terrible fire of ship guns, cannons, and musketry both from shore and ships. But when they got alongside they threw away oars and muskets, and, with a tremendous huzza, with their cutlasses in their hands, they boarded, carried the ships, and pointed their guns against the French *chaloupes* and their forts on shore. They burned six ships of the line that night; and, renewing their attack on the following morning, they totally destroyed all the rest, together with a number of transports and merchant vessels. James witnessed all this destruction; and it is said that, in the heat of the fight, his nationality, or the force of habit, so far overcame all other considerations, that he exclaimed, involuntarily, "See my brave English sailors!" While some of the ships were burning to the water's edge, several of their loaded guns, which had not been discharged, went off and killed some of those who attended upon him. James then said—"Heaven fights against me!" and he retired, in utter hopelessness, to his tent, whence he soon repaired to St. Germain to his wife, Mary of Este, who, on the 28th of June, was delivered of a daughter. He wrote to the abbot of the monks of La Trappe—"We have not yet suffered enough for our sins—I mean myself and my subjects. . . . You have left the world to work your salvation—happy are those who can do it—those are the only people I envy." But, in spite of these pious declarations, James still longed after his earthly crown, and he continued to renew his efforts in every possible way, for several years, though, after the battle of La Hogue, he never could have entertained a rational hope of success.

Twenty-four days after the victory, the Earl of Marlborough was liberated from the Tower. The ground of his arrest was this:—One Robert Young, then a prisoner in Newgate for the non-payment of a fine, knowing something of the suspicions entertained by the government of King William, and of the parties who were Jacobites, lodged an information that there were treasonable papers secreted in the house of Bishop Sprat, at Bromley, in Kent. A search-warrant was issued, and, besides several letters bearing the signature of Marlborough, there was found an act of association, which bore the signatures of Marlborough, Scarsdale, the bishop, Lord Cornbury, and Sir Basil Firebrace, who, according to the deed, undertook to restore King James. As soon as he was in the Tower, Marlborough declared to the Earl of Devonshire that the papers were forged, and made use of only to keep him in prison. Young, the accuser, bore a bad character; and, when he was confronted with Bishop Sprat, it was made to appear that, having an extraordinary talent in imitating handwritings, he had forged all the letters, signatures, &c. Upon this, the bishop and the others implicated were dismissed, with the exception of Marlborough; and, after the defeat of the French fleet had dissipated the alarm of invasion, Queen Mary and the government set free a number of noted Jacobites, who had been arrested as a measure of precaution, without any explicit charge true or false. Though they did not declare the fact, the government no doubt knew, upon other testimony than that of the papers found at Bromley, that Marlborough was to be distrusted and feared. Yet his detention, after the release of the others, was very short; for, on the 15th of June, he was admitted to bail on the sureties of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Carberry, and Mr. Boyle. On the 23d of June, however, his own name, and the names of two of his bail, Shrewsbury and Halifax, were struck out of the list of privy counsellors. At the beginning of Michaelmas Term, Marlborough and his sureties applied for a discharge from their recognizances; but the Court of King's Bench refused, and they were obliged to wait for the meeting of parliament.[1]

King William returned from the Continent on the 19th of October, and was received by the people with acclamations. The atrocious design of assassination had raised him wonderfully in

---

[1] *Ralph;* Coxe, *Life of Marlborough.*

THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.

When William III. declared war against France, Admiral Russell left Beachy Head with ninety-nine ships to search for the French fleet, and on 19th May, 1692, he discovered it off Cape Barfleur. The engagement which ensued was somewhat desultory—the French ships running away and the English fleet pursuing them. Several of the enemy's vessels were dismasted or burned, but, on the night of the 21st, eighteen of their ships-of-the-line found shelter beneath the forts of La Hogue. Next morning the English, under Vice-Admiral Rooke, determined to advance in open boats into the shallow water, fight their way on board, and burn the French vessels. Accordingly, they pulled steadily towards the shore under a terrible fire both from ships and forts, boarded the stranded vessels, drove the Frenchmen overboard, and pointed the captured guns against the enemy's forts and shallops. Six ships-of-the-line were burned that night, and on the following day the remainder of the fleet was destroyed.

THE BATTLE OF LA HOGUE

DESTRUCTION OF THE FRENCH FLEET, 22ND MAY, 169

ROM THE PICTURE BY BENJAMIN WEST, P.R.A., IN THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTERS COLLECTION.

the popular affection. On the 4th of November he opened the parliament in person, in a gracious speech, in which there was more warmth of feeling than he usually displayed. At a very early period of the session, attention was drawn to the case of those who had been prisoners in the Tower. Marlborough, Scarsdale, and Huntingdon complained, in their places in the House of Lords, of the treatment they had received, and of the conduct of the judges who had refused to discharge them from their bail, or bring them to trial, conformably to the habeas corpus act. The Earl of Shrewsbury, one of Marlborough's sureties, supported the appeal, and represented Marlborough as ungratefully and unjustly used. The debate was vehement and prolonged, but the king terminated the business by discharging the accused himself, and the ministers were exonerated by a bill of indemnity. Marlborough renewed his intrigues with the agents of James, begging all the while employment from William, who, however, thought it not for the good of the service to intrust the command of any of his troops to him, and who would never employ him until he was convinced that it was his *interest* to be faithful. Under a less magnanimous prince, and any government less controlled by the law, Marlborough would not have lived to be the hero of Blenheim, but would have perished on a scaffold. The other business of this session of parliament was exceedingly interesting. The war of parties was carried on with great acrimony. The Tories attempted to ruin the Whig admiral, Russell, who, as was supposed by many that were of neither faction, had not done all that he ought in the battle of La Hogue; and the Whigs attempted to unseat the Tory secretary of state, Lord Nottingham. The Whigs had the advantage in the House of Commons, which declared that Admiral Russell had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct: but the Tories prevailed in the lords; and the king, who had been offended by several things in the debate, and who very possibly knew something of Russell's intercourse with the court of St. Germain, dismissed the Whig admiral and retained the Tory secretary.[1]

The Whig majority in the commons, on the 13th of December, ordered a bill to be brought in which made the people wonder, for nine days or a little more, at the disinterestedness of the out-of-place patriots. It proposed nothing less than the banishing all the servants of the crown from the House of Commons. It was entitled "A bill touching free and impartial proceedings in parliament," and its substance was, that all members of the house should be held incapable of places of trust or profit under the crown; and that any member that accepted a place should, by the fact, lose his seat, and be barred from any re-election. And, strange as it may appear, this bill actually passed, with little or no difficulty, in a house that was unusually full of military officers and placemen.[2] It was carried up to the lords on the 22d of December, while the supplies were yet depending, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the court party, it was there committed by a majority of nine. In the committee it was still triumphant; and even on the report forty-two peers voted for it and only forty against it; but the scale was turned by the proxies, of which the court had seven and the opposition only three; so that the bill, for the present, was rejected by a majority of two. The ministers considered this an escape rather than a victory; and their opponents, including the Princess Anne's husband, Marlborough (who was absolutely pining for place), the Duke of Cumberland, and the Earls of Warrington, Thanet, Weymouth, Danby, Rivers, Sandwich, Mulgrave, and others, entered a strong protest; and Mulgrave, as a parting blow, printed his able and eloquent speech, "which was everywhere received as if it had been a new revelation."[3]

Before the ministry had recovered from the panic occasioned by the place bill, Marlborough's friend, the Earl of Shrewsbury, brought in the celebrated "Bill for Triennial Parliaments," which provided for annual sessions and a fresh election every three years. After the example exhibited in Charles II.'s time of a seventeen years' House of Commons, it seemed necessary to fix the duration of the representative body, and three years were judged a proper medium term, appearing sufficient to establish a control of the electors over their representatives, without having recourse to the scheme of annual parliaments, which men who aimed at a still more popular form of government were then, as at later periods, most anxious to recommend. But the more immediate object of the movers of the bill was to procure the dissolution of the present parliament, which had already sat three years, wanting a few weeks. The opponents of the bill represented that, during so critical a war, it was not advisable to venture on a new general election, since we had so many among us who were so ill affected to the present government. But, in spite of these representations, and all the efforts of the court party, the triennial bill passed the lords. When sent down to the commons, it encountered considerable opposition. It was represented that such a bill did not come properly from the upper house, who were not to be affected by it. The motion for a second reading was, however, carried, and the bill was then committed. Several alterations were suggested in committee. The term of dissolution for the sitting parliament was extended from the 1st of January to the 24th of March, which secured another session. The question being put for the third reading, it was carried by 200 against 161, after which the bill was passed and sent back to the lords; and they having concurred in the amendments, nothing was wanting save the royal assent to make it law. But this assent William refused; thus venturing on an exercise of prerogative, which no ordinary circumstances could reconcile either with prudence or with a constitutional administration of the government.[1] The circumstances of the times, however, were not ordinary, but most extraordinary, and in them must be found a justification, or at least an excuse, for his conduct in this and in other particulars.

---

[1] We have said that Admiral Russell was not altogether a selfish man. But this must be taken comparatively. There are papers that tell strongly against his disinterestedness. In a letter addressed to the king, and dated the 10th of May, 1691, Russell complained of ill usage, and reproached his sovereign for not having added to his appointments, which at that moment he confesses were not under £3000 a-year. He also complains grievously of his sisters being left without one pension, and of his brother, a lieutenant-colonel of horse, being "forced to quit the service, and *seek a subsistence by marrying an old widow.*"—*Dalrymple*, Appendix.

[2] Burnet says that "whereas King Charles's Long Parliament was called the Pension Parliament, so they called this the Officers' Parliament; because many that had commands in the army were of it: and the word they gave out among the people was, that we were to be governed by a standing army and a standing parliament."

[3] *Ralph.*

A.D. 1693. After passing various bills—some good, some indifferent, and some decidedly bad—and after receiving very liberal supplies, which could only be provided for by still-augmenting taxation—William prorogued parliament on the 14th of March, alleging that the state of affairs on the Continent required his presence abroad. By this time it was evident to William that he could not govern with a Tory majority in the cabinet, and that the game which he had proposed, from the first, of balancing the two parties, would be both difficult and uncertain. He therefore withdrew his countenance from the obnoxious Earl of Nottingham, who had figured in a manner as prime minister; appointed the ultra-Whig, Trenchard (who had been engaged in Monmouth's rebellion), secretary in lieu of Sidney; and, still further to conciliate the Whigs, he on the same day made Sir John Somers, then attorney-general, and one of the purest names the party can boast, lord-keeper of the great seal—an appointment which was both popular and judicious. The admiralty, the commissioners of which had discontented, if they had not betrayed the nation, was remodelled, and Sir Cloudesley Shovell, an excellent officer and an honest man (at least for the time), was placed at the head of the board.[2]

Early in April William was again with the allied army, which was once more concentrated near Louvain. Louis XIV. was with the French army; but as soon as William had disconcerted his manœuvres to fall upon Liege or Brussels, he returned to Paris, and left the care of the war to Luxembourg and Boufflers. Luxembourg brought up his forces to Meldert, within half a league of William's position; but neither would venture an attack, and the two armies lay looking at each other. After a skirmish, in which the allies had the advantage, the French made a sudden move towards Liege; but they were again disappointed, for William had thrown ten battalions of fresh troops into that place. Giving up the idea of an assault or a siege, Luxembourg, after some able manœuvres, put William in such a position that he must either fight with an inferior force, or abandon the towns of Brabant to the French. Although he was expecting every day to be joined by some of his dilatory allies, William resolved to risk the battle, notwithstanding the great superiority of the French in point of number; and on the 29th of July he fought and lost the famous battle of Landen. But he lost ground without losing honour: he displayed the greatest activity and bravery during the battle; and he conducted the retreat with a skill which forced an involuntary homage of admiration from his enemies. The loss was nearly equal, being estimated at about 9000 on either side in killed and wounded. Among the slain on the side of the allies was Count Solmes, who had misbehaved at Steinkirk; and, on the side of the French, the gallant Sarsfield, who had fought so bravely for King James in Ireland. In a few days, when William was joined by the Duke of Würtemberg, whom he had been expecting, and by the troops which he had detached to Liege, he again offered battle: but now he had the superiority in number, and Luxembourg had the ability not only to avoid being forced into action, but to take Charleroi almost under the eyes of the allied army; and thus ended this year's campaign in the Low Countries. At Paris *Te Deums* were sung, and nothing was spoken of but victories; but it was evident to thinking men that the tide of fortune was changing—that William was not disconcerted or discouraged—and that Louis, after bloody battles and a most ruinous expenditure, was not able to *entamer* the United Provinces.[3]

---

[1] Hallam, *Constitutional History.*

[2] Killigrew and Delaval were joined with Shovell in the command of the fleet; and both were suspected upon very good grounds.

[3] *Life of William*, by Defoe; Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.: Ralph; Coke.*

In another direction the French gained some advantages, but at the same time covered themselves with infamy. The Marshal Delorges crossed the Rhine, and invested Heidelberg, the unfortunate capital of the luckless Palatinate, which was taken by storm and delivered up to savage fury, to lust, and rapine. Louis, Prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperial forces, said that he was come from a war against the Turks, to find that Frenchmen, calling themselves Christians, could be greater barbarians than the infidels. But Louis, the most Christian king, did not fail to order the Archbishop of Paris to sing the *Te Deum* for the capture of Heidelberg, nor did that prelate hesitate to obey the order. Louis boasted that this conquest would give a freer entrance to his troops into the heart of the empire; but Delorges could not force the passage of the Necker, and, after sustaining several repulses, he was obliged to retreat into France. Beyond the Alps the allies, consisting of Savoyards, Piedmontese, Spaniards, and a few English under Schomberg, and commanded by the Duke of Savoy, Prince Eugene, the Count de Caprara, the Count de las Torres, and the Marquis de Leganez, were defeated on the 4th of October, at Marsaglia, in the plains of Piedmont, by the French under Catinat. But that marshal was so weakened in that hard-fought battle as to be unable to do anything else, and the French found themselves effectually shut out from Turin and from other places which they had expected to take by *coups de main.*[1]

King James, or the writer of his memoirs, says that, after the battle of La Hogue, his most Christian majesty, "to show that he was neither dejected nor disabled by that loss, notwithstanding the expense of the war, gave orders for rebuilding as many ships as had been burned, which, in a year's time, was done accordingly, of the same bulk and burden, to the great admiration of the riches, power, and economy of his state." This statement is not far from the truth; but, if William had been served as he ought to have been, the case would have been different; at least there is reason to believe that if Russell, Delaval, and the rest, had done their duty, most of the old French ships would have been destroyed, and the new ones either burned on the stocks or prevented from getting to sea. Good plans were formed by William for this end, but they were all either betrayed to the enemy or frustrated in execution under rogues and cowards. A short time before the battle of La Hogue and the French preparations to invade England, William had intended to make an attack upon Brest, the chief port which Louis had on the ocean, and, if he did no more, to destroy all the shipping there. The project was entirely his own: he communicated it to none save some of his ministers; but *they* betrayed the secret to the French court.[2] After the battle of La Hogue the project of an attack upon Brest and a descent on the French coast was revived, and William proposed that it should be made on a much grander scale than had been previously contemplated; and that the fleet should carry a land army of 10,000 men, horse and foot. It was calculated that, with this force all the arsenals and dockyards of France might be destroyed; and the popular mind was excited beyond measure. The troops were embarked in transports, and were left, *unprotected*, to seek Admiral Russell, who was at sea; they, however, fell in with the fleet off St. Malo: but then, instead of proceeding to action, they lost time in debates and councils of war. which are almost ever the signals and the causes of failure. As it had happened before, and as it has repeatedly happened since, more particularly in our expeditions to the French coast, the sea officers and the land officers disagreed, and Russell pretended everything to be difficult and dangerous; and after the troops had been on board for some four or five days, he brought them back without doing anything. During the autumn and winter the English fleet lay inactive, not even giving convoy to the merchant vessels, some of which had been detained in port with their cargoes on board for many months. But the French, in the meanwhile, had made immense exertions; new ships of war were launched, old ones repaired, and, by the month of May, they had effected what was always a difficult and critical point —the junction of their fleet from Toulon, in the Mediterranean, with that of Brest, on the ocean. In the beginning of the present year (1693) the English government promised a convoy to the fleet of merchantmen destined for the Mediterranean and the Levant, and which was then called the "Smyrna fleet." But when the appointed moment came, ministers represented that, on account of the immense value of the property embarked, those trading vessels must wait for a stronger convoy than that which had been prepared; and in the month of February new excuses were made, and they did not sail until the French had got into the best possible position for capturing or destroying them. Burnet says, decidedly, that the Jacobite spies were busy on this occasion. The convoy, consisting of twenty-three men-of-war, was put under the command of Rooke, who sailed at the end of May with nearly 400 merchantmen. On the 17th of June he discovered the united French fleet in Lagos Bay, on the coast of Portugal. Rooke tacked about, "while the merchants fled, as their fears drove them; a great many of them sticking still close to him." In a running fight one English man-of-war and one Dutch were burned, two Dutch were taken; and of the merchantmen about forty of the richest were captured, and a like number destroyed—the residue getting into Faro, St. Lucar, Cadiz, and Gibraltar. The enemy did not pursue Rooke very far, but let him go into Madeira, whence he arrived in Ireland without further accident. De Tourville, who commanded the French fleet, was foiled in an attempt upon Cadiz Bay, but he insulted the whole of the Spanish coast, from Cape St. Vincent to Cape de Gat, and then returned in triumph to Toulon. By this most evident mismanagement and treachery the whole English nation was thrown into a state of gloom and dejection, and the commercial interest received a terrible blow.[1]

---

[1] Schomberg received a mortal wound in the battle, and died for William, as his father had done at the battle of the Boyne.

[2] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*, with documents in Appendix.

In the course of these events the unusual tranquillity of Scotland was disturbed by plots and conspiracies for restoring a dynasty which had been a curse to the country. A parliament was held at Edinburgh in the spring of 1690, and King William's ignorance of Scottish affairs, and idle advice given to him purposely or for factious ends, contributed to make the session an unpleasant one. But the greatest apple of discord grew out of the king's promoting Lord Melville, at the expense of his competitor, Sir James Montgomery, a hot-headed, daring man. In the Scottish remonstrance of grievances, drawn up at the Revolution, the first article was directed against the lords of articles, a body which had used to be nominated by the crown, and which had notoriously made the estates of parliament a mere mockery as far as the rights of the people were concerned. William had authorized the Duke of Hamilton, his lord high-commissioner for Scotland, to reform and regulate the lords of articles; but he had been told that to consent to their abolition would be fatal to his prerogative, and he refused to do more than modify. When, however, he was informed of the great heats excited by this refusal, he instructed Hamilton to concede to the three estates of parliament, nobles, knights, and burgesses conjointly, the choice of a committee of eleven, each to be chosen monthly, or oftener if they thought fit; and to enable the parliament to take the initiative in bills, and to take any matters into consideration which had been rejected by this new committee of articles. But the Scottish patriots, with spirit and with wisdom, refused to accept of a mere modification, and called aloud for the utter destruction of so unconstitutional a body, demanding the assimilation of their parliament to that of England, which had never known the weight of that foul incubus. But the reluctance of William continued, and this now threw the parliament into a very bad humour. Like angry men, the patriots proceeded to violent and unwise measures. A bill was brought in of a retro-active kind, by which the spirit of revenge and retaliation would have been administered to in excess. It proposed to incapacitate for any public trust or employment whatsoever all those persons who "in the former evil government had been grievous to the nation, together with all those who had shown disaffection to the late happy change." The Lord High-commissioner Hamilton very properly refused the royal assent to this bill. The Scottish parliament then set up a right to appoint the judges of the kingdom, and ordered a bill for that purpose. By the positive orders of William this bill was rejected also. Another bill was introduced for repealing the act of supremacy, which was first passed in 1669, and which gave the crown a most absolute authority over the church and the religious worship of the people. Here again William refused the royal assent, not because he wished to maintain the law as it stood, but because the repeal plainly contemplated the renewal of the old Presbyterian independence of civil rule. But early in this session he consented to the abolition of Episcopacy, which the mass of the Scottish people regarded as the greatest boon conferred by the Revolution.[2] But the parliament, not satisfied with being rid of the bishops, still insisted on appointing the judges; and they passed a resolution, that it was illegal for the judges named by the sovereign to continue on their seats. On the other hand, the judges in commission were commanded to act by the authority of the privy council, and in the midst of a great ferment Hamilton adjourned the parliament. A violent remonstrance was published by the leaders, and then many men of opposite principles, Whigs and Tories, Episcopalians and Presbyterians, united in dark cabals and intrigues for the restoration of James, who was represented on all hands as being so abject and weak as to be ready to consent to anything. Sir James Montgomery was at the head of the discontented Whigs, and he connected himself with the discontented heads of the Whig party in England, corresponding at the same time with the courts of Versailles and St. Germain. But by this time there were scarcely any public men in Scotland upon whom William could rely: even Hamilton, his commissioner, was disaffected, because he thought his merits had not been sufficiently rewarded; and Lord Melville, who was put in his place, was weak and credulous. The Dukes of Athole and Queensberry, the Lords Annandale, Breadalbane, Balcarras, and Middleton, were thorough-going Jacobites; and the last-named of these noblemen, the Earl of Middleton, went over to France this year.

---

[1] *Burnet; Ralph: Coke; Life of James.* The only attempt made this year to retrieve the honour of our flag was made by Commodore Benbow—the rough and brave old Benbow, whose name is still venerated by British sailors. He appeared off St. Malo with an insignificant squadron, destroyed some privateers, and bombarded the town for three days.

[2] "One great alteration in the state of Scotland was almost necessarily involved in the fall of the Stuarts. Their most conspicuous object had been the maintenance of the Episcopal church; the line was drawn far more closely than in England; in that church were the court's friends, out of it were its opponents. Above all, the people were out of it, and in a revolution brought about by the people, their voice could not be slighted. It was one of the articles accordingly in the declaration of rights, that prelacy and precedence in ecclesiastical office were repugnant to the genius of a nation reformed by presbyters, and an insupportable grievance which ought to be abolished. William, there is reason to believe, had offered to preserve the bishops, in return for their support in the convention. But this, not more happily for Scotland than for himself and his successors, they refused to give. No compromise, or even acknowledged toleration, was practicable in that country between two exasperated factions; but, if oppression was necessary, it was at least not on the majority that it ought to fall. But besides this, there was as clear a case of forfeiture in the Scots Episcopal church as in the royal family of Stuart. The main controversy between the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches was one of dry antiquarian criticism, little more interesting than those about the Roman senate, or the Saxon witenagemot, nor perhaps more capable of decisive solution; it was at least one as to which the bulk of mankind are absolutely incapable of forming a rational judgment for themselves. But, mingled up as it had always been, and most of all in Scotland, with faction, with revolution, with power and emolument, with courage and

The person who was truest to his trust, and to the principles of the Revolution which he had helped to make, was Sir John Dalrymple, now, by the elevation of his father, Master of Stair. Dalrymple, who was secretary of state for Scotland, and commonly designated as "Secretary Stair," or "the Secretary," was at least as able as he was true: he was, in fact, the coolest and most sagacious politician in the kingdom; but an unfortunate event had covered him with odium. This was the incident commonly known in history by the name of the "Massacre of Glencoe." Although they had ceased any very active operations since the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie, the Highlanders had not laid down their arms. The Lord Breadalbane, who had proposed a scheme of the same sort before, sent a plan for settling the Highlands to Secretary Stair, who was attending King William in Flanders. Breadalbane proposed that a general pardon, and £12,000, should be given to the Highlanders, and that pensions should be offered to their chiefs, upon condition of their holding 4000 of their clansmen in readiness to resist any invasion from France. This plan was readily adopted by William, and Breadalbane brought the treaty almost to a conclusion. A proclamation was issued in the autumn of 1691, declaring that all the rebels or insurgents who took the oaths to the new government before the 1st of January, 1692, should be pardoned by his majesty. But the Duke of Hamilton, either from envy or from some other motive, thwarted Breadalbane and Dalrymple, sending schemes of his own into the Highlands; and the chiefs[1] played a double game, writing to King James for his permission to make the treaty, which they promised to break as soon as it should suit his interests, and to King William to awaken jealousies and misgivings as to the fidelity of his ministers in Scotland, not excepting Lord Breadalbane, who was managing the treaty for him, nor Secretary Stair, who seems never to have departed a line's breadth from his hatred to the house of Stuart. Breadalbane then proposed a new scheme, and it appears to be proved beyond question that both Dalrymple and King William assented to it. This was to treat the Highlanders who still held out in their glens and mountains like wild beasts, and to practise upon them that sort of execution which was quaintly called in Scotland "letters of fire and sword"—an inhuman resort, but sanctioned by the old laws of that country against attainted rebels. The order was sent down to the privy council at Edinburgh, which appointed a committee to carry it into execution, and allotted money and other necessaries for the purpose. Breadalbane, Tarbet, and the Marquis of Argyle agreed to co-operate with the king's troops, flattering themselves, it is suspected, with the prospect of part of the rebel chiefs' estates. But those Jacobites yielded on the approach of the danger, and they all hurried in to take the oaths to King William, with the single exception of Macdonald of Glencoe, an hereditary enemy of Lord Breadalbane. Burnet says, that "these Macdonalds of Glencoe were

---

devotion, and fear, and hate, and revenge, this arid dispute of pedants drew along with it the most glowing emotions of the heart, and the question became utterly out of the province of argument. It was very possible that Episcopacy might be of apostolical institution; but for this institution houses had been burned and fields laid waste, and the gospel had been preached in wildernesses, and its ministers had been shot in their prayers, and husbands had been murdered before their wives, and virgins had been defiled, and many had died by the executioner, and by massacre, and in imprisonment, and in exile and slavery, and women had been tied to stakes on the sea-shore till the tide rose to overflow them, and some had been tortured and mutilated; it was a religion of the boots and the thumbscrew, which a good man must be very cold blooded indeed if he did not hate and reject from the hands which offered it. For, after all, it is much more certain that the Supreme Being abhors cruelty and persecution, than that he has set up bishops to have a superiority over presbyters."—Hallam, *Const. Hist. Eng.*, vol. ii. p. 476.

[1] Burnet mentions, as a fact, the extremely probable circumstance that the Highlanders believed that the noblemen intended to keep the best part of the money to themselves. "There is a tradition, that when Lord Nottingham afterwards wrote to Lord Breadalbane to account for the £12,000 which had been given him to be divided among the Highlanders, he answered—My lord, the Highlands are quiet; the money is spent; and this is the best way of accounting between friends."—*Dalrymple.*

believed guilty of much robbery, and many murders; and so had gained too much by their pilfering war to be easily brought to give it over;" and a more recent historian affirms that Secretary Dalrymple thought "that mercy would be thrown away upon them, because they had been in the irreclaimable habit of making incursions into the low countries for plunder, and because he had himself obtained a pardon for them from King William, when, one of the clan having discovered his accomplices in a crime, the rest had tied him to a tree, and every man of the tribe had stabbed him with a dirk, Glencoe, the chieftain, giving the first blow."[1] But all this was Highland law and Highland usage; and if the misdoings of the Macdonalds had been tenfold greater, the government would still be inexcusable for the detestable transactions which followed. Upon the last day of December—the last day to which the proclamation of pardon extended—the old chief went to Fort William and offered to take the oaths. But the officer in command refused to administer them, alleging that he was not a civil magistrate. Macdonald then repaired to Inverary, but the journey was rough and the weather stormy, and he did not reach that town till two or three days after the prescribed 1st of January. The sheriff of the county, however, after some scruples, administered the oaths of allegiance, and then the chief returned to his native valley of Glencoe, which runs between lofty mountains. It was resolved to take advantage of the letter of the proclamation; and a warrant, as we believe upon a misrepresentation of circumstances, was procured from King William, signed both above and below with his own hand, for proceeding to execution, which meant the extermination of the little clan. In the month of February, when old Macdonald believed himself safe on his oaths, two companies of soldiers, commanded by Captain Campbell, of Glenlyon, uncle to the wife of one of the old chief's sons, marched up the valley, and took quarters among the clan, not as enemies, but as friends. The soldiers were Highlanders like themselves. They remained in the valley nearly a fortnight, and then rose in the night-time to butcher their unsuspecting hosts. Thirty-eight men of the clan were murdered in their sleep, and the rest would have shared the same fate, but for the alarm given by one of the chief's sons, who overheard one of the soldiers saying to another, that he liked not the work—that he had not courage to kill them so. "This massacre," says Burnet, "raised a mighty outcry, and was published by the French in their gazettes, and by the Jacobites in their libels, to cast a reproach on the king's government, as cruel and barbarous; though, in all other instances, it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess. The king sent orders to inquire into the matter; but when the letters writ upon this business were all examined, which I myself read, it appeared that so many were involved in the matter, that the king's gentleness prevailed on him to a fault, and he contented himself with dismissing only the Master of Stair from his service." Stair was soon re-employed; and the Highlanders, who could not or would not sift the evidence, continued to associate him and William as the real authors of the bloody deed.[2]

William returned from the Continent in the month of November, at a moment when plots and conspiracies, some new, some old, were on foot in England, Scotland, and Ireland. He soon made an almost entire change in the offices of government, going back to the Whigs, although he was not ignorant of their intrigues with the court of St. Germain. His principle of action seems to have been to make it worth their while to be faithful, and to remove those fears of a counter-revolution, which had been the source of the infidelity of many of them. He knew that kind of human nature, and was fully aware that if they found it more profitable and more safe to serve him than King James, he might count upon their services. But the misfortune was, he could never fully establish this conviction of security in the minds of some of them: there was a despicable dread of the power of the "Grand Monarque," though it was now waning, and a consequent apprehension that, after all, the exiled king or his son would be restored. William changed many of the lord-lieutenancies and magistracies in the counties, in favour of the Whigs, and put Whigs into most of the offices of government. Charles Montague (subsequently Viscount and Earl of Halifax), an ardent Whig, was soon afterwards made chancellor of the exchequer; Admiral Russell was restored to his place in lieu of the three unlucky commanders; and Lord Shrewsbury was re-appointed secretary of state, Nottingham being now dismissed from that office. Still further to win over the Whig party, he, a few months after, made some very unusual promotions in the peerage, creating one marquis and five dukes. The marquis was Normanby, the dukes were Leeds, Bedford, Newcastle, Devonshire, and Shrewsbury. The Duke of Shrewsbury immediately attempted to bring his friend Marlborough into employment with him; but the king, without assigning any specific reason, told the duke that Marlborough was not a man to be trusted. Godolphin, however, the bosom friend of the general, who had gone as far as he had done in his intrigues with the exiled family, was admitted into the ministry. But one of the most remarkable circumstances of the time was William's admitting into a considerable degree of favour and confidence the Earl of Sunderland, the obnoxious minister of James II., who, at the Revolution, had fled to the Continent.[1]

---

[1] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*. It is also said that the men of Glencoe had distinguished themselves in the two preceding reigns by their cruelties on the Covenanters and Cameronians, when the wild Highlanders were let loose by the prelatists. In all directions we find strong passions at work, except in King William, who had none, and who was certainly not bloodthirsty on any other occasion

[2] It appears most certain that the most criminal party was Lord Breadalbane, who was well known to have had a long feud with Macdonald. Burnet says that he was anxious both to gratify his own revenge, and to render William odious to all the Highlanders; that he went up to London on purpose, and got the king to sign and countersign the barbarous order in a hurry.

Upon the pledges of support tendered by the restored Whigs, William ventured to reject proposals for peace which were offered by Louis XIV. in the course of this winter. The conduct of William in this great matter has been made the subject of boundless censure; but in spite of occasional grumblings at taxes, the English people shared largely in the spirit which dictated it, and the English parliament did not raise a single complaint at the time.

To this parliament, which met on the 7th of November, the king was unusually frank. He did not attempt to conceal the losses he had sustained by land and sea, but spoke them out fairly. The commons unanimously voted "that they would grant a sufficient supply for the vigorous prosecution of the war;" and, without much delay, it was carried that the land forces should be raised to 83,000, exclusive of officers, and that the navy should be 40,000. Both houses, however, made inquiries into the causes of the late miscarriages by sea; and the commons voted "that there had been a notorious and treacherous mismanagement." In the course of the inquiry, Lord Falkland, who had been for some time at the head of the admiralty, was censured and dismissed; and after a short interval, the dubious Admiral Russell was put at the head of that board with a considerable extension of powers.

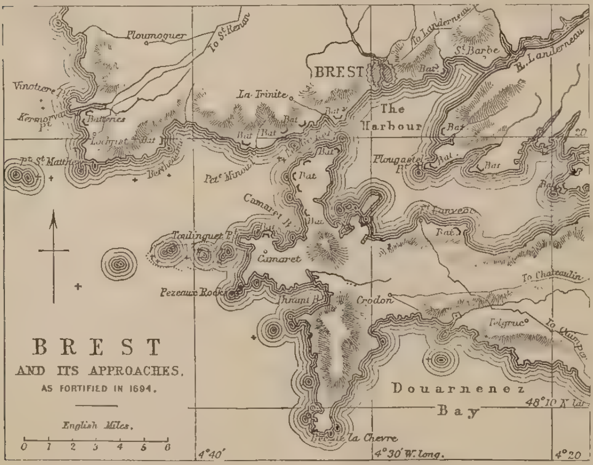
The articles of Limerick were far too generous, humane, and enlightened to be acted upon in that age: though approved of by the king, they had given mortal offence to Protestant intolerance and cupidity; and the men to whom William had intrusted the government of Ireland had, partly through choice, and partly through necessity—being driven on by the Irish Protestants and English and Scottish settlers—departed widely from the spirit of those articles; and in other matters to which that treaty did not extend, had rapaciously and tyrannically begun, or rather renewed, that pacha-like system of government which continued to prevail in Ireland down to a very recent date.

A.D. 1694. The year opened with fresh disasters and failures at sea, the sort of reverses which the English people bear with the least temper. Admiral Wheeler, who had gone to the Mediterranean to look after the returning Smyrna fleet, was surprised in the month of February, when near the straits, by one of the most terrible of tempests; he was sunk in the *Sussex* with all his men, and two other line-of-battle ships, three men-of-war of inferior rate, and many trading vessels, went to the bottom. This was the work of the elements: what follows was the result of treachery. William had once more resolved to destroy the arsenals, docks, and shipping at Brest, by making a lodgment on the narrow neck of land which separates Brest Roads from the roadstead of Camaret, and commands the bay and the harbour; but his intention was betrayed to King James early in the spring, by Marlborough's bosom friend, the Lord Godolphin, now first lord of the treasury, and subsequently by Marlborough himself, in a letter dated the 2d of May.[2] It was the first week in June before everything was ready, and then, apparently by a private arrangement between William and Russell, the command of the fleet, which consisted of about thirty ships of the line, was transferred to Lord Berkeley, who was accompanied by General Tollemache with about 6000 land troops. These commanders appeared off Brest on the 7th of June; but the genius and activity of the great engineer Vauban had, in the course of a few weeks, put that place and its environs into a most formidable attitude of defence; and he had written to his master, Louis, that there was no ground for apprehension—that he had made all the passages under the castle bomb-proof—disposed ninety mortars and 300 cannon in proper places—drawn up all the ships out of the enemy's reach—and collected 300 bombardiers, 300 gentlemen volunteers, and 4000 regular troops, besides a regiment of dragoons just arrived. When the English fleet drew near, they found the shore lined with entrenchments and batteries, with cavalry drawn up in regular order behind them; and when they advanced still nearer, three masked batteries, which till then had been effectually concealed, opened upon them with a tremendous fire. Tollemache, who was making ready to land, was confounded, but he exclaimed, "The die is cast—we cannot in honour retreat!" About 900 English soldiers were thrown upon the beach in Camaret Bay, flanked right and left with batteries and entrenchments; and the Marquis of Caermarthen, Danby's son, fighting bravely for the country which his father was betraying,[1] covered the landing of these men with a part of the fleet, his ships all the while being exposed to a heavy cross-fire. The men that were landed were assailed on all sides, but they formed, and, perceiving that the French were slackening their fire, they gave a loud huzza and rushed towards the batteries; but at that moment French dragoons were seen issuing through passages purposely left between the entrenchments. The unprotected English foot halted, wavered, and were soon thrown into complete disorder by the charge of the French horse. Meanwhile the tide had ebbed, and half of the English boats had been left dry on the beach. Unable to get off, the greater part of the troops that had landed were miserably slaughtered, or forced to beg for quarter; and General Tollemache, after displaying more valour than conduct, received a mortal wound. With this great loss, and with the additional loss of about 400 seamen and one ship, the English armament, with a drooping flag, retired from Brest.

---

[1] Under date of this year (1693), Burnet says: "But the person that had the king's confidence to the highest degree was the Earl of Sunderland; who, by his long experience and his knowledge of men and things, had gained an ascendant over him, and had more credit with him than any Englishman ever had." Yet, to use a familiar expression, William never trusted Sunderland farther than he could see him; nor did King James, who was actually in treaty with his fatal ex-minister, give him any more of his real confidence.

[2] Macpherson's *State Papers;* Dalrymple, *Memoirs and Official Documents.*



BREST AND ITS APPROACHES. AS FORTIFIED IN 1694.

Soon after the melancholy failure at Brest, the fleet under Berkeley bombarded and nearly destroyed Dieppe and Havre-de-Grace, destroyed all the unprotected French shipping and fishing-boats, augmented the want and misery already felt by the poor French people, and threw the whole coast into an agony of consternation. This was called a proper retaliation for the barbarous excesses committed by the French the preceding year at Heidelberg and in other parts of the Palatinate. But in the course of the summer another part of the English navy performed more honourable service. Admiral Russell, now apparently steady and trusty, sailed into the Mediterranean with a noble fleet, consisting of about sixty-five ships of the line, English and Dutch, and not only cleared that sea of De Tourville and the French, but relieved Barcelona, blockaded Toulon, imposed respect upon the states of Venice and Tuscany, which were now, for the first time, brought to acknowledge William's title, re-animated the Duke of Savoy, who had been wavering and thinking of a separate peace with France, and made the English flag respected from one end of the inland sea to the other. And when Russell had performed these signal services, instead of coming home, he wintered with his fleet at Cadiz, in order to be at hand to prevent the annual junction of the Toulon and Brest fleets. From this moment the maritime trade of England, which had been declining ever since the Revolution, began to revive, and a new and unthought-of spirit was infused into it in the course of a very few years.

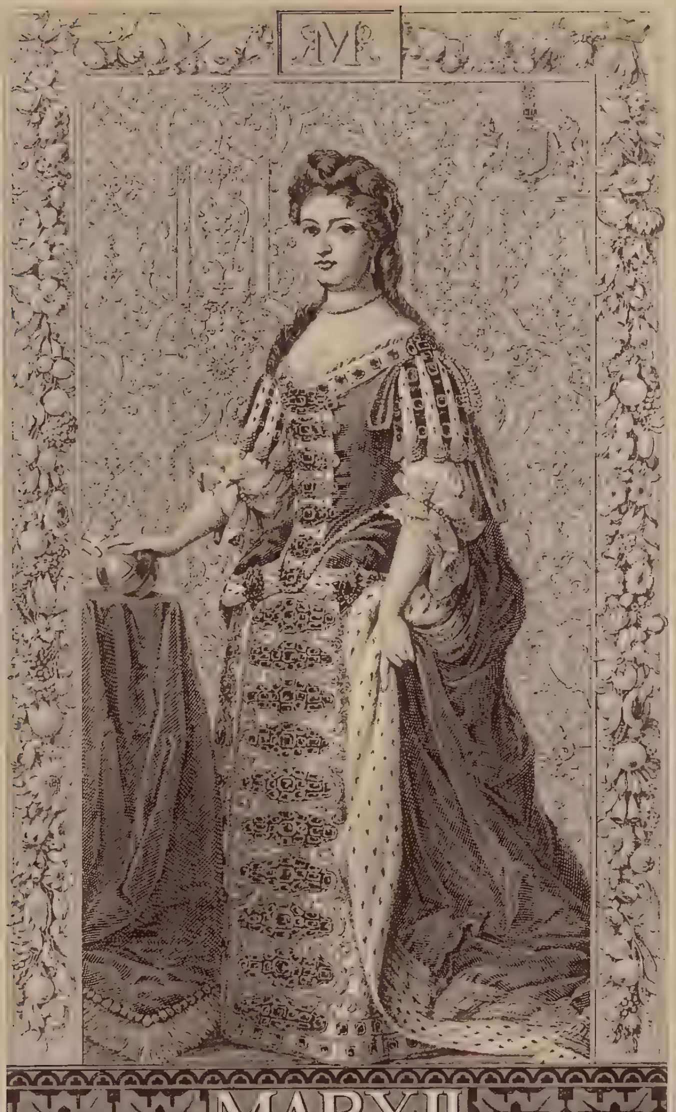
The land campaign was far from being so brilliant. William again concentrated the allied forces at Louvain, and found himself at the head of nearly 100,000 men; Luxembourg, inferior in number, made use of his old art of avoiding battle. Through the German slowness, a movement conducted by the Elector of Bavaria to invade French Flanders was frustrated. The confederates were fain to satisfy themselves with the capture of the town and castle of Huy; and so the campaign in these parts ended, the troops going to the annual indulgence of winter-quarters about the middle of October. Upon the Rhine the French were much more severely chastised; for when Marshal Delorges crossed that river, he was again driven back with loss and shame by the Prince of Baden, who followed him across the French frontier, established himself for the summer in Alsace, and laid the whole of that province under contribution. On the side of Savoy and Piedmont little or nothing had been done. In Spain, where the French had reduced Castel-Follet with other strong fortresses, and had promised themselves the entire posses-

---

[1] Yet Lord Caermarthen had been, or soon afterward became involved in the Jacobite plots and correspondences.

MARY II., QUEEN OF ENGLAND.

Mary, who was born in 1662, was the daughter of James II., by his wife Anne Hyde, daughter of Lord Clarendon. She was married in 1677 to William, Prince of Orange; and when the Revolution in England dethroned her father, Mary was declared joint-possessor of the throne with her husband. She had no small share of personal beauty, a dignified carriage, admirable truth and sweetness of disposition, and a large share of sound common sense and unaffected piety. Mary loved her husband so well that she even pardoned that passing unfaithfulness which he, on more than one occasion, showed to the claims of marriage. During the absence of William in Ireland in 1690, and also during his various visits to the Continent, his wife managed the affairs of the kingdom with admirable prudence. She died on 28th December, 1694, by small-pox, and her husband's grief, though he had not always been faithful to her, was inconsolable.



Drawn by J. L. Williams

Engraved by R. Anderson

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY SIR GODFREY KNELLER,
IN S^T GEORGE'S HALL, WINDSOR CASTLE.

sion of Catalonia, Marshal Noailles, disconcerted by the appearance of Admiral Russell and the relief of Barcelona, retreated. The Turks, who had performed the part of allies to the French, by invading the hereditary dominions of the emperor, had been very unsuccessful the whole of this year, and, at the end of the campaign, of all their fortresses on the north of the Danube, none remained to them except Temesvar.

On the 12th of November, William met his parliament. Loyal addresses were returned, and supplies to the amount of £5,000,000 were readily voted; but with the supply bills the triennial parliament bill kept pace. On the 22d of November that bill was brought in by Mr. Harley, who was now rising into eminence; it passed both houses by a great majority; and on the 22d of December it was presented to William, who now gave the royal assent: but this was attributed by many to the dangerous illness of the queen, whose death it was imagined might weaken his right, and lead to fresh and more dangerous conspiracies. This act, by which a new parliament was to be called every third year, and the present parliament to be dissolved before the 25th of March, 1696, was received by the nation with very great joy. Six days after it became law Queen Mary breathed her last. Her constitution, which had never been a good one, was weakened by much mental suffering, and in this state she was attacked by small-pox of the most malignant sort. After lying silent for some hours, or only uttering a few disjointed words, she expired on the 28th of December, about one o'clock in the morning, in the thirty-third year of her age. Whatever was Mary's character and conduct as a daughter and a sister, she was certainly the most devoted and exemplary of royal wives. She had, indeed, the good sense and the good fortune to obey and revere the commanding intellect of her husband; and she tenderly loved his person, though she was childless by him, and though, in accordance with the universal practice of sovereigns, he kept a mistress in the court. And William responded to all this tenderness with a feeling which had been deemed alien to his cold manners, so that for some weeks after her death, he could neither see company nor attend to his usual business.

CHAPTER IV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1695—1697.

WILLIAM III.

Reign of William III. as sole sovereign by the death of Mary—His right to reign questioned—Parliamentary inquiry into the corrupt practices of government officials—The Duke of Leeds accused of peculation—Proceedings of the Scottish parliament—Origin of the Darien company—Account of Paterson its projector—Its establishment on the isthmus of Darien—Proceedings in Ireland—William repairs to the Continent—He lays siege to Namur—Particulars of the siege—Namur surrenders—Successful close of the campaign—William returns to London—A parliamentary election—William's application to the new parliament—Enumeration of the public grievances—William's liberality to the Earl of Portland—Discontent it occasions—Parliamentary complaints of the trading charters granted to the Scots—Jealousy of the East India Company on account of its own monopoly—William changes the Scottish ministry—The Jacobites take advantage of the popular discontent—Concessions of James II. to encourage the malcontents—An invasion from France projected in his behalf—Sir George Barclay's plot to assassinate William—Meetings and deliberations of the conspirators—Their plan of action—Repeated failure of their attempts—Arrest of the conspirators—Revelations of those who turn evidence for the crown—Persons involved in the conspiracy—Complicity of James II.—Trial of the conspirators—Their declarations and confessions—Their execution at Tyburn—James II. disclaims all knowledge of the design of assassination—Statement of the Duke of Berwick to the same effect—Congratulations of parliament on William's escape—Association of the members for his defence—Particulars of the bill passed to that effect—Admiral Russell's expedition to prevent the French invasion—Success of his naval operations—Rumour of the crown of Poland being offered to James II.—William again repairs to the Continent—Indecisive results of the campaign—The Duke of Savoy secedes from the confederacy—Overtures for a general peace—Increase upon the national debt by the expenses of the war—Sir John Fenwick the conspirator arrested—His confessions—Ministers of William implicated in his confessions—Contest of the political parties at his trial—He is condemned and executed—The inculpated ministers retained and promoted.

THE Jacobites now pretended that Mary had had a right by her birth to the crown, and that William's share in that right was made void by her death: and many who were not decided Jacobites took up the same opinion, representing that, by the act of settlement, the Princess Anne had a preferable claim to the throne. But these parties were not strong enough in parliament to undertake anything; and, by means of Sunderland, Marlborough, and his influential wife, and the Lord-keeper Somers, a reconciliation was brought about between the king and the Princess Anne.

The Marlboroughs, in forwarding the reconciliation, had expected to be partakers of its good fruits; but the rational repugnance of William continued, and the general renewed his double-dealing intercourse with the exiled family, and regularly attended in the House of Peers, where he voted with Rochester and the other zealous Tories, and put his name to their addresses and violent protests.

A.D. 1695. Towards the close of the session there was a searching inquiry into corrupt practices, which seem to have been universal through all the departments of government. The secretary of the treasury was turned out of his place and sent to the Tower; Sir John Trevor, speaker of the house, was expelled; and Mr. Hungerford, being also convicted of corruption, was turned out of the house. But the inquiry, once begun, could not be made to stop here. It was found, from the books of the East India Company, that great sums of money had been given by the Company for secret services done them in the House of Commons. In the last year, pending a life-and-death struggle between the old company and the promoters of a new one, the secret service money rose to the enormous amount of £167,000. Sir Thomas Cook, a member of the House of Commons and a governor of the Company, was called upon to explain how this money had been expended. Cook refused to answer, and was committed to the Tower. The commons then brought in a bill of pains and penalties, to force a full revelation. When this bill was carried up to the lords, it was vehemently opposed by the Duke of Leeds (Danby), then lord-president of the council, who spoke like an incorruptible patriot, but who had himself touched no inconsiderable part of the money. His very heat made him the more suspected; and the bill ultimately passed the lords. It soon appeared in evidence that his Grace of Leeds, through Mr. Bates, a very close friend, had offered to do the old Company good service for 5000 guineas. The commons resolved that articles of impeachment should be drawn up against the duke. In a few days the articles were engrossed and presented to the lords. But, in the meantime, the principal witness had absconded. The commons, confounded by the evasion, knew not what to do; but they gave in that evasion as the sole cause of their delay, not scrupling to intimate that the Duke of Leeds could produce the missing witness, who was his own servant, if he thought fit. His grace called for an immediate trial, or for the immediate dropping of the impeachment.

Matters were in this state, when William, on the 3d of May, prorogued the parliament. "It was intended," says Burnet, "to hang up the matter to another session, but an act of grace came in at the end of this, with an exception, indeed, as to corruption; yet this whole discovery was let fall, and it was believed that too many of all sides were concerned in it; for, by a common consent, it was never revived." Enough had appeared to prove the Duke of Leeds guilty; yet William, for considerations of expediency, allowed him to remain at the head of the council.

Six days after the prorogation of the English parliament the Scottish parliament assembled.

The loud outcry raised on account of the massacre of Glencoe still continued. In the end, the Scottish parliament justified the king's instructions, but voted that the execution at Glencoe was "a barbarous massacre," and that it was "pushed on by the secretary of state's letters beyond the king's orders."

It was during this session of the Scottish parliament that the scheme was presented of a Scottish company and colony on the isthmus of Darien, which ended in a great amount of human suffering, and an increase of unpopularity to the king. The Scottish parliament, in the year 1693, had passed an act for the encouragement of commerce, by which it was provided that letters-patent should be granted to all such as should offer to set up new manufactures, establish new settlements, or drive any new trade; and, taking advantage of this act, some of the English interlopers in the East India trade, after being defeated by the Company, had entered into treaty with some merchants in Scotland, who now undertook to procure a special act for a new colony from their parliament. There was one Paterson, a man of no education, but of great notions, which, as was generally said, he had learned from the buccaneers, who knew the New World and the islands of the Pacific better than any other class of men, and with whom it was believed he had associated for some time. Paterson made the Scotch merchants believe that he was in possession of a great secret—that he knew of a country where gold mines were rich and many, and where the Spaniards were not;—a country admirably situated for trade with other parts of the world. For some time he did not describe this happy land, but only desired that the West Indies might be named in any new act they proposed. Meanwhile an act was passed, and received the royal assent, giving the undertakers most extensive privileges, with a limitation, however, that they should not interfere with the trade of England. Paterson then named his promised land. It was the isthmus of Darien, which connects the two continents of America, and which the English buccaneers had made the scene of most extraordinary adventures during the reign of Charles II. Paterson, who was perfectly right in his geography, considered that isthmus as a place where a good settlement might be made, or rather two settlements, for he proposed establishing a town and blockhouse on the side of the Atlantic, and another over against it in Panama Bay, on the shores of the Pacific, from which, conjointly, a trade might be opened both with the West Indies and with the East, and means taken to keep the Spaniards in the neighbourhood of the isthmus in quiet, if not in subjection. When the passing of this ill-considered act was known in London, many more rich merchants entered into the scheme, and thus provoked more than ever the hostility of the East India Company. When all was ready, Paterson and his people, amounting in all to 1200 souls, set sail, in fifty Scottish ships, to famine and destruction, but with the confident hope of establishing a great colony, and realizing enormous wealth.

In Ireland, the first session of a new parliament was held in the course of this year (1695), and the Protestant ascendency was completely and tyrannically established under the administration of Lord Capel, now lord-deputy, "who," says Burnet, "studied to render himself popular, and espoused the interests of the English against the Irish without any nice regard to justice or equity." But Capel was neither better nor worse than many who succeeded him, and who acted upon the one principle—that the only way to keep Ireland quiet was to coerce the natives, and degrade and persecute their religion. By a series of acts passed during this and the next reign by the English parliament, the great body of the Irish people were put into the chains of a new and complicated bondage.

Namur.—From Stanfield's Sketches on the Moselle.

On the 12th of May William embarked to put himself again at the head of the allied army. One great event which contributed to hasten the decline of the power of Louis XIV. was the death of the Marshal Duke of Luxembourg, one of the greatest generals of that age, who died at the beginning of this year. The other great generals of France, and Seignelai, the son of Colbert, who had called the French navy into existence, and Louvois, the greatest of her statesmen, were all dead already; there were none that promised to supply their places; Barbessieux, the new minister, a creature of courts and saloons, promoted by court intrigues and the influence of mistresses, was wholly incapable of contending with the difficulties in which even his great predecessor had left the country; and if to this we add that the oppressed people, in many parts of France, were absolutely perishing with hunger, the reader will understand that the French army in Flanders, badly supplied with provisions and recruits, and commanded by third-rate generals, Boufflers and Villeroy, was in no condition to repair the check it had received in the last campaign. The important city of Namur, which had been taken by the French in the year 1692, was soon invested. The garrison then amounted to 14,000 or 15,000 men, under the brave Boufflers, and, as Vauban had been employed upon the works, the French deemed the place impregnable. The siege of Namur was prosecuted with vigour under the eye of William, and the direction of the great engineer Cohorne. The king, though a valetudinarian, shared in the fatigues as well as in the dangers of the common soldiery. On the 27th of July, at the storming of the first counterscarp, Mr. Godfrey, deputy-governor of the Bank of England, who had come over to speak with the king upon some financial business, but who ventured where he was not wanted, was killed, with several other persons, close to William's side.[1] It was a long and memorable siege, attended with a prodigious loss of life. The town was carried on the 3d of August; but Boufflers still held out in the castle, with 6000 or 7000 men. Marshal

---

[1] According to a note in *Ralph*, "tradition also adds, that a short parley had just before passed between them to the following effect:—

"*King.*—As you are no adventurer in the trade of war, Mr. Godfrey, I think you should not expose yourself to the hazards of it.

"*Mr. Godfrey.*—Not being more exposed than your majesty, should I be excusable if I showed more concern?

"*King.*—Yes; I am in my duty, and therefore have a more reasonable claim to preservation."

Villeroy advanced with a relieving army, and came pretty close to the lines of the allies; but, instead of attacking King William, he marched away to Brussels and bombarded that fine old city. Villeroy then increased his force by ordering the evacuation of various towns which the French had recently taken, and by joining the several garrisons to his army; but, as he was moving again towards the lines of Namur, he was faced and checked by the Prince of Vaudemont, who, having joined Lord Athlone on the plain of Waterloo, advanced to Gemappe, and then to Mazey. Villeroy being foiled, and the castle of Namur being almost battered to pieces, Boufflers accepted terms of capitulation, and, on the 5th of September, 5538 Frenchmen—all that remained of 14,000—evacuated the castle, and marched off with the honours of war towards the French lines at Mons. In other directions the campaign had been inactive and inglorious to the French. On the Rhine the Marshal Delorges had been again foiled by the Prince of Baden; in Italy the Duke of Savoy had recovered possession of the important fortress of Casale; in Spain they had been obliged to evacuate all their conquests in Catalonia beyond Gironne. But the Turks, the allies of his most Christian majesty, had again dashed across the Danube, and inflicted some severe blows upon the Imperialists in Hungary. The English navy had continued masters of the sea.

William returned to England on the 20th of October, and was received with enthusiastic acclamations. On his passage through London to Kensington the city was in an uproar, and he was hailed as a conqueror. But he came not to enjoy pomps and pageantries, or even quiet, which was far more desirable after the incessant fatigues which he had undergone, with a constitution that was always rather sickly than robust. On the very night of his arrival he held a council to debate the great question of dissolving the present parliament, which, by the triennial act so recently passed, might sit till Lady Day. A proclamation was presently published, dissolving this parliament, and calling another for the 22d day of November.

Burnet seems to attribute a journey, which the king made at this moment, to a desire of influencing the elections by courting that popularity of which he had hitherto been exceedingly careless. "The king," he says, "made a progress to the north, and stayed some days at the Earl of Sunderland's, which was the first public mark of the high favour he was in. The king studied to constrain himself to a little more openness and affability than was natural to him; but his cold and dry way had too deep a root not to return too oft upon him." And we learn from other quarters that the English gentry were again offended at this dry, cold manner, and that he was offended by one university and gave offence to the other; and it was represented, no doubt with some exaggeration, that the only place where he was affable and courteous was at Althorp, the seat of the exceedingly unpopular Sunderland. Notwithstanding these circumstances, the friends of James gained no ground in the elections. "The Jacobites," says Burnet, "were so decried that few of them were elected; but many of the sourer sort of Whigs, who were much alienated from the king, were chosen: generally they were men of estates; but many were young, hot, and without experience."

On the appointed day—the 22d of November—the new parliament assembled: the commons again chose Foley for their speaker, and the king made a long speech from the throne. The demand for supplies was still very high; but William said that, as he had engaged in the present war by the advice of his first parliament, who thought it necessary for the defence of our religion and the preservation of the liberties of Europe, and as the last parliament, with great cheerfulness, had assisted him to carry on the war, so he could not doubt but that the present would be unanimously zealous in the prosecution of it, particularly since the advantages gained this year afforded a reasonable hope of future success. "Upon this occasion," said he, "I cannot but take notice of the courage and bravery of the English troops, which, I may say, have answered their highest character in any age; and it will not be denied that, without the concurrence of the valour and power of England, it were impossible to put a stop to the ambition and greatness of France."

The decay of trade, though it was now reviving, and the encroachments made by William's countrymen, the Dutch, by the Scotch, and others, on the East India Company, were prominent topics in the numerous invectives against the government, which had recently issued from the press. The double relation in which the king stood to this country and to Holland was always the source of infinite clamour and jealousy; and it is wonderful that national prejudices and clashing interests did not produce more serious mischief to his government. It was said, for example, by party writers, that the great losses of the English had been connived at purposely that the Dutch might run away with our trade; that the navigation act, and all the other statutes intended for the increase of our shipping and the extension of our home manufactures, had become a dead letter; that the importation of Dutch commodities, though prohibited by the laws, had been encouraged; that the states-general, in order to cover and protect their own merchant vessels, had not furnished their proper quota to the combined fleet, nor suffered their men-of-war to act for the common service; that their wants and deficiencies were supplied out of English stores and English provisions; and that, instead of acting in conformity to the signals and instructions of the commander-in-chief of the combined fleet, they too often detached their ships of war to act as guard-ships and convoys to their own trade.

Early in the session parliament passed the memorable act for regulating trials in cases of treason and misprision of treason; and thus secured equally to peers and commoners, and to all Englishmen, a palladium against the suspicions and malice of despotically inclined sovereigns. They rectified the vile state of the coinage, giving up the absurd principle of raising money above its intrinsic value, and recommending the re-coining of all the specie in England in milled money.[1] A bill was also passed for preventing charge and expense in elections; meaning to level a blow against the profligate corruption which was practised then, and so long after, to the disgrace of the nation and the demoralization of the poorer classes.[2]

Above all men, William most trusted and cherished Bentinck, Earl of Portland, who had followed him through all his dangers and difficulties. To reward his important services, and to testify the warmth of his affection, he had bestowed upon Lord Portland four very extensive manors in Denbighshire, never having money to spend in this way. The donation excited a terrible clamour: it was pretended that the king intended to make this Dutchman Prince of Wales—to give him all that the crown could give in the principality; and the gentlemen of Denbighshire, with true Welsh heat, petitioned the House of Commons against these grants. To the fiery petition William coolly replied, "I have a kindness for my Lord Portland, which he has deserved of me by long and faithful services; but I had not imagined the House of Commons could have been concerned: I will therefore recall the grant, and find some other way of showing my favour to him." And he forthwith made a fresh grant to the Earl of Portland of the manors of Grantham, Druchlow, Pevensey, East Greenwich, &c., in the several counties of Lincoln, Cheshire, Sussex, Kent, together with the honour of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, and other manors in Norfolk, York, and the duchy of Lancaster. As these ancient crown-lands were far apart, it could not be pretended that the king was creating a principality for his favourite; but the English murmured at the largeness of the grants, and probably the more because Bentinck was not only a foreigner, but a man of cold retiring habits, like his master.

---

[1] "The distress of the common people was severe, and was aggravated by the follies of magistrates and by the arts of malcontents. A squire who was one of the quorum, would sometimes think it his duty to administer to his neighbours at this trying conjuncture, what seemed to him to be equity; and as no two of these rural pretors had exactly the same notion of what was equitable, their edicts added confusion to confusion. In one parish people were, in outrageous violation of the law, threatened with the stocks, if they refused to take clipped shillings by tale. In the next parish it was dangerous to pay such shillings except by weight. The enemies of the government, at the same time, laboured indefatigably in their vocation. They harangued in every place of public resort, from the chocolate house in St. James's Street, to the sanded kitchen on the village green. In verse and prose they incited the suffering multitude to rise up in arms. Of the tracts which they published at this time, the most remarkable was written by a depraved priest, named Grascombe, of whose ferocity and scurrility the most respectable Nonjurors had long been ashamed. He now did his best to persuade the rabble to tear in pieces those members of parliament who had voted for the restoration of the currency. It would be too much to say that the malignant industry of this man and of men like him produced no effect on a population which was doubtless severely tried. There were riots in several parts of the country, but riots which were suppressed with little difficulty, and, as far as can be discovered, without the shedding of a drop of blood. In one place a crowd of poor ignorant creatures, excited by some knavish agitator, besieged the house of a Whig member of parliament, and clamorously insisted on having their short money changed. The gentleman consented, and desired to know how much they had brought. After some delay, they were able to produce a single clipped half-crown. Such tumults as this were at a distance exaggerated into rebellions and massacres. At Paris it was gravely asserted in print that, in an English town which was not named, a soldier and a butcher had quarrelled about a piece of money, that the soldier had killed the butcher, that a great fight had followed, and that fifty dead bodies were left on the ground. The truth was, that the behaviour of the great body of the people was beyond all praise. The judges, when, in September, they returned from their circuits, reported that the temper of the nation was excellent. There was a patience, a reasonableness, a good faith, which nobody had anticipated. Everybody felt that nothing but mutual help and mutual forbearance could prevent the dissolution of society. A hard creditor who sternly demanded payment to the day in milled money, was pointed at in the streets, and was beset by his own creditors with demands which soon brought him to reason Much uneasiness had been felt about the troops. It was scarcely possible to pay them regularly—if they were not paid regularly, it might well be apprehended that they would supply their wants by rapine; and such rapine it was certain that the nation, altogether unaccustomed to military exaction and oppression, would not tamely endure. But, strange to say, there was through this trying year, a better understanding than had ever been known between the soldiers and the rest of the community. The gentry, the farmers, the shopkeepers, supplied the red-coats with necessaries in a manner so friendly and liberal, that there was no brawling and no marauding. Severely as these difficulties have been felt, L'Hermitage writes, 'they have produced one happy effect—they have shown how good the spirit of the country is. No person, however favourable his opinion of the English may have been, could have expected that a time of such suffering would have been a time of such tranquillity. Men who loved to trace, in the strangely complicated maze of human affairs, the marks of more than human wisdom, were of opinion that but for the interference of a gracious Providence, the plan so elaborately devised by great statesmen and great philosophers, would have failed completely and ignominiously.' "—*Macaulay*, vol. iv. p. 705.

[2] "A severe bill was brought in for voiding all the elections of parliament men, where the elected had been at any expense in meat, drink, or money to procure votes: it was very strictly penned, but time must show whether any evasions can be found out to avoid it: certainly, if it has the desired effect, it would prove one of the best laws that ever was made in England, for abuses in elections were grown to most intolerable excesses, which threatened even the ruin of the nation."—*Burnet.*

The House of Lords took up the popular outcry against the trading charters granted to the Scots, and represented that the whole trade of the larger and richer kingdom of England must be destroyed by them. They invited the commons to a conference, and both houses agreed in a joint address to the throne, in which they represented that an act of parliament, which had lately received his majesty's assent in his kingdom of Scotland, for creating a company trading to Africa and the Indies, was like to bring many great prejudices and mischiefs to all his English subjects that were concerned in the wealth or trade of this nation; that the said act exempted the Scots from restraints, customs, taxes, &c.; that by reason of these great advantages, and the duties and difficulties that lay upon their trade in England, a great part of the stock and shipping of this nation would be carried to Scotland, and so Scotland would be made a free port for all the East Indian commodities; that, moreover, the said commodities would be brought by the Scotch into England by stealth, both by land and sea, to the vast prejudice of English trade and navigation, and to the great detriment of his majesty in his customs. Loud complaints were made of the Scotch settling themselves in plantations in America, to the great detriment of English commerce in tobacco, sugar, cotton, wool, masts, &c. To this address the king replied, "That he had been ill served in Scotland, but that he hoped some remedies might be found to prevent the inconveniences which might arise from the Scottish act."

A.D. 1696. But the commons did not give over the clamour. Being quickened by a petition from the English East India Company, they, on the 26th of January, came to the resolution that the directors of the company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies, &c., and, under colour of a Scotch act of parliament, styling themselves a company, and acting as such, and raising monies in this kingdom for carrying on the said company, were guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour; and that the said directors, whose names were inserted, should be impeached of the said high crimes and misdemeanours. The spirit of jealousy and monopoly was bitter and boundless; but at the same time the framers of the Scottish act, in tenderness to their own countrymen, had inserted clauses and conditions which, though thought necessary for the infant foreign trade of a poor country, gave the Scots invidious advantages over the established companies in England, and had thus exceeded the intentions of William, who had given the royal assent in a hurry in his camp in Flanders, and in the midst of the cares and turmoils of war. William dismissed the Marquis of Tweeddale, his lord high-commissioner, and the two secretaries of state for Scotland, and made great changes in the ministry of that kingdom. All this, with the assurances of his English ministers that he had been duped, and that the Scots should not be allowed to benefit by the deception, quieted the powerful East India Company, and gave general satisfaction to the English, who had not yet forgotten their old national animosity. "But," says Burnet, "when it was understood in Scotland that the king had disowned that act, from which it was expected that great riches should flow into that kingdom, it is not easy to conceive how great and how general an indignation was spread over the whole kingdom. The Jacobites saw what a game it was like to prove in their hands: they played it with great skill, and to the advantage of their cause, in a course of many years." At this moment, however, William was in greater danger from the Jacobites in England, who, encouraged by the presence of another French army of invasion collected on the opposite coasts, were getting ready to rise, while a desperate band among them, sanctioned by the devout and penitent outcast King James, were planning how they could best assassinate William. Notwithstanding his pilgrimages, his visitation to the monks of La Trappe, and his flagellations and fastings, James had never ceased to struggle for his earthly crowns; and his petty court at St. Germain had been the scene of constant plots and intrigues, including some of the darkest dye. Perceiving that his former declarations did not go far enough to satisfy the malcontent Whigs, or remove all the jealousies of Popery entertained by the ultra-loyal high-church party, James resolved to promise everything, with the mental reservation of a fixed intention to break all such of these promises as were too much for the *tenderness* of his conscience. According to his memoirs, he was sensible he should be blamed by several of his friends for making such promises and submitting to such "hard terms;" but, "reasonably speaking," there was nothing else for him to do, and no other hope of regaining his kingdoms than by gratifying his English partizans. To satisfy his own conscience he applied to learned doctors of the Romish church, to bishops, to archbishops, to the pope himself, and wherever they were not disposed to chime in with his wishes he attempted to deceive and cajole them. He was scarcely more sincere with the Roman church than with the English partizans. The exiled king importuned Louis to take advantage of the consternation occasioned by William's defeat at Landen and the disasters of the Smyrna fleet, and forthwith invade England. He represented as confidently as ever that a large part of the nation would join the invading force, and conduct him back in triumph to Whitehall.

But Louis was not in condition to attempt anything of the sort, and James was still obliged to trust to his intrigues with the furious Jacobites and the discontented Whigs, who could scarcely have co-operated for a week if the course of events had brought them into the field. In the course of the following year (1694) two emissaries from the court of St. Germain—Crosby and Parker—were discovered and committed to prison, but Crosby was soon liberated upon bail, and Parker contrived to escape out of the Tower. To counteract the Jacobite agents and spies, the court employed others; and, apparently, some of these scoundrels took pay from both sides. In the course of the present winter (1695-6) Louis, for his own interest, had gone again into James's plan of invasion, and had collected a considerable fleet and army on the coast; and James had sent over Sir George Barclay and his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, to promote an insurrection, without which, or the assurance of one to favour them on their landing, the French were loath to embark. Barclay and Berwick both got secretly into London. This Barclay, according to his own account, as given in the *Life of James*, found that there was no great hope of an insurrection in England; but that there was "a design on foot to form a party to fall upon the Prince of Orange." This design, he says, was first communicated to him by Mr. Charnock, who at their first meeting "complained to him that he and some others had a design on foot, which would have undoubtedly facilitated the king's return, but that his majesty would never permit them to put it in execution." A few days after, Charnock made him acquainted with Sir William Perkins, who was concerned with him in all their projects, and who then opened the design more fully, assuring Barclay that they wanted nothing for perfecting it but his majesty's leave. "I did much approve of it," says Barclay, "if it could be carried on with that secrecy and conduct as a thing of that consequence ought to be; upon which I immediately asked them if it was possible to find so many good men as would be requisite, and would undertake a brave action without asking of questions." They assured him that they knew several of their own mind. "Therefore," adds Barclay, "presuming upon the commission I held from his majesty *to make war* upon the Prince of Orange and all his adherents, I thought myself sufficiently authorized to engage with them to attack that prince when his guards were about him." Barclay says that for some time he would not condescend to visit one Porter; not that he mistrusted his loyalty, but because he heard "he was much given to drink, and open-minded." But the other conspirators told him that their lives were as dear to them as he could esteem his own; that if Porter had been a drunkard and a blab they would not have trusted him; and at last Barclay went with Major Holmes to Porter's lodgings, where they found him confined to his bed. "By this time," says Barclay, "Captain Knightley had heard of me and was very desirous to speak with me, so I made an appointment with him and Captain Hungate. At our meeting Captain Knightley told me he and some others had a design of making a party to fall upon the Prince of Orange, and that he and Durance, *a good partizan*, had viewed the ground several times, and found it for their purpose, and desired me to see Durance, which I did, to try what I could learn from him, and then went to see the ground, when I was conducted to a hunting-house kept by one Mr. Latten, and where the prince used to go often a-hunting. There it was they proposed to me to lay an ambuscade, but I could not agree to their design." This deliberate assassin Barclay goes on to say that, being several times told "from good hands" that one Captain Fisher, that lived in King Street, Westminster, had made several great proposals, he went to him in disguise, when the captain proposed to attack the Prince of Orange between the two gates as he passed from Hyde Park to St. James's—he (Fisher) undertaking to kill one of the coach-horses with his own hand. Barclay set the captain down for a fool, engaging him, however, to give him notice when William went a-hunting. Captain Fisher sent him word accordingly, and

PALACE OF ST. GERMAIN.—From a print by Rigaudin.

also informed him that a person lurking about Kensington Palace, whom Barclay supposed to be Durance, had been taken notice of by the servants; "for," says Barclay, "I had him and another placed to give me notice of what they could learn at that court; as, immediately after my arrival in London, I made it my business to know that prince's days of council and recreation, and how many guards he had when he went abroad; but after we were in readiness, I could never learn he was anywhere abroad at night or a-hunting." He assures us that, having once engaged in this affair, he was resolved to try every way to go through with it; that he was disappointed of any opportunity of meeting William in a fit place; that he went to Kensington itself with Major Holmes, and everywhere else about London where that prince used to go, both to know the ground and what plan would be best. At last he fixed upon Turnham Green as best suited for the purpose, and therefore that place was agreed upon by the rest of the conspirators. Then Sir William Perkins undertook to provide five men, well mounted and armed, but *not* to be there himself; and Mr. Porter and Mr. Charnock engaged each for the like number of men, and to be there themselves. Barclay was to add five men to these fifteen, and he gave money to Major Holmes and Mr. Charnock to buy him twenty horses and furniture, which they did in a few days. To prevent suspicion, these horses were kept in different stables; and places of meeting were appointed for the day of action at different inns about Turnham Green and Brentford.[1]

After one or two disappointments, at which the heart of Charnock misgave him, and he talked of going into the country, Barclay received certain word on Saturday, the 15th of February, that William was getting into his coach, and that it was believed he was going to that hunting-house where Mr. Latten was keeper, which was over against Brentford on the other side the river Thames. The plan of the assassins, who were now increased to thirty-five men, was to surprise William on his return, at a hollow part of the road between Brentford and Turnham Green, one division of them being placed behind some bushes and brushwood at the western end of the green. Eight were to have "taken care of the prince, and the rest to have dealt with the guard"—who, however, according to their calculation, would scarcely have got across the river when William fell into the ambuscade. When the murderers, or, as Barclay calls them, "the gentlemen," were all ready to go to the posts assigned to them, word was brought that William had changed his mind and would not hunt that day. There was a fear that their design was suspected; but, after lying close and still in the interval, Barclay, Porter, and Goodman, concluding that their design was not discovered, had another meeting on the 19th, and then, learning that William was going to hunt at the place calculated upon, which was in Richmond Park, on the next Saturday, the 22d of February, they resolved to do the business on that day. When Saturday came, William was watched to his coach, and again "the gentlemen" were in readiness, but "presently word was brought that the prince was come back to Kensington in great haste, his horses being in a top sweat." There was also a muttering among the people about the detection of a horrible plot; and then Barclay made the best of his way back to France, leaving his brother conspirators to shift for themselves.[2] The Duke of Berwick had returned thither some time before with ample assurance of there being no hope of any popular rising for his father; but James had been very careful to conceal this information from the French monarch, who was still unwilling to risk the expedition without the sure prospect of its being joined by the English people. The miserable exile was then on his road to Calais, where he expected to embark with the French troops. In the mild showing of his biographer, "he durst not disabuse his most Christian majesty, for fear his ministers, who were ever averse from these expeditions, should quash all, without so much as a trial." Therefore he wrote a delusive letter to Louis, and continued his journey to Calais—"still hoping something might happen on which he could raise a request to let the troops embark first." But he had no sooner reached the French port than he learned the discovery of Barclay's plot; and then, overwhelmed with confusion and disgrace, he skulked back to St. Germain.[3]

The day after the flight of Barclay was a Sunday; but on Monday, the 24th of February, William declared in parliament that a plot had been discovered to assassinate him, and that a design of invasion from France was on foot. He told them that some of the conspirators against his person were already in custody, and that measures were taken for apprehending as many of the rest as was possible. It appeared that Captain Fisher, an accomplice—he who lived in King Street, Westminster, and who had proposed to murder William between the park gates—had, on the 10th or 11th of February, disclosed the plot to Lord Portland, but without naming any of the conspirators. The king, it is said, disbelieved or disregarded this confession. But, on the evening of the 14th, one Pendergrast accosted Lord Portland at Whitehall, telling him that if the king went to hunt on the morrow he would assuredly be murdered. In the meantime a third accomplice, named De la Rue, waited upon Secretary Trumball, and gave some information about the plot, revealing the names of several of the conspirators, as Sir George Barclay, Sir William Perkins, Charnock, Parker, and Porter. Upon hearing of this new evidence, Fisher and Pendergrast made up their minds to fuller revelations. William was persuaded by Lord Portland to examine personally, but separately, Pendergrast and De le Rue; and then these witnesses gave up the names of all those who had conspired against the king's life. The secret was kept, and both Pendergrast and De la Rue attended the meeting of the conspirators on the morning of the 22d, when William took coach for Richmond, and they thought their blow was sure. But, after the news of the king's sudden return to Kensington, the company talked of treachery, drank confusion to the Prince of Orange, separated in consternation, and Pendergrast and De la Rue returned to court to relate what had passed at that meeting. But the infatuated cut-throats still fancied that they were unknown; and they were nearly all arrested that night in their beds.

---

[1] *Life of James*—Sir G. Barclay's own relation.

[2] *Life of James*—Sir G. Barclay's own relation.

[3] According to the *Life*, this discovery "put the kingdom into such a ferment, that there was no thinking of the Jacobites venturing to rise, much less of the king's landing, though the French had been willing; but, besides their averseness to hazard their troops, it was said afterwards, *that the whole design on the French side was only a feint to amuse the English while they made a junction of their fleets.*"

On the 24th a proclamation was issued for the apprehension of the rest, offering £1000 reward to any one that should discover and seize them, and £1000, with a free pardon, to any accomplice that should deliver himself up and reveal what he knew. The names inserted in this proclamation were:—the Duke of Berwick, Sir George Barclay, Major Lowick, Captain Porter, Captain Stowe, Captain Walbank, Captain Courtney, Lieutenant Sherburne, Price Blair, Denant, Chambers, Boise, George Higgins and his two brothers, Davis, Cardell, Goodman, Cranburn, Keys, Pendergrast, Burley, Trevor, Sir George Maxwell, Durance, Knightley, Holmes, Sir William Perkins, and Rookwood—this last a name which occurs in almost every English conspiracy from the time of the Gunpowder Plot downward. As soon as this proclamation was out, Mr. George Harris, who had been sent from France to obey the orders of Barclay, delivered himself up to Sir William Trumball, the secretary of state, and divulged all that he knew; and, led by the same hopes of saving their lives and getting high rewards, several more conspirators followed his example. Among these king's evidences was Porter, who had been suspected by Barclay as being "much given to drink and open-minded," but who is described by others as having been one of the most brutal and most forward of the whole gang. Porter, who had been lying at Epsom, came in on the 2d of March, and deposed that he knew Barclay well, and had heard him say he came over to put in execution a design upon the king's person; that Charnock had told him that the said Barclay had £800 given him by a servant of King James, for providing men and horses for the design; that he had heard Barclay complain of the smallness of this sum; that Barclay had bought horses, &c.; that Charnock told him Barclay held a commission from King James; that Sir William Perkins had read the commission, which was all in King James's hand-writing, and which ran, "for raising and levying war upon the person of the king;" that he had heard Barclay say that twenty or twenty-two persons were come from France, who had been officers, and were to be concerned in the design; that several consultations had been held as to the manner of assassinating King William; that these consultations were held at his (Porter's) lodgings in Norfolk Street; others at the Globe Tavern, in Hatton Garden; at the Sun Tavern, in the Strand; and at the Nag's Head, in James's Street, Covent Garden; that two ways had been proposed for assassinating the king; that some days before Saturday, the 15th, he, the deponent, with two others, had surveyed the ground at Turnham Green, Brentford, Richmond, and the ferry by which the king had to cross the river; that two of the party were constantly placed at Kensington to watch the king's movements; that the persons employed in the design were to be divided into three parties, two of which were to attack the guards with their swords only, and the third the king's coach; that Rookwood was to command one of the two first parties, the deponent the other, and Barclay the third, which was to cut off his majesty and all that were with him in the coach; that it was an expression current among them that the assaulting the king in this manner was fair war, and no more than attacking him at his winter-quarters, or killing him as he was passing from one town to another in Flanders.

After other particulars, which agree very closely with the account given by Sir George Barclay himself, Porter continued to depose that the day before he went to survey the ground he dined with Barclay, Perkins, Friend, Holmes, and Ferguson [the last the same Presbyterian preacher who had written the manifestoes of Monmouth, and had been a principal driver in that wretched attempt at a revolution, but who had since become a Jacobite, and had taken an oath to be concerned in every conspiracy that should be got up in his time]; that after dinner other persons came in, when they discoursed *privately* with one another of the assassination, and *more publicly* of the preparations for invasion then making along the sea-coast of France; that the persons who talked of the private design were Barclay, Perkins, and himself; and that Sir John Friend (a rich London brewer and a flaming Jacobite, but who was not prepared to be an assassin), observing their frequent whispers, said, that he deserved to be fairly dealt with—that he was as ready to serve King James as any man, but that he found there was something behind the curtain which was concealed from him; that it was then and there that Sir George Barclay first informed the deponent (Porter) in a whisper that the king's son, the Duke of Berwick, had been here, adding that he could not have told him of this if the duke had not been gone again. And Porter further deposed that Perkins had assured him that Mr. Lewis, gentleman of the horse to Lord Feversham, would furnish three horses if wanted; that Perkins had a commission from King James for a regiment of horse; and that the said Perkins and Charnock had told him that Sir John Friend had a like commission, and that Friend had owned this himself, and declared he would be in readiness; that Charnock had told him that £300 had been paid for Colonel Parker's escape out of the Tower on the former occasion when he was in trouble with Crosby, and that Friend had advanced £100 of that money; that Mr. Tempest, of Durham, had a commission from King James to raise a regiment of horse, and had everything in readiness; that he (the deponent) was to have the first troop in King James's own regiment, of which Parker was to be colonel.[1] Bertram, Blair, Harris, Hunt, and one or two other mere mercenaries who had been tempted by the hope of gain and plunder, made similar revelations. Bertram said that he had been engaged for a particular service by getting a guinea in hand; that he knew it was on account of the *little man*—one of the nick-names given to William—and that he understood he was to be killed. Blair avowed that he had been retained in the secret service of King James by Father Harrison, one of the managers in England ever since the La Hogue affair, and had been asked by Father Harrison, about the beginning of February last, whether he knew any soldiers or *men of courage* who would do something that might be an introduction to King James's happy restoration; but that Sir John Friend, when he heard of the assassination plan, was sorry for it, because he was afraid it would ruin King James's affairs and all his friends. Harris, who had served James in Ireland as an ensign of foot, and since in France as one of his guards, inculpated that unhappy sovereign far more directly than any of the rest; for he deposed that, about the 14th of the preceding January, King James sent for him, and one Hare, his comrade, into the queen's bedchamber, and told him "he had now an opportunity of doing something for him;"—that he should send him to England, where he was to follow Barclay's orders, and trust to his majesty for being taken care of afterwards; that his majesty then ordered money for their journey, and told them they would find Colonel Barclay every Monday and Thursday evening between six and seven o'clock in the open square of Covent Garden, he being to be known by a white handkerchief hanging out of his coat pocket; that Colonel Parker, who was present all this while, went with him by King James's orders to the secretary, who gave them ten louis d'or a-piece, saying, that money would be enough to carry them over, and that, if they were wind-bound, the president, Josse, would provide for their subsistence at Calais. And Harris further deposed that the said president did provide them with everything while they remained at Calais, and on their departure procured them a passage on board a *chaloupe*, commanded by one Gill, who had been in the habit of going backward and forward for intelligence. Hunt, who had a convenient house on the solitary flats of Romney Marsh, confessed that many persons going and coming between London and St. Germain had been entertained and concealed by him, and that the Duke of Berwick had been at his house very recently. Goodman inculpated *Sir John Fenwick*, Lord Montgomery, Lord Aylesbury, Colonel Fountain, and other persons of rank, but he did not accuse them of intending more than to seize William, and to carry him off to France—an attempt, however, which, if made, must have ended on the spot in murder.

The first of the conspirators put on their trial at the Old Bailey, on the 11th of March, before the learned and upright Lord Chief-justice Holt, were—Charnock, who had been a fellow of Magdalen College, and afterwards a captain in King James's Irish army; King, who had been a captain in the same service; and Keys, a trumpeter, who had been the servant of Captain Porter. They were all found guilty of high treason, and were executed at Tyburn on the 18th. Charnock left a paper to justify the lawfulness of their design against the usurper; and they all died avowing the plot, but exculpating King James of all knowledge of the intended murder. They were all three Roman Catholics, and having refused the assistance of any Protestant divine, and not being allowed by the laws a priest of their own persuasion, Charnock performed the spiritual offices for himself and his fellow-sufferers. He most solemnly declared in his last paper that the body of English Catholics "had no manner of knowledge of this design." King, who also left a paper, declared that he was brought to that place of punishment by his crimes, and particularly by *that one* for which he was about to suffer: but he declared that he had never seen any order or commission from King James "promoting the *assassination*." As to the third sufferer, Keys, the poor trumpeter and serving-man of Porter, he said nothing but his prayers, and a general confession that his sins had brought this just judgment upon him. Sir John Friend, the great brewer, Sir William Perkins, Brigadier Rookwood, Major Lowick, and Captain Cranburn were tried, condemned, and executed a few days after. Friend died with the declaration that he believed the cause he was going to suffer for was the cause of God and true religion; that it was altogether new and unintelligible to him that the king's subjects could depose or dethrone him on any account whatsoever; that he knew of no sudden invasion of these dominions, and supposed it was not expected that he should clear himself of the assassination plot, since none of the witnesses had charged him with it.[1] "I am," said Friend, "an unworthy and unprofitable member of the Church of England—of that nonjuring church which at present suffers so much for a strict adherence to loyalty, the laws, and Christian principles. For this I suffer, and for this I die." Sir William Perkins, who suffered with him, said that he had been falsely sworn against by Porter.[2] "It is true," said he, "I was privy to the design upon the prince, but was not to act in it, and am fully satisfied that very few or none knew of it except those who undertook to do it. They were attended on the scaffold by three nonjuring clergymen — Shadrach Cook, William Snatt, and the celebrated Jeremy Collier—who publicly gave them absolution, in the name of Christ, and by imposition of hands, for all their sins. For this performance Cook and Snatt were thrown into Newgate; but Collier, who was accustomed to a hide-and-seek life, got out of the way, and, as was usual with him, published a book upon the subject, justifying what he had done.[3]

---

[1] In a subsequent examination, Porter accused the Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Montgomery, eldest son of the Marquis of Powis, and *Sir John Fenwick*. He declared that they, with other individuals who met at a tavern in the city, agreed to send over Charnock to King James, to desire him to borrow 8000 foot and 2000 horse from the French king, who would not refuse such an army, particularly when it was made known that few forces were left in England, that many people were dissatisfied, and that everything promised success.

All the victims at Tyburn denied more or less explicitly that James was privy to the assassination part of the plot; but the nation and the greater part of Europe refused belief to their dying assertions. James himself, though he had been silent as to the accusations put forth on the detection of Grandval's plot, took great pains to prove his innocence on the present occasion. He told Erizzo, the Venetian ambassador at Paris, that the *winds* had disconcerted his measures to land in England, and betrayed his best hopes; but that he ought and did from his heart acquiesce in the Divine will. "As to any attempt upon the person of the Prince of Orange," said he, "I am wholly ignorant; and, though to face an enemy at the head of his troops, in my opinion, can never be reputed an assassination, I do swear I know nothing of it."[4] Taking these words to be fairly reported, they go rather against his case, for he seems to hold to the notion entertained by some of the assassins themselves—that, because William might have a few guards with him, the falling upon him would be warfare, and not murder. His own son, the Duke of Berwick, confesses "that he was, during his residence in London, informed by Sir George Barclay of a conspiracy which was carrying on against the person of the Prince of Orange;" and he says that he hastened his return to France that he might not be confounded with the conspirators, whose designs appeared to him—not dishonourable, not dastardly, not atrocious; such moral thoughts seem never to have entered his head—but *difficult to execute*. Nay, further, this illegitimate scion of royalty, or the writer of the memoirs which bear his name, says that he did not *disapprove* of the conspiracy, and thought himself *bound in honour* not to dissuade Sir George Barclay from it; that, on communicating the project to Louis XIV. at Marli, that monarch gave orders that all things should be in readiness, and that the army of invasion should sail the instant the success of the conspiracy was known. But the Duke of Berwick saw James at Clermont at least two days before he saw Louis at Marli, and most assuredly he must have related the particulars of Barclay's enterprise to his father, who did not thereupon waver, or return, or despatch messengers into England. On the contrary, he went on, and lay at Calais till news reached him (carried probably by Barclay himself) that the conspiracy had been detected, and most of the assassins seized. By the parliament of England, and by the vast majority of the people, the miserable old man was never allowed the benefit of a doubt; and the conspiracy did more good to William than anything which had yet happened. Both houses immediately voted addresses of congratulation, with assurances that they would adhere to him against all his enemies, and in particular against the late King James; and declaring that they detested and would revenge so barbarous and villainous a design upon his enemies and their adherents if his majesty should ever come to any violent death. They suspended the habeas corpus act, and voted the banishment of all Papists from London and Westminster. In imitation of the Protestant association, formed when the life of Queen Elizabeth was supposed to be in danger from Catholic conspirators, the commons proposed an association for the defence of King William. In the words of the bond, in consequence of "a horrid and detestable conspiracy, formed and carried on by Papists and other wicked and traitorous persons for assassinating his majesty's royal person, in order to encourage an invasion from France, &c., we whose names are hereunto subscribed do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly profess, testify, and declare, that his present majesty King William is *rightful and lawful* king of these realms." About 400 members instantly signed this bond; but in the House of Lords the Tories still clung to their nice but confounding distinction between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure;* and they resisted the proposition of the commons that the signing the bond of association should be indispensable to all who would pass for good and loyal subjects. The lords, however, took up an expedient, and the commons were obliged to content themselves with this compromise—"That his present majesty King William hath a right by law to the crown of this realm; and that neither King James, nor the pretended Prince of Wales, nor any other person, hath any right whatsoever to the same."[1] And in this shape the bond of association was generally signed, and that not merely in parliament,[2] but throughout the country. According to Burnet, the bishops also drew up a form for the clergy after the model of that signed by the lords with some small variation, which he says was so universally signed, that not above 100 clergymen all over England refused it. As yet, however, the signing of the bond was not enforced by any law. But on the following day the commons resolved that whosoever should, by word or writing, affirm the association to be illegal, should be deemed a promoter of the designs of King James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of his country. Nearly at the same time the commons unanimously resolved that a bill should be brought in for the better security of King William, having these heads:—1. That such as should refuse the oaths to his majesty should be subject to the forfeitures and penalties of Popish recusants convict. 2. That penalties should be inflicted on such as should call in question William's being *lawful and rightful* sovereign, or question the act of settlement. 3. That the association should be ratified and confirmed by all good subjects whatsoever. 4. That no person refusing to sign the association should be capable of any office of profit or trust, civil or military. 5. That the same penalties should be inflicted upon such as came out of France into England as upon those that went thither. Several clauses were afterwards added to the bill, which was eventually passed under the title of "An act for the better security of his majesty's royal person and government:" it was enacted, for example, that no one that refused the bond could be returned to parliament, and that no person should be admitted into the service of the Princess Anne or her husband that did not sign it. The session of parliament was closed on the 27th of April, after £5,000,000 had been voted as a supply.

---

[1] Indeed, more than one of the witnesses had declared that he turned with fear and horror from the thought of murder: but, on the other hand, he was sworn to as having been one of the most powerful or influential of those of the conspirators that were plotting for the bringing over of the French army of invasion.

[2] Upon his trial Friend had objected that the witnesses, being Papists, were not legal witnesses against Protestants; that a consultation to levy war was not treason; and that the being at a treasonable consult was but a misprision of treason.

[3] *State Trials; Coke; Ralph; Burnet.*

[4] *Roger Coke.*

At the critical moment when Barclay was with his cut-throats in London, and James with the French army of invasion at Calais, it had so happened—or probably it had been so arranged by intrigues and traitors—that all the shipping in the Downs consisted of one first-rate, two third-rates, eight fourth and fifth rates, one fire-ship, and a brig; while all the rest of the ships of war that were in pay lay far asunder in different ports, poorly manned and provided.[3] But the French force did not move, and by the beginning of March, Admiral Russell, who was again fully trusted, had collected eighty sail, small and great. Hoisting his flag on board the *Victory,* he sailed from the Downs and stood over to Calais, where he discovered some 300 or 400 transports drawn close upon the shore, while about eighteen French men-of-war were at Dunkirk, close at hand. He bombarded Calais, left ships to blockade the coast, but did not venture upon the experiment which had been so successfully tried at La Hogue. The French people, exposed to fresh miseries and insults, cursed James as the cause of them, and declared that no enterprise would ever succeed under the influence of his evil star. The outcast sought consolation among the monks of La Trappe, in fasting and in self-inflicted flagellation. "But," says his biography, "whilst the king was thus turning his whole attention to the gaining a heavenly crown, to his great surprise an earthly one was offered him; not that which was his due, and which, for that reason alone, he desired; but one which gave the world a just idea of his merit, and how well he deserved to wear that which had been so unjustly torn from his head. Towards the end of this summer his most Christian majesty sent M. Pompone to the king, to acquaint him he had received an account from Abbé Polignac, who was then ambassador in Poland, that the people of that country had some thoughts of him in the election they were about to make of a new king, and that some particular diets had already named him."[1] But in truth there was no more chance of James's being elective king of the Poles, than there was of his becoming hereditary sultan and caliph of the Turks. The meaning of the message sent through M. Pompone was this:—Louis was already negotiating with King William that peace which was concluded a few months after, and he wished to turn James's thoughts away from England, and also, perhaps, to throw one sweet drop into the cup of his affliction.

---

[1] Burnet says that the Earl of Rochester offered the amendment, which was thought to answer the ends of the association, and at the same time not to revolt those Tories "who said they could not come up to the words '*rightful and lawful.*'" He adds that fifteen of the peers refused to sign the bond even with this compromise, and that in the commons there were fourscore that refused their signatures. Ralph says that it was refused by ninety-two of the commoners.

[2] "The association," says Burnet, "was carried from the Houses of Parliament over all England, and was signed by all sorts of people, a very few only excepted."

[3] Burchet, *Life of William.* Just after the detection of the plot, Evelyn writes, "But as it pleased God that, Admiral Rooke wanting a wind to pursue his voyage to the straits, that squadron, with others at Portsmouth and other places, were still in the Channel, and were soon brought up to join with the rest of the ships which could be got together, so that there is hope this plot may be broken. I look on it as a very great deliverance and prevention by the providence of God. Though many did formerly pity King James's condition, this design of assassination and bringing over a French army alienated many of his friends, and was like to produce a more perfect establishment of King William."

William had arrived in Flanders early in May, but his campaign this year was far from being brilliant. A short time before his arrival in the allied camp the Earl of Athlone (Ginckel) and Cohorne had attacked and destroyed a vast magazine of ammunition and military stores which the French had collected at Givet. But this was the solitary exploit of the year: Marshal Villeroy and the King of England marched and counter-marched, and never came to a battle. Upon the Rhine operations were equally bloodless and indecisive. But in Catalonia there had been some hard fighting, and M. de Vendome, who had succeeded Noailles, fought a pitched battle, and gained a dearly purchased victory over the Spaniards. On the Danube, where the emperor, the nominal head of the confederacy, was obliged to keep up a great army, which prevented his reinforcing the allies in Flanders, the Imperialists fought one battle in the month of August, and then rested from their fatigues. It was at this moment that Russia or Muscovy, under the young Czar Peter I., began to enter the lists as an European power. The surrender of Azof to Russian arms seemed an important event, and an indication of coming changes, which were then as welcome to the greater part of Europe as they have since been unwelcome and alarming. The Emperor Leopold was most eager for the alliance of the czar against their common enemy the sultan, and the whole family of European princes and states perceived that a hitherto half-barbarous and half-forgotten country must have its weight and influence in all future great political arrangements. Yet the event which was more immediately interesting to William and the English was the defection of the Duke of Savoy, who went to Loretto as if upon a pilgrimage, and there in great secrecy, signed a separate treaty with France. This clandestine proceeding was soon suspected; and in the course of the summer the Duke of Savoy pulled off his mask, and declared his intention of establishing a neutrality in all Italy. His late allies, the emperor, and the Kings of Spain and England, complained loudly of his desertion, and refused to accede to the neutrality, which had, in fact, been recommended by the pope, in order to save the peninsula from the ravages of a war which only went to determine whether French or Austrians and Spaniards should have the dominion of that beautiful land. Then the Duke of Savoy put himself at the head of the French army in Italy and of his own troops, invaded the duchy of Milan, and invested the fortress of Valencia. The court of Spain having no troops to spare, and being at the same time threatened by invasions and insurrections at Naples, her possession at the other end of the peninsula was thus forced to accede to the neutrality; and thereupon the Duke of Savoy retired across his own frontier, and Louis XIV. ordered *Te Deums* to be sung at Paris for the happy termination of the war in Italy—for the "Grand Monarque," who had figured so long as a conqueror, now took to himself the merit of peacemaker. William, at the same moment, was compelled to listen to the wishes of the Dutch, who had received overtures of peace from Louis. These overtures, made under the mediation of Sweden, were accepted by the states-general; and on the 3d of September their high mightinesses came to a solemn resolution that the concessions of France afforded a good ground for a treaty. The terms were communicated to the other members of the confederacy. Some of the minor powers would have accepted them, but the emperor, and even the King of Spain, weak as he was, rejected them altogether, insisting that the declarations of France were not sufficiently explicit—that the treaty of Westphalia ought to be renewed in all its parts as the only proper basis of a lasting peace.

---

[1] *Life*, from the *Stuart Papers*, &c. Just about this time our old acquaintance Titus Oates, who was alive and flourishing upon a pension, "dedicated," says Evelyn, "a most villainous reviling book against King James, which he presumed to present to King William, who could not but abhor it, speaking so infamously and untruly of his late beloved queen's own father."—*Diary*.

William returned to England; and on the 20th of October, the day appointed for the meeting of parliament, he informed the two houses that overtures for peace had been made by the enemy. "But," said he, "I am sure we shall agree in opinion that the only way of treating with France is with our swords in our hands." Both houses returned a cordial reply; but the commons were warmest.[1] That able Whig, Montague, chancellor of the exchequer, stepped forward with a very bold scheme. It appeared that £6,000,000 would be required for the current expenses of the year; and that the floating debt, which they undertook to discharge, exceeded £5,000,000. If the chancellor of the exchequer had pursued the old routine, he could scarcely have got voted a greater supply than £6,000,000; but he boldly proposed that the expenses of the year 1697 should be provided within the year, by means of a land-tax of three shillings in the pound, and a heavy capitation or poll-tax; that the deficiency of funds, the low state of public credit, and the want of circulating medium, should be remedied by some new imposts, and by continuing some old ones about to expire to the year 1706, and by borrowing money upon state counters or exchequer tallies, bearing interest and being secured upon supplies voted in succeeding sessions; and the commons concurred in all these measures, and adopted the last and startling innovation, which continued to be acted upon in subsequent times till the national debt of England became one of the wonders of the world. At the same time the privileges of the infant Bank of England were considerably extended, and an increase in its capital took place.

Sir John Fenwick, who had been deeply engaged in the late invasion plot, as in several others, and whose name had appeared in the proclamation, was seized at New Romney in the course of the summer. He was preparing to sail for France—at that moment an offence all but capital in itself; and he was forthwith committed to the Tower. A letter was intercepted which he had written to his wife, and in which he had said that nothing could save his life except the family interest of the Howards, with whom he was allied through her, or the *securing of a jury*.[2] This was held, without sufficient attention to the strict laws of evidence, as a proof and confession of his guilt. When brought before the lords of the regency he stoutly denied the charges against him, but, at the production of the letter to his wife, he changed colour, faltered, and seemed inclined to admit his guilt, with some modifications. On the 10th of August, when he had been nearly two months in prison, Sir John gave a long confession, written in his own hand, to the Duke of Devonshire, making that nobleman pass his word that it should be communicated to King William only.[3] "And I believe," says Devonshire, in inclosing the document, "your majesty, when you read it, will not wonder that he exacted that promise from me. I may truly say I should have been very glad not to have been trusted with this secret, being very unwilling to believe what is there suggested of persons for whom I have a great respect, and which, as your majesty may please to observe, is for the most part hearsay. All that I can say is, that, whether your majesty gives no credit at all to that part of this paper, or if you do, and, in consideration of the difference of times, would have no notice taken of it, *some of them being in places of the highest trust, and in all appearance very firm to your interest now*, I humbly beg leave to assure your majesty that, whatever part of this paper you would have kept secret shall remain so inviolably for me."[1] Fenwick, in fact, confessed that ever since King James's departure from Ireland there was a select number of his friends intrusted by him to manage his affairs here, who held a constant correspondence with him and his secretary of state, and who used all methods possible to advance his interests by engaging men in place, in the government, fleet, and army, and by remitting accounts to France that might encourage Louis to attempt his restoration; that up to the winter preceding the business of La Hogue, no member of William's government, except Lord Godolphin, was known by him as holding a constant correspondence with St. Germain; that Lord Middleton had been going and coming, and treating in London with Shrewsbury and Godolphin and other men in office; that, when James and the French were at La Hogue, Captain Lloyd, a groom of the bedchamber to King James, was sent over to his majesty from Lord Marlborough and Admiral Russell, with an assurance of their interest in the army and fleet if he would only grant them his pardon for what was past; that the Duke of Shrewsbury, in returning to office under King William, had assured James that it was only to be more capable of doing him service, &c. But of all these double-dealers none was so strongly denounced as Marlborough, whom Fenwick described as being entirely depended upon by the exiled monarch. There was, however, scarcely a word in this confession that could be new to William, who weighed well the advice of the Duke of Devonshire, and determined neither to proceed against Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Russell, and their satellites, nor to interfere to save the life of Fenwick. In fact, with the exception of Marlborough, most of the denounced traitors enjoyed at the time that portion of his confidence and favour which the king was wont to bestow on such personages; and, by making such a confession in those circumstances, Fenwick whetted the axe for his own neck. Burnet says, very incorrectly, that Fenwick offered no evidence except his own word.[2]

---

[1] "To the opening of the session, not only England, but all Europe looked forward with intense anxiety. Public credit had been deeply injured by the failure of the Land Bank. The restoration of the currency was not yet half accomplished. The scarcity of money was still distressing. Much of the milled silver was buried in private repositories as fast as it came from the mint. Those politicians who were bent on raising the denomination of the coin, had found too ready audience from a population suffering under severe pressure; and at one time the general voice of the nation seemed to be on their side. Of course every person who thought it likely that the standard would be lowered, hoarded as much money as he could hoard; and thus the cry for little shillings aggravated the pressure from which it had sprung. Both the allies and the enemies of England imagined that her resources were spent—that her spirit was broken—that the commons, so often querulous and parsimonious even in tranquil and prosperous times, would now positively refuse to bear any additional burden, and would, with an importunity not to be withstood, insist on having peace at any price.

"But all these prognostications were confounded by the firmness and ability of the Whig leaders, and by the steadiness of the Whig majority. On the 20th of October the houses met. William addressed to them a speech, remarkable even among all the remarkable speeches, in which his own high thoughts and purposes were expressed in the dignified and judicious language of Somers. 'There was,' the king said, 'great reason for congratulation. It was true that the funds voted in the preceding session for the support of the war had failed, and that the recoinage had produced great distress. Yet the enemy had obtained no advantage abroad—the state had been torn by no convulsion at home; the loyalty shown by the army and by the nation under severe trials had disappointed all the hopes of those who wished evil to England. Overtures tending to peace had been made. What might be the result of those overtures was uncertain; but this was certain, that there could be no safe or honourable peace for a nation which was not prepared to wage vigorous war. I am sure we shall all agree in opinion that the only way of treating with France is with our swords in our hands.'

"The commons returned to their chamber; and Foley read the speech from the chair. A debate followed, which resounded through all Christendom."—*Macaulay*, vol. iv.

[2] According to Burnet, Fenwick's notion of making sure of a jury was, "that some of the jury should be hired to starve out the rest."

[3] "It appears," says Burnet, "by his discoveries, that the Jacobites in England were much divided; some were called compounders, and others non-compounders. The first sort desired securities from King James for the preservation of the liberties and religion of England; whereas the second sort were for trusting him upon discretion, without asking him any terms—putting all in his power, and relying entirely on his honour and generosity."

A.D. 1697. Sir John Fenwick now thought his life safe; but the confession he had sent to the king had arrayed against him an implacable and a most formidable band, who resolved to strike him by attainder in parliament. Admiral Russell, one of those upon whom his accusations lay the heaviest, rose in the commons, and, as he said, by the king's permission, laid the two written confessions of the prisoner upon the table. After a reading which excited a tempest, in which the guiltiest were the loudest, Fenwick was brought before the house; and, as he refused to give any further account of the matters contained in them, unless upon condition of a full pardon, the papers were voted false, scandalous, and made only to create jealousies; and a bill of attainder was presently brought in. This bill, however, encountered at every stage great opposition in *both* houses. The Tories, the semi or entire Jacobites, fought for the unhappy prisoner, and insisted upon a delicate regard to the laws of evidence and the laws of treason, which they had over and over disregarded when they were in power; and the Whigs strained these laws and made up evidence somewhat in the fashion of which they had formerly complained so loudly, and of which some of their party had been the victims upon the scaffold.

At the final division of the commons upon the guilt of Fenwick (which was clear enough, though it could not be proved except by resorting to a blameable and dangerous straining of the rules of law), and upon the consequent passing of the bill of attainder, the Whig majority was only 189 to 156. In the lords, after a most vehement debate, it was carried only by sixty-eight to sixty-one.[3] The Duke of Devonshire, who had received Fenwick's confession in the Tower, voted against the bill, and Shrewsbury had the delicacy to absent himself from the debate—though it is possible that his absence might be occasioned by a severe fit of sickness which he was then suffering. The Lords Godolphin and Bath, two others of those whom Fenwick had accused, voted against the bill, and appeared earnest for the preservation of their accuser; but Marlborough supported the bill, and induced the Princess Anne's husband to do the same. Archbishop Tennison and Bishop Burnet, who would have done well to remember the ancient canon of the church which prohibited churchmen from sitting on a case of blood, both voted with the majority. The royal assent was soon given to the bill, for which, however, William had not been anxious. Fenwick then made all possible application to the king for a reprieve; but the majority who voted his attainder were eager for his death: the royal ear was filled by these men, and Fenwick was beheaded upon Tower-hill on the 28th of January.

---

[1] *Dalrymple*, Appendix.

[2] "It is now well known that Fenwick's discoveries went not a step beyond the truth. Their effect, however, was beneficial to the state, as, by displaying a strange want of secrecy in the court of St. Germain, Fenwick never having had any direct communication with those he accused, it caused Godolphin and Marlborough to break off their dangerous course of perfidy."—*Hallam.*

[3] "The lords took a very extraordinary method to force all their absent members to come up: they sent messengers for them to bring them up, which seemed to be a great breach on their dignity; for the privilege of making a proxy was an undoubted right belonging to their peerage; but those who intended to throw out the bill resolved to have a full house."—Burnet, *Own Times.*

On the 16th of April William closed the session, and took leave of his parliament, with an assurance that the administration of affairs would be left during his absence on the Continent in the hands of such persons as he could depend upon. It was strange to see Lord Sunderland put forward as one of these trustworthy men: that adroit and treble-sided politician was now made lord-chamberlain and one of the council of regency. Admiral Russell had been gratified with the blood of Fenwick, and he now received the further gratification of being raised to the peerage with the title of Earl of Orford: and at the same time the lord-keeper was made lord-chancellor and a peer, with the title of Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham. The summer passed over very quietly in England, for the Jacobites were now humble and silent; and the Marlboroughs, the Russells, and the rest had had a happy escape from the charges of Fenwick. Besides, the hopeless reprobated condition into which King James had fallen, and the evident symptoms of an earnest desire for peace on the part of France, did at last pretty well dissipate their doubts and fears of a restoration. And when there was nothing to gain by dishonesty and double-dealing, and nothing to lose by the opposite conduct, these model politicians made up their minds to be honest.

CHAPTER V.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1697—1700.

WILLIAM III.

The campaign successfully opened by the French—Election of a King of Poland—Establishment of peace at Ryswick—Discontent of the English Jacobites with the peace—Protest of James II. against it—Conditions of the treaty of Ryswick—Congratulations to William on his return to London—William attempts to establish a standing army—Opposition to the measure in the House of Commons—The army disbanded—Popular jealousy of standing armies—Parliament dissolved—Discontents in Scotland—Opposition in England to the Scottish Darien project—Progress of the Isthmus of Darien company—Its first shipment sets sail—Lord Marlborough's advancement—William sends an embassy to Paris—Its remonstrances against the alliance of the French court with Jacobites—The scheme of the partition treaty—William's share in it—Particulars of the designed partition—The first partition treaty subscribed—Objects to be attained by it—The new parliament opened by William—His proposals—They are opposed—Proposal of parliament to disband the soldiers, and deprive William of his Dutch guard—He threatens to leave the kingdom—He attempts to conciliate parliament—They persist in their purpose—The Dutch guard sent back to Holland—The Whig ministry assailed—Admiral Russell, now Lord Orford, accused of peculation—He resigns office—Changes in the ministry—The Darien expedition—Its great popularity in Scotland—The new colonists arrive at their destination—They establish their settlement of New Edinburgh—Alarm of the Spaniards at their arrival—Their plan of settlement opposed by Spain, England, and Holland—Sufferings of the colonists—They are joined by fresh arrivals from Scotland—Their conflicts with the Spaniards—The colony abandoned by the settlers—Subsequent fate of Paterson—Indignation of Spain at the partition treaty—Misunderstandings and quarrels by which it is broken up—The Tories obtain the ascendency in the English government—Their intrigues to drive Lord Somers from office—They accuse him of piracy on the high seas—Grounds of this ridiculous charge—It is abandoned—Inquiry of the Tories into William's grants of the Irish forfeitures—Financial report on these forfeitures and grants—Retaliations of the opposite party—Fierce debate on the grants made to Lady Orkney—The Tories are victorious—They bring in the bill of resumption for the application of the Irish forfeitures to public uses—Continued conflicts between the two parties in parliament—Attempts renewed against Lord Somers—He ceases to be chancellor.

IN Flanders the campaign was opened by the French with unexpected vigour; or rather the allies, trusting too much to diplomacy, had neglected arms. M. Catinat, who had been allowed, by the cessation of hostilities in Italy, to come into Flanders, invested the town of Aeth before William reached the Continent; and when his majesty took the field, he found the French besieging army covered by another under Villeroy and Boufflers. Aeth was captured, but the French were prevented from advancing towards Brussels, which they intended either to take or to bombard. The allied forces, and the French under Catinat, Villeroy, and Boufflers, then chose advantageous camps, and lay inactive all the rest of the summer. In Catalonia the French, reinforced, under the command of the Duke of Vendome, took the important city of Barcelona—an event which forced the court of Spain to think of peace, and to lower the loftiness of its tone. On the Rhine even less was done in the way of fighting than in the Low Countries; but on the

Danube the army of the emperor, now commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy, thoroughly defeated the Turks, led by the sultan in person, at the great battle of Zeuta. His imperial majesty instantly despatched a courier to the states-general, hoping that the news of this signal victory might induce them to break off those negotiations with France to which he was as averse as ever. Poland had become the scene of French intrigues, and plans had been formed there which might have tended greatly to strengthen Louis XIV. John Sobieski, the brave reliever of Vienna, had died the preceding year. The candidates for that elective and most troublesome crown were, as usual, very numerous; and at one moment the Abbé Polignac, the French ambassador, had, it was thought, by lavishing vast sums of money among the mercenary nobles, secured the election of the French Prince of Conti. Of the venal and factious nobles that generally made a market and a fight of a new election, each faction accused the other of corruption and treachery: the Polish people, who were mere serfs, looked on with stupid indifference, or only felt the curse of the system which eventually ruined what ought to have been one of the finest nations of Europe. The Prince of Conti, after a short struggle, returned to Paris, and the Elector of Saxony, the accommodating Augustus, who changed his religion to qualify himself to be King of the Catholic Poles, remained on the throne till driven from it by that heroic madman Charles XII. of Sweden. During the election there was a talk of a *James;*—but it was James Sobieski, son of the deceased king, and not James Stuart. At this moment Poland hung together only because her neighbours were either not strong enough to attack her, or were engaged in other extensive wars.

While the armies of the French and the confederates enjoyed their ease in Flanders, the Earl of Portland and Marshal Boufflers were busily engaged, at first in a small cottage in the plain of Halle, and subsequently at Brussels, in adjusting the terms of a treaty. Preliminaries were soon signed; and the King of England, after signifying to all the plenipotentiaries assembled at Brussels that he had settled his *separate concerns* with France, retired to his country-house the Loo. Then the treaty was carried on slowly and cautiously to a conclusion at Ryswick. The diplomatists of Spain were humble; but not so those of the emperor, who prolonged discussion on many essential points. The chief of the English diplomatists was the Earl of Pembroke, a man of eminent virtue and of some learning. The King of Sweden, Charles XI., had been accepted as mediator, but he died before any great progress was made in the treaty. His son, Charles XII., a youth of fifteen, was admitted to succeed him in the mediation; and the first act of the reign of that most warlike of sovereigns was of a most peaceful character.

RYSWICK.—From a drawing by P. C. Lafarque.

The helpless court of St. Germain was soon made aware of the inevitable result of the negotiations, which could be no less than the acknowledgment and recognition of William. After the failure of many other efforts, and applications to emperor and pope, James pressed hard to have his plenipotentiary received at Ryswick; but that conference unanimously refused to admit him in any way as a party to the negotiations. Then the court of St. Germain put forth a manifesto professing to give a faithful account of the Revolution of 1689, and of the crying injustice James had suffered all along. The Jacobites pretended great astonishment that so plain a representation should not have altered the decisions at Ryswick and the politics of all Europe; and complained bitterly that James was totally neglected and given up by Louis XIV. himself, who was so bent upon a peace as to forget his former resolution of restoring James by force of arms, and to recognize, like the rest of the contracting parties in the treaty, the title and right of the usurper William. Pride, however, forbade their admitting that, though kindly and delicately treated by the French court, their exiled king had been but as a mere card in the hands of Louis, who used him according to the turns of the game. Recourse was had to a new protest, that most useless of all diplomatic papers; and "James, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland," &c., informed all princes, potentates, &c., that he disclaimed and denied all proceedings adopted, and all articles inserted, in the treaty of Ryswick, which had been concluded without his participation. *The princes of Christendom were once more reminded how dangerous the precedent of the English Revolution might prove to themselves*, and that his cause was the common cause of all sovereigns. They were called upon to assist him in the recovery of his kingdom, and were told to reflect "how glorious such a revolution would be, and how suitable to the true interests of those who are *born to govern*." For himself and his lawful heirs, James solemnly protested against the usurper—against all treaties of alliance, confederacy, or commerce made with England since the usurpation—against all acts whatsoever of the *pretended* parliaments of England. What did him better service (and it might have done him more good than it did if he had consented to remove from France, or if Louis had enforced the conditions in regard to which William was so liberal) was the arrangement entered into through the tender care of Louis, that he should be allowed, or that his queen should be allowed, by England, a pension of £50,000 a-year.

By the treaty of Ryswick, which was signed on the 20th of September, England obtained better conditions than had been offered in the winter of 1695; so that William had not persevered so much longer in the war for nothing. The great principle of the treaty was restitution, or a return towards the *statu quo ante bellum.* Spain and Austria had long insisted that the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen should be renewed to the letter;[1] and though that was found impracticable, those treaties were, in a manner, the basis of the present. Louis XIV. restored to the empire, to Spain, to Holland, to the Duke of Lorraine, and to minor potentates, nearly everything that he had taken from them; but Strasburg, described by Louis himself as one of the principal ramparts of the empire and of heresy, was yielded up absolutely by the emperor and by the empire to France, which was also allowed to retain several important fortresses along the Flanders frontier. The French diplomatists tried hard to keep Luxembourg, but it was restored to Spain. The French people, though long weary of the war, and sadly exhausted by it, complained bitterly of the submissiveness of their negotiators, not failing to accuse them of treachery and corruption. But the plain truth was that the "Grand Monarque" was absolutely in need of a truce—he, at least, never intended that the peace of Ryswick should be more — and behind the Pyrenees he was watching events, and making preparations which, he doubted not, would give Spain to one member of his family. The treaty of Ryswick left as they were the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession, arising out of the marriage of Louis XIV. to the Infanta Maria Theresa, the daughter of Philip IV. Diplomacy had not touched those pretensions, nor provided for the proper and national filling of the Spanish throne; and at this moment Louis well knew that the child of the old age of Philip IV.—the sickly, imbecile, and childless Charles II.—a constant prey to indigestion, sickness, melancholy, and a consuming and harrowing superstition, was hastening to the splendid tomb which his forefathers had prepared for royalty under the palace of the Escurial. During eighteen years—or ever since the marriage of Charles with the beautiful Louisa of Orleans, the niece of Louis—the intrigues of the French had been incessant, and now the web seemed complete. Louis knew that the treaty of Ryswick would dissolve the league—that the forces of the confederates would be dispersed, and in good part disbanded. He knew that the constitutional jealousies of the English parliament would prevent William from maintaining a standing army; while he himself, unchecked and absolute, might keep the mass of his own forces together, or increase and improve them. To collect again the armies of the confederacy would be a work of time; but the French, united within their own frontiers, and quartered on the road to the Pyrenees, would be ready to march and to act at once. The result proved that these calculations were correct, and that Louis had been moderate at Ryswick only to grasp at the whole Spanish succession.[2]

The treaty of Ryswick was, in consequence of the brilliant victory obtained by Prince Eugene of Savoy, soon followed by a treaty which restored peace between the Turks and the Austrians, with terms honourable and advantageous to the latter; and thus the seventeenth century, after long wars and infinite bloodshed, was left to terminate in tranquillity.[1]

---

[1] Spain had even pretended to treat in a loftier manner, and to renew the articles of the peace of the Pyrenees; but finding that such exorbitant pretensions could not be listened to, she restricted her claim to the restitution of all that had been conquered from her.

[2] "The treaty of Ryswick was concluded on at least as fair terms as almost perpetual ill fortune could warrant us to expect. It compelled Louis XIV. to recognize the king's title, and thus both humbled the court of St. Germain, and put an end, for several years, to its intrigues. It extinguished, or rather the war itself extinguished, one of the bold hopes of the French court, the scheme of procuring the election of the dauphin to the empire. It gave at least a breathing time to Europe, as long as the feeble lamp of Charles II.'s life should continue to glimmer, during which the fate of his vast succession might possibly be regulated without injury to the liberties of Europe.

William returned to England in the month of November. His entrance into London on the 16th was triumphant and joyous. The people blessed him as the restorer of a happy peace; and addresses of congratulation were presented from every part of the kingdom upon the honourable and reasonable terms that had been acquired by the wisdom, fortitude, and perseverance of his majesty. The parliament met on the 3d of December; and William, doubly justified by the state of affairs abroad and by the state of affairs at home, where he saw himself still surrounded by plotting and factious men, frankly declared to the two houses, "that, for the present, England would not be safe without a land force." Had there been nothing else to justify this declaration, the slowness of the French in evacuating the fortresses and territories which they were bound to cede might have seemed enough. But this consideration, and all others, were lost sight of in the national detestation of a standing army; and the feeling of the nation gave weight and consideration to those men in parliament who, some from patriotism, some from timidity, but many more from merely factious motives, denounced the king and the government as harbouring intentions to destroy that liberty and constitution which he had preserved from absolute wreck. By almost unanimous consent, the Earl of Sunderland was accused as the principal promoter of this plan. The commons, in their address, congratulated his majesty on his having, by the late honourable and advantageous peace, completed the glorious work of the nation's deliverance; but as to the necessity declared by his majesty of keeping up a land force for the present they said not a syllable. William was hurt and disconcerted, for every day brought alarming news from the Continent, with sure indications that Louis XIV., who still kept the exiled Stuarts at Versailles, had in no sense given up the cause of that family; but he said not a word more about the business than the commons had done. He sent none of those "quickening messages" which the princes of the house of Stuart had so frequently resorted to, and with such fatal effect. He calmly waited the deliberations of parliament. The important question came on in the commons in the course of a few days, and loud was the debate. It was affirmed, without any nice distinction as to number or officering, that a standing army — that any standing army—was utterly inconsistent with a free government, and absolutely destructive of the English constitution. Unprincipled men, who would have thrown the country prostrate at the feet of the shallowest and most vindictive of despots—who would have brought in James by means of a French invasion—were enthusiastically eloquent upon these points. When the question came to a division in the commons, it was carried by a majority of 185 to 148 against the court; and the resolution was adopted, that all the forces raised since the year 1680 should be forthwith disbanded. This determination, however, fell far short of the original intention of many, who had proposed that the public defence should be intrusted solely to the militia; for it allowed of 8000 regular troops, the number on foot in 1680. The king confined his complaints to his friends Lord Portland and the Dutch Grand-pensioner

---

But to those who looked with the king's eyes on the prospects of the Continent, this pacification could appear nothing else than a preliminary armistice of vigilance and preparation. He knew that the Spanish dominions, or at least as large a portion of them as could be grasped by a powerful arm, had been for more than thirty years the object of Louis XIV. The acquisitions of that monarch at Aix-la-Chapelle and Nimeguen had been comparatively trifling, and seem hardly enough to justify the dread that Europe felt of his aggressions. But in contenting himself for the time with a few strong towns, or a moderate district, he constantly kept in view the weakness of the King of Spain's constitution."—Hallam, *Const. Hist. Eng.*, vol. ii. p. 292.

The same author appends to these remarks the following important note:—"The peace of Ryswick was absolutely necessary, not only on account of the defection of the Duke of Savoy, and the manifest disadvantage with which the allies carried on the war, but because public credit in England was almost annihilated, and it was hardly possible to pay the army. The extreme distress for money is forcibly displayed in some of the king's letters to Lord Shrewsbury (p. 114, &c.) These were, in 1696, the very *nadir* of English prosperity, from which, by the favour of Providence and the buoyant energies of the nation, we have, though not quite with an uniform motion, culminated to our present height (1824)."

[1] "For several years after the treaty of Ryswick, the intrigues of ambitious and discontented statesmen, and of a misled faction in favour of the exiled family, grew much colder; the old age of James and the infancy of his son being alike incompatible with their success. The Jacobites yielded a sort of provisional allegiance to the daughter of their king, deeming her, as it were, a regent in the heir's minority, and willing to defer the consideration of his claim till he should be competent to make it, or to acquiesce in her continuance upon the throne, if she could be induced to secure his reversion. Meanwhile, under the name of Tories and high churchmen, they carried on a more dangerous war by sapping the bulwarks of the Revolution settlement. The disaffected clergy poured forth sermons and libels, to impugn the principles of the Whigs or traduce their characters. Twice a year especially, on the 30th of January and the 29th of May, they took care that every stroke upon rebellion and usurpation should tell against the expulsion of the Stuarts and the Hanover succession. They inveighed against the dissenters and the toleration. They set up pretences of loyalty towards the queen, descanting sometimes on her hereditary right, in order to throw a slur on the settlement. They drew a transparent veil over their designs, which might screen them from prosecution, but could not impose, nor was meant to impose on the reader. Among these the most distinguished was Leslie, author of a periodical sheet called the *Rehearsal*, printed weekly from 1704 to 1708; and as he, though a Nonjuror, and unquestionable Jacobite, held only the same language as Sacheverell, and others who affected obedience to the government, we cannot much be deceived in assuming that their views were entirely the same. —Hallam, *Const. Hist. Eng.*, vol. ii. p. 370.

Heinsius. Sunderland, who was about equally odious to both factions, though both allowed his ability for business, resolved to prevent a public affront by retiring voluntarily from the court and from business. William earnestly requested him to continue still about him; but Sunderland had made up his mind, and he went to his pleasant retirement at Althorp. He probably thereby escaped an impeachment. Before the passing of the bill, or immediately after signing the treaty of peace, William had ordered the disbanding of a large part of the army—a reduction which was carried on in conformity with the demands of the two houses, in spite of the increasing alarms on the Continent, until the land forces actually on foot did not exceed 15,000 or 16,000 men. Parliament, however, in this session settled a revenue upon the king *for life*, and carried the amount to £700,000, instead of £600,000, as originally intended.

This session of the English parliament was indirectly the cause of considerable expense and suffering to Ireland. "The flame both within doors and without, about a standing army," was kept up by constant additions of fuel, not always drawn from the recesses of truth and wisdom; and the patriots proclaimed that the reduction had not been carried far enough—that there was still in England a force sufficient to put in jeopardy the liberties of the people. The course to be taken was apparent; a considerable number of horse, foot, and dragoons were drafted off to Ireland. It was assumed, however, by some in the House of Commons, that this was in reality giving an unwarrantable benefit to the Irish, who would receive the money spent by the soldiery! Towards the close of the session, the commons addressed his majesty, demanding that a list should be laid before that house of the troops disbanded, and intended to be disbanded, together with a list of all the officers who were put, or to be put upon half-pay. So jealous were the people of any approach to that object of their unvarying hatred, a standing army, that they complained loudly of the half-pay system, which they represented as insuring and keeping together the nucleus of an army; for where the officers, the most essential part, were kept together, it would be easy to raise the private soldiers again in a few weeks, or to make new ones in a few months. Trenchard, ex-secretary of state to William, who wrote the *History of Standing Armies*, and who exerted himself on the patriotic side, was an honest and conscientious man; but the majority of those who acted with him in this matter were actuated exclusively by factious motives. Some boasted that they would break the cold, stern heart of the king, by depriving him of all his forces except a troop of horse, and by rendering him utterly unable to take any further part in continental affairs. On the 5th of July William prorogued the parliament, without betraying any symptom either of grief or ill humour; but on the 7th he dissolved it by proclamation.

The king had never been and never became popular with the Scots. They—we mean the vast majority of the Presbyterians—were still mindful of the sufferings they had so recently endured at the hands of the Episcopal church, and therefore dreaded every movement that promised its restoration. But the Scots had other grounds of complaint, and upon some of these they were indisputably entitled to sympathy and respect. Proud and high-spirited, and justified in their national pride by their long preservation of their independence against a far greater and richer country, they now saw that in all matters of government Scotland was made subordinate to England. This, under the circumstances, was inevitable, and nothing was left that could make the odds even except an entire incorporation and union with England. But the word *union* still sounded like annihilation in their ears, and their hearts still clung to the name and separate insignia of old Scotland. It was thought by some that the king might have removed at least a part of the unpopularity which attached to him personally if he had gone occasionally into Scotland, and opened their parliament in person, &c.; but William was not fitted to court favour in this way; his manners were not captivating; and it may be that the remembrances of the dynasty of the Stuarts, which he had displaced, blew like a cold blast from their old home, Scotland, making the country uninviting. However this may be, to Scotland he never went. Less jealous of a standing army than were the English, the Scots parliament this year readily voted that their present standing forces were necessary to be continued. But Paterson, the projecting financier, and his schemes, had thrown the whole Scottish nation into a ferment. The merchant-adventurers and others who had acted upon the large charter of trade and colonization granted by William in the year 1694, laid a representation of grievances before parliament. They stated that they had been willing and eager that their neighbours in England should share with them in the advantages of this trade and colonization; that the English had not only readily embraced the offer, but in nine days had subscribed £300,000 sterling, as the one-half of the capital stock proposed, and actually paid in the first fourth part thereof; that the English parliament, taking umbrage at these proceedings, had not only jointly addressed his majesty, but the House of Commons had also appointed a committee to discredit the charter, or to examine what methods had been taken for obtaining the said acts for establishing their company, who were the subscribers thereunto, and who were the promoters and advisers thereof—with power to send for persons, papers, and records; and that, pursuant thereto, the said committee had given orders to summon not only the English subscribers, but even some persons residing then in Scotland. They complained that by these and some other measures, their friends and co-partners in England had been forced to relinquish their enterprise. The representation, or remonstrance, then went on to show that most of the nobility, gentry, merchants, &c., of Scotland had, upon the faith of the acts and charter, contributed to the raising of a more considerable joint-stock than any that had ever been raised in that kingdom; that they had also hopes of foreign aid and contribution, especially at Hamburg, where the merchants had contracted to join at least £200,000 sterling with them; when, of a sudden, and to their great surprise and loss, the English minister there resident had, under pretence of a special warrant from his majesty, put a stop to the whole business, by presenting a memorial to the Hamburg senate: that after this memorial of the English ministry was presented, the Scottish deputies had been advised and prevailed upon by the Hamburg merchants to open books in the said Merchants' Hall, where for some days the Hamburgers signed considerable sums pursuant to their previous contract, though under condition to be void if they (the Scots) should not procure some declaration from King William that might render them secure from the threatenings and insinuations contained in his minister's memorial: that, as the reasonable and unquestionable prospects of a powerful assistance from Hamburg and several other places had induced them (the Scots) to make a far greater and more expensive preparation for colonies and trade than they otherwise would have done, so the rendering these measures abortive had weakened their stock, lessened their credit, retarded their expedition, disheartened the shareholders and contributors, and thrown a damp upon all projects of foreign and domestic trade and improvement in Scotland. The remonstrance further stated that their ships were already at sea; but they still preserved the secret as to their destination; and they called upon the Scots parliament to provide for the safety of the said ships. The parliament hereupon drew up an address to his majesty; but it was short and general, and so cold as to look almost like indifference. But long before this address was ready, William was in Holland, busied in revolving one of the boldest or least scrupulous of his continental schemes. His Scottish ministers endeavoured to qualify the heats which this commercial fever had caused, but their efforts were not very successful, and in the beginning of September they adjourned the parliament to the 25th of November. Meanwhile the Scots company ships at sea went on their course.

In the preceding year (1697) Anne's only surviving child, the Duke of Gloucester, had attained the age of eight years, a period at which it was thought imperative to confide to some nobleman the charge of his person, and to some bishop or learned doctor the care of his education. The court intrigues were numerous, and would not be intelligible without entering into long and tedious details. The Princess Anne put forward the husband of her favourite Lady Marlborough; and at last William consented to this arrangement, because he saw that if he rejected Lord Marlborough, he must consign the young prince to his maternal uncle, Lord Rochester, the blazing head of the high-church party, the stanchest or loudest of all Tories. Having once made up his mind, the king conferred the office in the most gracious manner upon the fortunate and aspiring soldier. As if to balance the Toryism of this governor—for Marlborough was still a professing Tory—the king gave the preceptorship to the celebrated Dr. Burnet, the historian, then Bishop of Salisbury, and a Whig of the first water. The very evening after his appointment Marlborough was restored to his military rank and to his place in the council; and, striking up a sudden friendship for the Whig bishop, he continued to divide with Burnet the care of the Duke of Gloucester, who, like all princes that die young, is represented as being of a most promising disposition—as another Marcellus.

Early in the year William had despatched Lord Portland on an embassay to Paris, with instructions that were known to none except the king and his friend and adviser, the Pensionary Heinsius. Portland was attended by the celebrated wit and poet, Matthew Prior, as his secretary. The embassy made its public entrance into Paris on the 27th of February. Portland, with little circumlocution, complained of the countenance still shown by the court of Versailles to the Duke of Berwick and "other assassins," who had the bad taste to be there at his presentation and after-visits. The French court replied that the Duke of Berwick had only been engaged in the matter of invasion, and that, as for the rest, if they were proved to be assassins (that is, to have been accomplices with Barclay, Perkins, and the other Turnham Green men), his most Christian majesty would withdraw his protection from them. Portland named Sir George Barclay himself, who, since his flight from England, had been treated with as much consideration as ever by the court of St. Germain. Louis, who wanted to keep England in a state of uneasiness, declared that nearness of kindred to the dethroned sovereign, compassion, and the point of honour, forbade his sending James out of his dominions. After such a declaration, and with the notoriety of the fact that the court of St. Germain continued to be stocked by men who had proposed or actually engaged in plans of assassination, it was hardly to be expected that William should send James's queen the pension of £50,000 a-year. If the English parliament had been less jealous upon the subject of the army—if Louis had not at this moment proposed a grand scheme, which for a time misled him, it is pretty certain that William would not have stopped at the mere suspension of a payment to the exiled family, but would have demanded, as a *sine quâ non*, the removal from the neighbourhood of the English shores of that focus of intrigue and conspiracy.

The scheme in question was the memorable "First Partition Treaty." It is declared, or artfully implied, by some writers, that this scheme originated with William. There is, however, abundant evidence to show that it was first devised by the French court, and by that court proposed to Lord Portland.[1] The King of Spain was dying, and the French king, foreseeing the war of succession, suggested a pre-arrangement. Without the knowledge of any English minister, or any English subject whatever, William corresponded with Portland on this vital matter, and allowed the scheme to proceed. Sunderland, that man of all counsels, was passed over in this; and even the steady, close, and true Chancellor Somers, though not kept totally in the dark, was admitted only to a *demi-jour* sort of light. Such close proceedings suit ill with a constitutional form of government. "The exclusion of all those," says Mr. Hallam, "whom, whether called privy or cabinet counsellors, the nation holds responsible for its safety, from this great negotiation, tended to throw back the whole executive government into the single will of the sovereign, and ought to have exasperated the House of Commons far more than the actual treaties of partition, which may probably have been the safest choice in a most perilous condition of Europe."[2] But that perilous condition of Europe was really such that no statesman could look at it without dread; and so unable was William to take a warlike attitude that he almost ran the risk of a civil war by leaving sealed orders with his council to keep up a paltry land force of 16,000 men. Unable to fight, he treated; and his conduct must always be regarded with reference to, and in connection with, the whole circumstances and condition of himself, of England, and of Europe. He well knew that Louis had had his eye upon the whole Spanish succession for more than thirty years; and that the laws of the French monarchy, and the inclination of a powerful faction in Spain, would justify and facilitate an immediate seizure, whenever Charles II.'s dim lamp of life should go out. He declared to his confident Heinsius that he did not see a possibility of preventing France from putting herself in immediate possession of the monarchy of Spain, in case the king should happen to die soon; that he knew the little reliance which was to be placed on France in this partition treaty, or in any other treaty; but that some arrangement must be entered into. "And principally," he said, "we must labour to bring the *emperor* and *Elector of Bavaria*[3] to an agreement with respect to the Spanish succession, for otherwise it will be impossible for us to take measures right." In the same letter he spoke anxiously about the naval equipments of France. Up to this point, and indeed long after, William looked rather to war than to negotiation; but the discordant views, the poverty, and indecision of the members of the late confederacy, and the temper of his own English parliament, utterly precluded all hope of any successful recourse to arms; and, to diminish the evil, he drove on his secret diplomacy. The Count Tallard followed him into Holland; and in the quiet rural retreat of the Loo the fate of Europe was debated, and the partition of the vast and in good part unamalgamated dominions of Spain was decided upon—not so much (as far as William was concerned) for any self-aggrandisement, as for preventing the whole from falling to Louis.

At last, about the middle of August, Portland, by the king's orders, divulged to Secretary Vernon and Chancellor Somers, the conditions of this first partition treaty. They were in substance, that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should have the kingdom of Spain, the Indies, the Spanish dependencies, except Naples and Sicily, Sardinia, the province of Guipuscoa on this side the Pyrenees, Fontarabia, and St. Sebastian, Final, and the places on the coast of Tuscany, called *Presidii*, of which Spain stood then possessed, and all of which were to go to the dauphin; in consideration of which France was absolutely to renounce the right it pretended to the succession: Milan was to be given to the Archduke Charles, the emperor's second son. The king himself wrote to his English chancellor, recommending secrecy, and asking him to recommend a fitting English ambassador, to be sent with all speed into Spain. At this moment, when all the particulars of the treaty had been settled at the Loo, without any concurrence or advice of the English cabinet, Chancellor Somers was at Tunbridge Wells, taking the waters for the benefit of his health. Three days after the date of the king's letter, the chancellor replied to it, stating that he had thought the best way of executing his majesty's commands would be to communicate to Lord Orford and Mr. Montague, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, the subject of Lord Portland's letter, letting them know, at the same time, how strictly his majesty required an absolute secrecy; that Mr. Montague and Mr. Secretary Vernon had come down to him at Tunbridge Wells, and had there humbly suggested three things for his majesty's guidance:—1. That the entertaining a proposal of this nature seemed to be attended with very many ill consequences if the French should not act a sincere part;—2. That prospects were very bad indeed if the death of the King of Spain, which seemed probably to be very near, should happen before any provision or arrangement, the King of France having so great a force in readiness, that he was in a condition to take possession of all Spain before any other prince would be able to make a stand;—and, 3. That, in as far as related to England, there was "a deadness and want of spirit in the nation universally," for none were disposed to the thought of entering into a new war, but all seemed to be tired out with taxes "*to a degree beyond what was discerned, till it appeared upon the occasion of the late election.*" Somers went on to express his great fears of the power of France, under any arrangement; but then he said, "If it could be brought to pass that England might be some way a gainer by this transaction, it would wonderfully endear your majesty to your English subjects." Somers also gave it as the suggestion of Montague, and Secretary Vernon, and himself, that it did not sufficiently appear, in case the negotiations proceeded, what was to be done on William's part in order to insure its due execution; or whether any more was required than that the English and Dutch should sit still and leave France to see it executed. In a postscript to this, Somers announced that the commission the king had requested of him, with full powers and the names in blank, had been passed under the great seal of England. "The commission," says Somers, "*is wrote by the secretary*, and I have had it sealed in such a manner that no creature has the least knowledge of the thing besides the persons named." But Somers, suspicious of after-consequences, had not only made Secretary Vernon write the commission, but had also asked him to give a warrant for affixing the seal to it. The secretary, however, declined giving this warrant, and Somers used the great seal without it, taking care to keep the king's letter as a justification or an excuse for this unconstitutional act. As soon as the sealed powers arrived at the Hague, William appointed Lord Portland and Sir Joseph Williamson his two commissioners; and on the 11th of October, or about six weeks after the despatch of the *carte blanche* from England, the memorable first partition treaty was signed by Portland, Williamson, the Count de Tallard, and the Pensionary Heinsius.

---

[1] See Lord Portland's letters to the king in *Hardwicke State Papers.*

[2] *Const. Hist.*

[3] Both the emperor and the Elector of Bavaria pretended to the Spanish succession, their claims, like those of Louis XIV. for his son, the dauphin, depending on intermarriages and descent from different Infantas of Spain. It is sufficient in this place to state that the claim of the Dauphin of France was derived through his deceased mother, the Infanta Maria Theresa, who was the eldest sister of the reigning King of Spain, Charles II., but who had expressly renounced for herself and her posterity all right of succession to the Spanish crown on her marriage with Louis XIV.; that the claim of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria was also derived through his deceased mother, the Electress Maria Antonietta, who was the daughter of Charles's second sister, Margaret, likewise deceased, married to the Emperor Leopold I.; that this claim was opposed by the electoral prince's grandfather, Leopold, on the ground that Maria Antonietta had renounced her right of succession, as well as her aunt Maria Theresa, on her marriage—the fact being that the emperor had, indeed, compelled his daughter-in-law to make such a renunciation, but that the act had never been confirmed either by the king or the cortes of Spain, on which account it was generally considered invalid; and, finally, that the Emperor Leopold I., assuming that his grandson's pretensions were thus set aside, claimed the inheritance of the Spanish crown for himself, both through his mother, Maria, who was a daughter of Philip III., and as the true heir male of Ferdinand and Isabella, the founders of the monarchy; but at the same time he offered to renounce this right, both for himself and his eldest son, in favour of his second son, the Archduke Charles.

THE LOO, in Gelderland, a favourite residence of William III.—From a print of his time.

The ratifications were exchanged within the time prescribed; and as William, at an earlier part of the present year, had entered into a new triple alliance with Sweden and Holland on a defensive plan, which provided not only that, in case either of the contracting parties was attacked, the others should immediately assist, but also declared and imported that the scope of this triple league was to preserve the peace of Europe against any aggression whatsoever, he for a moment flattered himself with the hope that he might pass the short remainder of a declining life—his constitution was breaking fast—in repose and tranquillity, appearing, indeed, to have believed that the great object of his existence was accomplished, and that some limits were set to the ambition of Louis XIV., which, at the beginning of his career, when called upon to defend his native dikes, had seemed as irresistible as it was boundless. But there was little sincerity in one of the parties to this new triple league; and Sweden, two months after signing it, being probably advised in secret by France, and made jealous of the partition treaty then negotiating, concluded another treaty, rendering the triple one nugatory, with Louis. And, in reposing upon the arrangements made at the Loo, William rested upon a mere reed, though it is just *possible* that, but for an event which he could not foresee —namely, the death of the young Bavarian prince—those arrangements might have been somewhat more effectual. The manner in which the partition treaty had been carried on and concluded was, in England, clearly unconstitutional; and much or most of the treaty itself is indefensible. Yet we cannot but think that it has been condemned with too much rancour, and that sufficient allowance has hardly ever been made for the perplexing and insurmountable difficulties of William's position. Political enormities of a more recent date—the several partitions and dismemberments of Poland—have rendered the very word *partition* harsh and odious, and have served to convert every treaty in which it occurs into a by-word and reproach. Yet the proposed division of the inheritance of the Spanish king differed most essentially from the partition of Poland. While it left Spain, as a nation, entire and whole, it merely cut off from the kingdom those provinces it should never have possessed, and which were to be benefited by the alienation.

It was the 4th of December before William reached London, and on the 6th he opened his new parliament, which he soon found to be composed of very turbulent materials. The king, in his speech, told them that two things principally seemed to require their consideration—the first, what strength ought to be maintained at sea, and what force kept up on land, for the quieting of people's minds at home, and for preserving to England the weight and influence she had acquired in the counsels and affairs of the Continent. [" It will be requisite," said he, " that Europe should see you will not be wanting to yourselves."] The second was the making of some further progress towards a discharge of the debts which the nation had contracted by reason of the long and expensive war. [" I think," said he, " that an English parliament can never make such a mistake as not to hold sacred all parliamentary engagements."] The commons instantly took fire at these allusions to continental politics, land forces, &c.; and, leaping over the usual parliamentary courtesy of an address to the sovereign in reply to his speech, they fell upon the old ground of standing armies, which no public man, patriot or traitor, honest or a scoundrel, had ever yet taken up without rallying the masses of the English people round him. The ministers of the crown were too weak to make any resistance, and a resolution was soon adopted—"That all the land forces of England, in English pay, exceeding 7000 men (and those to consist of his majesty's natural born subjects), should be forthwith paid and disbanded; and that all the forces in Ireland, excepting 12,000 men (and those natural born subjects, to be kept and maintained by the kingdom of Ireland itself), should be likewise forthwith disbanded." This went to deprive William even of the services of his Dutch guard, which had followed him through good and bad fortune, which was dearer to him than almost any other object, and which was far too insignificant in number to excite any reasonable jealousy. Yet, without the slightest regard to his feelings, the representatives of the people whom he had rescued from a tyranny and a despondency in which they had seemed unable to help themselves, framed a bill upon the obnoxious resolution, carried it through all its stages, and sent it up to the lords. Perhaps it is necessary to be a soldier to feel, in its full force, the bitterness of such a draught as this. By writers of all parties, William's feeling is described as having been intense. In his first agitation he even threatened again to quit the kingdom for ever, leaving the government to be vested in such persons as parliament might please to appoint.[1] Nay, he even went so far as to write out, with his own hand, a speech to announce his purpose. It still exists, as penned by himself, among the MSS. in the British Museum. Like all William's productions, it is plain and simple, without the least attempt at eloquence or rhetorical flourish. The speech was not delivered, and doubts were entertained whether he ever seriously intended to withdraw. "It was considered," says Burnet, "only as a threatening, so that little regard was had to it." But Chancellor Somers, who knew more of what was passing in the king's mind than any one, wrote to inform the Duke of Shrewsbury that he thought William was in good earnest.[1] We know not how the popular mind might have been affected: probably, however—as the English people almost invariably take the more generous side, and are susceptible of all the generous passions—they would have felt both pain and regret if he who had preserved them from a degrading despotism, who had led them in the field, who had retrieved the long-tarnished honour of their flag, and raised their military reputation to its ancient lustre, had been obliged to retire when the work was done, without his reward, and with the embittering conviction that he had served an ungrateful race. But as for the majority of the truckling statesmen, they betrayed no generosity of sentiment on the occasion, but spoke of the facility of making a new king at their will and pleasure.[2]

---

[1] *Hardwicke State Papers.*

A.D. 1699. According to Lord Hardwicke, William was moved from his resolution by his chancellor.[3] When the lords had passed, without amendment, the bill sent up by the commons, William went down to the parliament (on the 1st of February, 1699), and there, with a good grace, gave it the royal assent. "I am come," said he, "to pass the bill for disbanding the army as soon as I understood it was ready for me. Though in our present circumstances there appears great hazard in breaking such a number of the troops, and though I might think myself unkindly used, that those guards who came over with me, to your assistance, and have constantly attended me in all the actions wherein I have engaged, should be removed from me; yet it is my fixed opinion that nothing can be so fatal to us as that any distrust or jealousy should arise between me and my people, which I must own would have been very unexpected, after what I have undertaken, ventured, and acted, for the restoring and securing of their liberties. I have thus plainly told you the only reason which has induced me to pass this bill; and now I think myself obliged, in discharge of the trust reposed in me, and for my own justification, that no ill consequences may lie at my door, to tell you as plainly my judgment, that the nation is left too much exposed." The commons hereupon voted an address of thanks, in which they expressed a sense of their great obligations and their gratitude to him who had rescued their religion and liberties, and given peace to Christendom; and the lords also voted an address in the same tone, both houses engaging to defend his *sacred* person and support his government. But when William, encouraged by these honeyed words, sent down to request that his Dutch guards might be allowed to remain, the commons rejected his prayer with something like contempt: they resolved to adhere to the letter of the act; and it was decided, by a majority of 175 to 156, that the foreign troops, who were actually embarking at the moment, should be sent on their voyage to the Continent.

DUTCH GUARDS OF WILLIAM III.—From a print by L. Scherm.

Putting apart the weighty consideration of foreign wars and intrigues at every instant ready to break out afresh,[4] was it not natural, was it not excusable, that he, whose life had been repeatedly threatened by assassination in the streets and in the immediate neighbourhood of his capital, should be desirous of keeping about his person those countrymen of his own who had served him so faithfully and so long? The jealousy against standing armies has, no doubt, been a blessing to England, but still every generous mind must agree that this sending away of the Dutch guard was, what it has been described by one of the best of our modern writers—"an act of unkindness and ingratitude."[1] Dalrymple states, on the authority of what he calls "a well-vouched tradition," that, when the account of the refusal of the commons to leave him his Dutch guards was brought to him, William walked some time silently up and down the room, with his eyes fixed on the floor, then stopped, and, glancing wildly around, exclaimed, "If I had a son, by God these guards should not quit me!" But, though we have the authority of Burnet to prove that William, in spite of his habitual coolness and great command over his passions, would sometimes betray violent feelings in violent and indecorous language, we are not disposed to give implicit credit to this tradition.[2]

---

[1] *Shrewsbury Correspondence.*

[2] Dalrymple, *Memoirs.*

[3] In a letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury, written about this time, Somers says, "At present the king is without anything which has the appearance of a ministry. The plain consequence is, that everybody (seeing the little credit those have who serve him) is in a manner invited to endeavour to ruin or expose them." Lord Hardwicke thus describes the chancellor's behaviour at this crisis:—"Lord Somers told the king upon it, that before his majesty made that declaration to parliament he should humbly desire to resign the great seal; he had received it from him as his sovereign, and begged to return it to him while he continued so. This manly speech checked the king's hasty project, which would have been construed as a sort of abdication."—Note to a letter of the king's, in *Hardwicke State Papers.*

[4] Bolingbroke, though connected with the Tory party, who had voted for the measure, candidly admits that the hurried reduction of the army was a capital political blunder. "France," he says, "continued armed by sea and land after the peace. She increased her forces, whilst other nations reduced theirs; and was ready to defend herself or to invade her neighbours, whilst, their confederacy being dissolved, they were in no condition to invade her, and in a bad one to defend themselves."—*Letters on History.*

The tottering Whig ministry was now assailed on all sides. "And it is certain," says Burnet, "that this act (an act lately carried by Montague and the Whig majority for establishing a new East India Company), together with the inclinations which those of the Whigs who were in good posts had expressed for keeping up a greater land force, did contribute to the blasting the reputation they had hitherto maintained of being good patriots, and was made use of, over England, by the Tories, to disgrace both the king and them. To this another charge of a high nature was added—that they robbed the public, and applied much of the money that was given for the service of the nation both to the supporting a vast expense and to the raising great estates to themselves: this was sensible to the people, who were uneasy under heavy taxes." The reader will not have forgotten the conduct of Admiral Russell, now Earl of Orford, and both first lord of the admiralty and treasurer of the navy. It was upon this personage that the commons made their first attack, charging him with keeping large sums of money on hand for his own private use, and to the great prejudice of the seamen and the public service. The accounts were produced, and the charges were, *primâ facie*, well made out. It appeared that there remained a balance in the earl's hands of £460,000; but, according to his own showing, about the whole of this sum was then in course of payment. The commons forthwith voted an address to his majesty. William sent a short and proper answer; but Orford resigned, quitting both fleet and admiralty, "as if from a foresight of the storm which was gathering against him in the House of Commons." The Tories were desirous of getting Sir George Rooke put in his place, but the Earl of Bridgewater, a nobleman but little acquainted with sea affairs, was appointed, and Priestman, one of the junior lords, who was removed at the same time, was succeeded by Lord Haversham, another "land admiral," as the sailors began to call the admiralty commissioners. It was decided by the votes of the house that the naval forces should be strictly limited to 15,000 seamen; and, for fear the king might augment his land forces in the form or under the name of marines, it was specified that the said 15,000 men should consist of seamen only. After witnessing other distasteful proceedings, William prorogued parliament on the 4th of May. The ministry was now completely broken up. The Duke of Leeds, who had sunk into contempt ever since the discovery of his dealings with the old East India Company, was dismissed from the presidency of the council, which was conferred on the Earl of Pembroke, who pretended to be neither Whig nor Tory, and who was liked by both parties. The Duke of Shrewsbury resigned, and Lord Jersey was put in his place.[1] Sir John Lowther, now Lord Lonsdale, who had pushed his way to honours and riches through the patronage of Danby and the Tories, got the privy seal.

---

[1] Hallam, *Constitutional History of England.*

[2] Guizot finely contrasts the aims of Louis XIV. and William III.:—"I have spoken of the great conflict which arose in Europe, between the pure monarchy and civil and religious liberty, and the independence of states, under the leadership of the Prince of Orange, William III. We have seen that the great event in Europe at that epoch was the division of the powers under these two banners. But this fact was not understood at that time as it is now; it was hidden and unknown even by those who accomplished it; the result of the resistance of Holland and its allies to Louis XIV. was necessarily and fundamentally the repression of the system of pure monarchy, and the establishment of civil and religious liberty, but the question was not thus openly stated between absolute power and freedom. It has been repeatedly asserted that the propagation of absolute power was the paramount principle in the diplomacy of Louis XIV. I am of opinion, however, that this opinion only actuated, to any great extent, his policy in later years, in his old age. The objects at which he constantly aimed, whether fighting with Spain, the Emperor of Germany, or England, were making France the preponderating power in Europe and the humbling of his rivals —in a word, the promotion of the political interest, and the strength of the state; he laboured much less with a view to the propagation of absolute power, than with a desire for the power and aggrandizement of France and its government."—Guizot, *History of Civilization in Europe*, lecture xiv.

While no great principle of any kind but mere personal ambition and the aggrandizement of France, were the mainsprings of Louis XIV.'s policy, William III. was actuated by far larger and nobler views. His true character seems to have been appreciated by Horace Walpole long before Mr. Macaulay made him the hero which he appears in his history. Dr. Robertson having called on Walpole, the latter gives the Rev. William Mason the following account of the historian's visit:—

"The purport of Dr. Robertson's visit was to inquire where he could find materials for the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, which he means to write as a supplement to David Hume. I had heard of his purpose, but did not own I knew it, that my discouragement might seem the more natural. I do not care a straw what he writes about the church's wet-nurse, Goody Anne; but no Scot is worthy of being the historian of William but Dr. Watson.

"When he had told me his object, I said, 'Write the reign of King William, Dr. Robertson! That is a great task! I look on him as the greatest man of modern times since his ancestor, William, Prince of Orange.' I soon found the doctor had little idea of him, or had taken upon trust the pitiful partialities of Dalrymple and Macpherson. I said, 'Sir, I do not doubt but King William came over with a view to the crown. Nor was he called upon by patriotism, for he was not an Englishman, to assert our liberties. No; his patriotism was of a higher rank. He aimed not at the crown of England for ambition, but to employ its forces and wealth against Louis XIV. for the common cause of the liberties of Europe. The Whigs did not understand the extent of his views, and the Tories betrayed him. He has been thought not to have understood us; but the truth was, he took either party as it was predominant, that he might sway the parliament to support his general plan.'

"I added that Macpherson's and Dalrymple's invidious scandals really serve but to heighten the amazing greatness of the king's genius; for, if they say true, he maintained the crown on his head, though the nobility, the churchmen, the country gentlemen, the people were against him; and though almost all his own ministers betrayed him."—*Correspondence*, iii. 448.

ADMIRAL RUSSELL, Earl of Orford.—After Sir G. Kneller.

A few days after the prorogation William passed over to Holland, and fixed himself at his quiet retreat the Loo. But the tranquillity of that place could scarcely extend to his own mind; events were rolling on with astounding rapidity. The treaty of Ryswick and the partition treaty were both beginning to appear of no effect; the whole Spanish inheritance seemed again inevitably falling to France; and, while he was precluded from keeping together the nucleus of an English army, Louis was increasing his forces, with the resolution of defending with his sword what he was gaining by intrigue and diplomacy.

The Scottish vessels mentioned as being already at sea in the last session of parliament in Scotland, were five stout ships, carrying 1200 men, under the guidance of Paterson, who had sailed from Leith Roads on the 26th day of July (1698). That extraordinary projector had transported the ordinarily cool and calculating Scots almost out of their senses. From high to low all his countrymen were visited by day-dreams of sudden and enormous wealth, by visions of gold, and of nothing but gold. The new company, which included some of the noblest and most intellectual of the Scottish nation, had caused the stout ships to be built in Holland, and many of the aristocracy had embarked their younger sons, confident that they were putting them on the sure road to wealth and distinction. Several lords denuded their estates to send out their vassals or tenantry; and many officers who had been disbanded by the late peace had ventured their persons and their little property. The whole city of Edinburgh poured down upon Leith to witness the departure of the colony; and hundreds of soldiers and sailors, who had not been engaged, and for whom no provision was made, were with difficulty prevented from forcing themselves into the ships. Ten days after their departure the Scottish parliament unanimously addressed the king, begging his support for the company, which still would not doubt of the validity of the charter, and of the letters-patent which his majesty had granted it. Paterson, who had not only visited the shores of that country, but had also been acquainted there with Dampier, the buccaneering captain, and Lionel Wafer, the surgeon to the buccaneers (who had lived many months among the native Indians), led his little squadron straight for Darien. In the month of October they arrived at Golden Island, a place famed in the annals of the buccaneers. It has been said, and with some reason, seeing what had been done on shore by a handful of English marauders, that these 1200 brave and hardy men, who for the most part had been trained to arms and inured to the fatigues and dangers of the late war, might, if they had been so disposed, have marched from one end of South America to the other, without finding any Spanish force capable of opposing them. But Paterson, who paid more respect to treaties of peace and the laws of nations than had been shown by the Morgans, Sharpes, and Dampiers, quietly landed at Acta, in a convenient harbour, one of the sides of which was formed by a long narrow neck of land. This neck of land they cut through, and, having thus formed a sort of island, they erected upon it their little fort, which they christened "New St. Andrews," or, according to other accounts, "New Edinburgh." Some forty or fifty guns were landed from the ships and planted round the fort. On the opposite side of the commodious harbour there was a mountain commanding a very extensive view both seaward and landward, and here they erected a signal-house, and placed in it a corps of quick-sighted Highlanders to give notice of the approach of any hostile force. The first public act of the infant colony was a declaration of freedom of trade and *of religion* to all nations. Acta, or New St. Andrews, was admirably situated on the northern coast of the Isthmus of Darien, or Panama, about midway between Portobello and Carthagena, being about fifty leagues distant from either town. The magnificent natural harbour was capable of receiving the greatest fleets, and was defended from storms by numerous islands and islets.

---

[1] "The character of this man (Shrewsbury) is an extraordinary study. He seemed to be the petted favourite both of nature and of fortune. Illustrious birth, exalted rank, ample possessions, fine parts, extensive acquirements, an agreeable person, manners singularly graceful and engaging, combined to make him an object of admiration and envy. But, with all these advantages, he had some moral and intellectual peculiarities which made him a torment to himself and to all connected with him. His conduct at the time of the Revolution had given the world a high opinion, not only of his patriotism, but of his courage, energy, and decision. It should seem, however, that youthful enthusiasm and the exhilaration produced by public sympathy and applause, had, on that occasion, raised him above himself. Scarcely any other part of his life was of a piece with that splendid commencement. He had hardly become secretary of state when it appeared that his nerves were too weak for such a post. The daily toil, the heavy responsibility, the failures, the mortifications, the obloquy which are inseparable from power, broke his spirit, soured his temper, and impaired his health. To such natures as his the sustaining power of high religious principle seems to be peculiarly necessary; and, unfortunately, Shrewsbury had, in the act of shaking off the yoke of that superstition in which he had been brought up, liberated himself also from more salutary bands which might perhaps have braced his too delicately constituted mind into steadfastness and uprightness. Destitute of such support, he was, with great abilities, a weak man—and though endowed with many amiable and attractive qualities, could not be called an honest man. For his own happiness he should either have been much better or much worse. As it was, he never knew either that noble peace of mind which is the reward of rectitude, or that abject peace of mind which springs from impudence and insensibility. Few people who have had so little power to resist temptation, have suffered so cruelly from remorse and shame."—*Macaulay*, iii. 594.

Although the Spaniards had for ages pretended an exclusive right to all those parts of the globe, they had, properly speaking, no possession of the isthmus, which was scantily occupied by the Mosquito Indians, who were constantly waging war against them; but the Spaniards held the country on both sides, and their towns of Panama and Santa Maria stood upon one of the edges of the isthmus. Dampier and his friends seem to have considered that they were justified, as allies of the Mosquitoes, in attacking and plundering the Spanish towns; and now Paterson and his companions assumed that these Indians had a right to sell or otherwise dispose of parts of their own unconquered territory; and contracts of this kind were made with the chiefs of the savages, one of whom Dampier had decorated with the well-sounding title of King Lacenta, sovereign lord of the isthmus. But, even in the state of decrepitude and imbecility into which the court of Spain had fallen, it was scarcely possible to expect that she would recognize transactions and principles of this kind, or submit to have such a neighbour as the Scottish colony in the midst of her American empire. From all that is before us we are disposed to believe that it was this insuperable obstacle on the part of Spain, and the necessity he was under of respecting the general feeling of the nations of Europe, that determined William to check, discourage, and uproot Paterson's settlement. But several writers confidently affirm that the prayers of his *English* subjects trading with the East, and the Dutch East India Company, had more to do with this decision than any considerations about Spain or the *jus publicum* of Europe. These influences, indeed, may have been considerable as secondary agents. Whatever were his motives—and all political motives are complicated—William, as soon as he knew the real intentions of Paterson and the company, directed the Earl of Seafield, secretary of state for Scotland, to inform the colonists that, "the particular design not being communicated to his majesty," he must delay giving them any assistance till he should receive surer information. Upon this the company in Scotland notified to Seafield that their ships had reached their destination on the coast of Darien, and had fairly obtained, by treaty with the natives, a tract of country which had never been in the possession of any European power. But the king, who knew better how the Spaniards interpreted that matter, sent out orders to Sir William Beeston, governor of Jamaica, who, early in the month of April, 1699, or about seven months after the settlement of New St. Andrews, issued a proclamation importing that his majesty was not informed of the designs of the Scots in relation to Darien; that, those designs being contrary to treaties subsisting between his majesty and his allies, all his majesty's subjects in those parts were forbidden to hold any correspondence with those colonists upon any pretence whatsoever. Similar proclamations were issued by the governors of the other islands possessed by the English; and it was to these West India islands that the unfortunate colonists looked for supplies of provisions, assistance, and co-operation. Nor were those orders meant for a mere blind to Spain; on the contrary, they were strictly executed in the West Indies: and, in consequence of them, Paterson and his followers were soon reduced to extreme misery, having consumed the provisions they had brought with them, and having no other supplies at hand than the very scanty ones afforded by the hunting and fishing of the poor Mosquito Indians. Bad food soon produced disease; the climate assisted in these ravages; the hardy mountaineers of Scotland perished by dozens a-day; and at last, when the sad residue, despairing of succour from their native country, took to their ships, there were scarcely 100 men with health and strength enough to work them. It is said that the last man to embark was Paterson. The Scottish company, after the production of William's rigid instructions to his governors, but before any news reached them of Paterson's having left that fatal isthmus, sent out another colony of 1300 men to support an establishment which no longer existed. But this time their vessels, prepared in a hurry, were not stout ships: one of them was lost at sea, and another was injured by fire, and wrecked on the Spanish main. And those of the passengers that reached their destination, instead of welcome-giving countrymen and friends, found nobody but a few wild Indians—a desert and a waste where they had expected to see a thriving little town.

When this second colony had been about three months on the isthmus it was joined by Captain Campbell, of Finab, with a company of his own tenantry, chiefly men whom he had commanded in the wars of Flanders, and who were glad to follow their old officer and landlord in a ship of his own. On his arrival at New St. Andrews, Captain Campbell learned that a Spanish force of 1600 men, brought from the opposite coast of the South Sea, lay encamped at Tubucantee, not far from the colony, expecting the arrival of a Spanish squadron of eleven sail, in order to a joint attack by land and sea. Campbell, who obtained the chief command on account of his reputation as an officer, and of his high birth, resolved to anticipate the Spaniards, and to fall upon the troops before the ships should come up; and, accordingly, on the second day after his arrival he marched briskly upon Tubucantee with 200 men, stormed the camp at the dead of night, and scattered the Spanish force with considerable slaughter. In a military point of view this was the best thing he could have done; but, at the same time, it was making the Scots the aggressors, and beginning a war, not only without a commission from, but against the positive orders of his sovereign. Campbell returned safely and triumphantly to New St. Andrews; but during his short absence the Spanish squadron had come up, their ships of war and transports were lying at the mouth of the harbour, troops were landed, and positions were taken up which cut off the communication of the Scots, and soon hemmed them in within their frail, hastily constructed fortifications. Yet, in this desperate situation, without hope of help or provisions, Campbell defended the place for nearly six weeks, and then the garrison capitulated upon honourable terms. Campbell got to his ship, sailed away to New York, and thence made his way back to Scotland, where he was received as a hero; but nearly all the rest of the officers were dead before the capitulation. The survivors, whom Campbell had left behind, were embarked by the Spaniards in one of their ships called the *Rising Sun*, but they were so weak as not to be able to weigh their anchor without assistance. The Spaniards behaved humanely, but the governors of the English possessions where they were obliged to touch treated them like felons and outcasts; and, in the end, between war, shipwreck, and disease, only thirty of these unfortunate adventurers ever saw Scotland again. Poor Paterson, who had gone homeward on the ruin of the first colony, "looking more like a skeleton than a man," went mad on his passage; but he recovered both in mind and body, and, still ardent and confident of success, he presented a new plan, according to which England was to share with Scotland the dominion of the isthmus, and a new joint-stock of £2,000,000 sterling was to be raised, one-fifth part to belong to Scotland, and the other four-fifths to England. He survived many years in neglect and poverty—haunted, if he were a man of feeling, by the recollection of the hundreds of his countrymen whom he had unwittingly led to destruction.[1]

Part of this Scottish storm did not burst over his head till after William's return from the Continent; but his summer retreat at the Loo was disturbed and made stormy by other elements. The partition treaty—apparently by France, the first projector of it—was made known to the court of Madrid, where it excited feelings favourable to Louis, and a most intense hatred against William. In the preceding year (1698), in spite of the intrigues of the French party, Charles II., who considered himself authorized to dispose by will, and without any consent of the cortes, of nations and of many millions of people of different races and interests, whom he had never been able to govern, executed a testament in which he called the young electoral Prince of Bavaria (one of the parties provided for in the partition treaty) to the universal succession of the Spanish monarchy, appointing his father, the Elector of Bavaria, sole regent during the boy's minority. The wretched Charles, who had scarcely known a day's health from his infancy upwards, and who now, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, looked like a man of seventy, ascended his dishonoured throne, and announced this nomination of the young Bavarian to the counsellors of state and presidents of the supreme tribunals of Spain, informing them that his choice of a successor had been guided solely by motives of conscience and justice, and by the advice of the most learned and upright men in his kingdom. The French ambassador complained and protested; but the Count of Oropesa reminded him that Louis XIV., on his marriage, had consented to the renunciation of the Spanish crowns made by his queen, the Infanta Maria Theresa, and that hence the right had passed to Maria Theresa's younger sister, the Infanta Margarita, grandmother to the young Prince of Bavaria, who had never been bound to make any such renunciation of the Spanish succession.[1] But the young Bavarian had been scarcely named in the will and declaration when he suddenly fell sick and died, in the eighth year of his age. The bereaved father, the elector, who had been indulging in the most brilliant prospects for himself and family, suspected that his son had been carried off by poison, and in his agony he charged the French king with the diabolical act.[2] But as the young prince had been equally an obstacle to the pretensions of his grandfather, the Emperor Leopold, or to his scheme of devolving his own claims to the succession upon his second son, the Archduke Charles, it was reported in France that the young Bavarian had perished in consequence of means employed by the Austrian cabinet.[3] This unexpected death not only rendered nugatory the first partition treaty, which had cost William so much pains and so much obloquy, but also, and in various ways, favoured the plans of Louis. From this moment, indeed, it was a struggle of intrigue, deception, bribery, and corruption between France and Austria—a sort of struggle in which the French have generally defeated all antagonists. William must have been miserably served by his diplomatic agents at Madrid, else he should have known what was going on there, and that knowledge would have prevented him from engaging with the insidious Louis in a new partition treaty, for which the French, pretty sure of their game by other cards, pretended a great earnestness so soon as the death of the Bavarian prince was known. And this time the emperor, apparently fearing the result of the struggle going on at Madrid, was fain to lower his pretensions and to correspond with the negotiators who met round William, Portland, and De Tallard, at the Loo. But these negotiations, like the preceding ones, were soon made known to the Spanish court. The dying king had still spirit enough left to remonstrate in strong terms against these "scandalous negotiations" in a memorial presented to the English ambassador at Madrid, and in a still more stirring document presented to the council of regency, or lords-justices, who managed affairs during William's absence. When this second memorial was transmitted to the Loo, the Spanish ambassador was informed by Secretary Vernon that his master found its contents so insolent and seditious that he must order him to quit his dominions within eighteen days. At the same time orders were despatched to Madrid, commanding Mr. Stanhope to cease all diplomatic intercourse with that court, and return home. All this was sure gain to France, and it encouraged the shallow-headed Austrians, who neither knew how to gain or how to resign their point, to complain of the insolence of England and Holland in presuming to divide and parcel out the monarchy of Spain.

---

[1] Dalrymple, *Memoirs*. This writer adds—"After the union of the two kingdoms, Paterson claimed reparation of his losses from the equivalent money given by England to the Darien Company, but got nothing; because a grant to him from a public fund would have been only an act of humanity, not a political job."

William himself returned home on the 18th of October, to find a dispirited and breaking ministry. Montague, the chancellor of the exchequer, resigned, and Lord Tankerville, better known under his former title of Lord Grey of Werk, was placed at the head of the treasury, one Smith, another of the commissioners, being made chancellor of the exchequer. Of the real Whigs, not one remained at his post except Lord Somers, the chancellor, and the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was induced to accept the office of lord-chamberlain, previously held by Sunderland —a household appointment, but one which had never been filled in this reign except by an individual in possession of great influence and authority in council. On the 16th November, William opened the session of parliament with a speech in which every expression was carefully avoided that might give any cause of offence, but which, notwithstanding, like many other such speeches, was received with murmuring and discontent.

The Tories were resolved, at all hazards, to drive Lord Somers from his almost solitary post, and, "after much casting about," they accused the lord high-chancellor of being a pirate on the high seas! If it had been a few ages earlier they would probably have accused him of witchcraft and dealing with the devil. Some short time before, upon representations made to the king by Lord Bellamont, governor of New York, that the American coast and islands were sorely infested by corsairs, William had countenanced a scheme for fitting out a ship of war by private subscription, to be sent to look after those marauders. There was nothing illegal or even irregular in this letter of marque; Somers the chancellor, the Earl of Orford, the head of the admiralty, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Romney, and others, contributed to the fund;[4] and, at the recommendation of Lord Bellamont, Captain Kydd, said to be a native of Greenock, but long a resident of New York, and a very able sailor, was appointed to the command of the *Adventure Galley*, which was well manned, and armed with thirty guns. In addition to the usual letter of marque given to privateers, the captain was furnished *with a warrant under the great seal*, authorizing him to make war upon and destroy the pirates,[1] &c.; but the choice of the commander was singularly unfortunate in a very material respect, for Kydd, who had probably been a buccaneer before, turned downright pirate as soon as he got into the American seas. This was reversing the case of Captain Morgan, in the days of Charles II., who was proclaimed to be hanged as a pirate first, and knighted and made governor of Jamaica afterward. Lord Bellamont, however, had at last succeeded in taking his protégé and several of his crew prisoners, and was ready to send him over to England for trial. Nevertheless, the commons, on the 6th of December, agreed to a motion, "That the letters-patent granted to the Earl of Bellamont and others were dishonourable to the king, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce." A long and shrewd debate followed, the Tories striving to make it appear that Somers had wittingly affixed the great seal to Kydd's commission, in order to enrich himself, his friends, and his sovereign, by the fruits of piracy; but, "having aggravated their charge to the end that it might ring the louder, they were so much less able to verify any part of it. . . . . The chancellor's character for wisdom and integrity had as yet such weight with the house, that no imputation would stick; and upon the issue the motion was rejected, though the clamour was not let fall."[2]

---

[1] Dunlop, *Memoirs of Spain during the Reigns of Philip IV. and Charles II.*

[2] *Mémoires de Torcy.*

[3] *Mémoires de St. Simon.*

[4] A tenth of the profits made upon prizes, &c., was reserved for the crown, as usual when privateers were commissioned.

But the point upon which the Tories laid still greater stress was an inquiry, ordered the preceding session, into William's grants of the Irish forfeitures. Seven commissioners had been appointed, who were all presumed to be anti-courtiers. Their report stated that it appeared to them, that the persons outlawed in England, since the 13th of February, 1689, on account of the late rebellion, amounted in number to fifty-seven, and in Ireland to 3921. That all the lands in the several counties in Ireland, belonging to the forfeited persons, as far as they could reckon, made 1,060,792 acres, worth, per annum, £211,623, which by computation of six years' purchase for a life, and thirteen years for the inheritance, came to the full value of £2,685,138. That some of those lands had been restored to the old proprietors, by virtue of the articles of Limerick and Galway, and by his majesty's favour, and by reversal of outlawries, and royal pardons, obtained chiefly by gratifications to such persons as had abused his majesty's royal bounty and compassion: and that besides these restitutions, which they thought to be corruptly procured, there were seventy-six grants and custodiums, under the great seal of Ireland, of which they made a recital: as—to the Lord Romney,[3] three grants, now in being, containing 49,517 acres; to the Earl of Albemarle,[4] in two grants, 106,633 acres in possession and reversion; to William Bentinck, Esq., Lord Woodstock,[5] 135,820 acres of land; to the Earl of Athlone,[6] two grants, containing 26,480 acres; to the Earl of Galway,[7] one grant of 36,148 acres, &c. That, indeed, the estates so mentioned did not yield so much to the grantees as they were valued at; because, as most of them had abused his majesty in the real value of their estates, so their agents had imposed on them, and had either sold or let the greatest part of those lands at an under value: but that, after all deductions and allowances, there yet remained £1,699,343, 14*s*., which they laid before the commons as the gross value of the estates forfeited since the 13th day of February, 1689, and not restored. It further appeared from the report presented, that William had conferred the forfeited Irish estates of the late King James, estimated at 95,649 acres, worth £25,995 a-year, upon Mrs. Elizabeth Villiers, Countess of Orkney, his mistress or favourite lady. Upon this point the commissioners had quarrelled most violently: and it is evident that the majority had exaggerated the extent of the grant, and had purposely lost sight of many leases and annuities with which it was charged. To every moderate and well-informed man, whether in Ireland or in England, it was evident that the commissioners had drawn up this report in the spirit of faction, and that the report contained gross exaggerations and downright falsehoods.

A.D. 1700. To work up a counter-storm, Montague, who had so lately resigned his chancellorship of the exchequer, but who still clung to his party and to the king, on the 15th of January rose in the house and bitterly complained that Mr. Arthur Moore, a member of that house, had written a letter to the commissioners, urging them to make a separate and strong article of my Lady Orkney's grants, "because they might reflect upon *somebody*." This somebody was, of course, the king; and Montague insisted that this deserved the censure of parliament. The Tories treated the charge slightingly, and called upon Montague to produce his witnesses to the letter. He pleaded the obligations which lay upon him as a man of honour not to discover parties who had trusted him with the information in private conversation; but the house insisted, and, no excuse being allowed, Montague named Methuen, Chancellor of Ireland, as his informer. But this Methuen denied having ever mentioned any such thing; and then, in the midst of the perplexity and confusion of the court party, their adversaries put and instantly carried a vote, that the said report about Mr. Arthur Moore's letter was false and scandalous; and that the said commissioners had acquitted themselves with *understanding and integrity.* But three out of the seven commissioners, who had been outvoted while sitting on the commission, insisted upon being heard. Of this minority, Sir Richard Leving was called in first. He represented the great differences of opinion which had existed among the commissioners as to many points of the report, which was not and could not be considered as a cool and rational document. He declared that he had stated to all the commissioners, that the king's private estate in Ireland being part and parcel of the possessions of the crown of England, and the crown being vested in King William and Queen Mary by act of parliament, all the said possessions were necessarily invested in them together with the crown—and that, as a consequence, the king might dispose of the lands. Sir Richard Leving then went on to accuse severally the majority of four of disrespectful and violent language. He affirmed, for example, that Langford, one of the four, had said, with reference to the exact time of James's forfeiture, that "the 30th of January was a good day and a good deed" (it was the anniversary of the decapitation of Charles I.); that when Lord Drogheda, one of the minority, said that the report of Lady Orkney's grant would be flying in the king's face, Hamilton, who was on the other side, replied, "If you will not fly in his face, you cannot execute this commission;" that Trenchard and Annesley said they had letters of advice from Mr. Arthur Moore and Mr. Harcourt, urging them to reflect upon *somebody*, even as Mr. Montague had mentioned. Sir Francis Brewster, another of the minority of three, confirmed these statements, adding, moreover, that Trenchard had called the grant to Lady Orkney, "a villainous grant," and had given him, Sir Francis Brewster, "ill language." "But *my* language," continued Brewster, "was not so bad, but he was forced to beg my pardon at the board; and I did not his. There he stands; let him deny it if he can." But Trenchard not only denied the words, but brought Langford and Annesley to do the same. The letters of Arthur Moore and Mr. Harcourt were, however, produced and read, but no record of these documents has been preserved. Upon the whole matter the triumphant majority came to the following resolution:—"That there have been divers groundless and scandalous aspersions cast upon Francis Annesley, John Trenchard, James Hamilton, and Henry Langford, Esquires, four of the commissioners for the Irish forfeitures, the said four commissioners having acquitted themselves with understanding, *courage*, and integrity: that Sir Richard Leving, another of the said commissioners, has been the author of the said groundless and scandalous reports, &c., and that the said Sir Richard Leving shall be committed to the Tower of London for the said offence." And Sir Richard was committed accordingly.

---

[1] The commission or letter of marque from the admiralty, dated January 20th, 1695, authorized Kydd to act against the French, with whom we were then at open war; the commission under the great seal authorized him to make war on certain notorious pirates therein named, and all other pirates infesting the coast of America and other seas.

[2] *Ralph.*

[3] This Lord Romney was the Henry Sidney and secretary of state of former times, and he who had done so much to bring William into England.

[4] This Earl of Albemarle was William's present favourite, and a graceful and accomplished courtier. He was the son of Pelling, Lord Keppel of Gelderland, who was raised from being a page to the highest offices; and was made Earl of Albemarle and knight of the Garter in 1696.

[5] This was the son of Lord Portland.

[6] General Ginckel.

[7] Rouvigny, the French Huguenot, and an excellent officer.

After this manifest victory the Tories brought in their famous "Bill of Resumption," by which the Irish forfeitures were to be applied to the use of the public, without any regard paid to the reservation of a third part to the king, which had been part of the bill they had sent up eight years before to the lords. Ministers proposed the insertion of a clause for reserving at least some portion of the said forfeitures to be at the free disposal of his majesty; but they would not hear this proposition out, and proceeded to give another blow, by resolving that the advising, procuring, and passing the grants in Ireland had been the occasion of contracting great debts and laying heavy taxes upon the people; that the said grants highly reflected upon the king's honour; and that the officers and instruments concerned in procuring and passing them had highly failed in the performance of their trust and duty. Not satisfied with all this, the commons, on the 6th of February, moved in more explicit terms that the procuring of grants belonging to the crown, by any public minister, for his own use or benefit, was highly injurious to his majesty, prejudicial to the state, and a violation of the trust reposed in him. But here the Tories had committed themselves upon unsafe ground; and the Whigs, adopting the motion, retaliated upon their adversaries by attaching to it a very significant amendment—a kind of resumption of their own, based upon the same principles as the original Tory bill, and which that party had not the effrontery to resist. The proposition was simply this:—"To resume the grants of all lands and revenues of the crown, and all pensions granted by the crown since the 6th of February, 1684, and for applying the same to the use of the public." The 6th of February was the inauspicious day of James II.'s accession; and from that day, down to the night of his flight from England, the Tories had monopolized the favours, grants, and pensions of the crown, and they were now bound to disgorge them all. It was known that, in the upper house, "the king was a little more civilly used," and it was feared that there the resumption bill would be thrown out altogether. To prevent this the commons had again recourse to the device of making it part of a money bill; and they appended the resumption to the grant of a land-tax, the produce of which was indispensable for the payment of the fleet and army. The lords were indignant at this proceeding, which in a manner tied their hands and tongues; but, encouraged by the court, they ventured to oppose the bill, and to offer some amendments, which were just and reasonable in themselves, and suited to check an immense amount of wrong to private individuals who had bought property in Ireland from the grantees, &c. When the lords sent down their amendments to the commons they rejected them, and gave their reasons in a paper which was delivered at a conference of the two houses. The lords then prepared answers to these reasons, and in a second conference presented them in writing; but the managers for the commons declined pursuing this course of literary argument, and left the bill in the hands of their lordships, who were warned on many sides that they must pass it or bring on a perilous crisis. The king became sullen upon all this; on the 5th of April he told Lord Portland that, if the bill was not stopped in the upper house, he should count all as lost; and on the same day he declared that he was resolved not to pass the bill, and that the only question was, whether he should prorogue the parliament on the morrow or Monday next. Yet, when he coolly reflected upon all the bearings of the case and the danger of further resistance, he solicited the lords by a private message to pass the bill; and the lords having consented, not without some pangs, in which their own purses were concerned, he went down to the house, and gave the royal assent without a murmur on the 11th of April.[1] But immediately after passing the other bills that were in readiness, he commanded the Earl of Bridgewater, in the absence of Chancellor Somers, who was sick, to prorogue the parliament, which was accordingly done without the speech which was usual on such occasions.[2]

Towards the close of the session another attempt had been made to couple Somers with Captain Kydd; but a motion for his removal had been negatived; and the house satisfied themselves with examining copies of the several commissions given to Kydd, of his majesty's warrant for a grant of the prizes taken from pirates to the Earl of Bellamont and others, of an indenture between his majesty and Bellamont; of a letter from the lords of the treasury to that governor about sending over the property seized in Kydd's ship; and with bringing in a bill for the more effectual suppression of piracy; followed by an address, upon information of Kydd being on his way home, that he might not be tried, discharged, or pardoned until the next session of parliament. But, before they could hang the pirate, Chancellor Somers was dismissed, or reluctantly resigned the great seal—thus leaving the cabinet in Tory hands. The seals were soon after given, with the title of lord-keeper, to Sir Nathan Wright, an obscure Tory serjeant-at-law—"in whom there was nothing equal to the post, much less to him who had lately filled it."

---

[1] William wrote to Lord Galway (Rouvigny, the French Huguenot), "You may judge what vexation all their extraordinary proceedings give me: and, I assure you, your being deprived of what I gave you with so much pleasure is not the least of my griefs. There have been so many intrigues in this last session, that, without having been on the spot and well informed of everything, it cannot be conceived. . . . I never had more occasion than at present for persons of your capacity and fidelity. I hope I shall yet find opportunities to give you marks of my esteem and friendship."—*Tindal; Ralph;* Sir Henry Ellis, in his *Collection*, gives the original in French, as it is preserved, entirely in William's handwriting, in the British Museum.

[2] At the very moment the commons were preparing a resolution, "That an address be made to his majesty that no person not a native, except the Prince of Denmark, should be admitted to his majesty's councils in England or Ireland."

CHAPTER VI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1700—1702.

WILLIAM III.

Meeting of the Scottish parliament—Their vote to continue the land forces—Effectual interference of William in behalf of Sweden against Denmark—The second partition treaty—Intrigues of France to obtain the monarchy of Spain—Contentions of different parties upon this attempt—Philip of Anjou appointed successor to the Spanish crown—Exertions of Louis XIV. to effect this result—Proceedings of the new English parliament—The British succession disturbed by the death of the Duke of Gloucester—Visit of the Electress of Hanover to England in consequence—Discussion of the question of peace or war in parliament—The kingdom put in a state of defence—Conflicting deliberations among the European powers about going to war with France—Opposition of the English parliament to the second partition treaty—Their attacks on the Earl of Portland and Lord Somers—Case of Captain Kydd again brought forward—Vote of the House of Commons against the adherents of the partition treaty—Counter-address of the lords—Increasing difficulties of William—Economical measures adopted in the prospect of a war with France—Declarations of the lords and commons on the subject—The singular address to parliament called the "Legion Memorial"—Its wonderful effect on parliament—Impeachment of Lord Somers—The new succession bill—Particulars of its passing through parliament—Impeachment of Lord Somers resumed—He is acquitted—William departs to Holland—New treaty called the "Second Grand Alliance" signed—War in Italy—Victories of Prince Eugene—Death of James II. at St. Germain—Sickness of William—His difficulties—Changes in his ministry—William's address at the opening of parliament—Zeal and unanimity produced by his speech—Resolutions to resume the war against France—Supplies voted for the purpose—Accident to William—It occasions his last illness—His messages to parliament—His death—His character.

KING WILLIAM did not leave Kensington for the Loo this year till the month of July. In Scotland the parliament met on the 21st of May, when the excitement about the business of Darien was at its greatest height. The unhappy affair occupied nearly the whole of a very long and stormy session. Terrible were the denunciations against the English ministry, nor was the king himself spared. Yet in the end, when the question of supplies came under discussion, they voted "That, in consideration of their great deliverance by his majesty, and that, next under God, their safety and happiness depended wholly on the preservation of his majesty's person and the security of his government, they would stand by and support both his majesty and his government to the utmost of their power, *and maintain such forces as should be requisite for these ends.*" And, though it was hardly to be expected after so universal a discontentment, the Scots gratified his majesty in the extreme, by keeping on foot, without reduction and without clamour, the whole of the land forces that existed in the kingdom when the session began. This was a striking contrast to the conduct of the parliament of England; but the opponents of the court easily accounted for the subservience of public men in Scotland, by assuming that they had been bribed and bought by the king. At the end of the session the Duke of Queensberry received the order of the Garter, an honour rarely bestowed upon Scotchmen; and the Marquis of Argyle was raised to a dukedom.

The English parliament, while they allowed the land forces to remain as they were the year before, that is at 8000 men, reduced the navy to 7000; and that, too, in spite of a new war in the north of Europe, and a treaty entered into by William to support the party attacked—that youthful hero, Charles XII. of Sweden. The King of Denmark, Frederick IV., the unjust aggressor, who hoped to wrench the crown of Sweden from the grasp of young Charles, had the indiscretion to say publicly, that as the King of England was at variance with his parliament, he would be able to do but little in Europe. William retorted, "I will make Denmark know I am still able to do something." And, being zealously assisted by the states-general, he prepared a fleet both in England and Holland, and spoke in the high tone of an arbiter to Denmark and the states in confederacy with her, or Russia, Poland, and Brandenburg, who had made an iniquitous contract on purpose to join in a general attack upon Sweden. And when these remonstrances failed, he, in the month of July, despatched the united squadrons of England and Holland to the Sound, under the command of Sir George Rooke. The English admiral soon formed a junction with the fleet of Sweden; and then, with fifty-two ships of the line in all, he scoured the Baltic, drove the Danish fleet into Copenhagen, and bombarded that capital, "but with little damage to the place, and none to the fleet." Yet this relief was most seasonable to the Swedes, who recovered their spirits, drove the Danes and the Poles from their frontiers and the towns they were besieging, and threatened Denmark with conquest. In the beginning of August, young Charles of Sweden landed in person on the Isle of Seeland, and, conjointly with the combined fleets, prepared for a regular siege of Copenhagen. This struck a terror through all Denmark, and so quickened the pens of her diplomatists, that by the middle of August a treaty of peace was signed at Travendahl, a house of the Duke of Holstein, without the concurrence of France, and under the guarantee of the maritime powers. Peace being thus concluded, Charles and his army retired from before the Danish capital, and when Rooke had seen him and his army safe to Sweden, he sailed home. William's conduct in the whole matter was highly applauded: he had effectually protected the young Swede, and yet obliged him to accept of reasonable terms of peace.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE.
From a portrait by M. Dahl.

But before this peace was concluded in the north, the particulars of the second partition treaty relating to Spain and the south were pretty generally known. France, England, and Holland had agreed that the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor Leopold, should be substituted for the deceased Prince of Bavaria, to have and hold Spain, Spanish Flanders, and her dependencies in India, America, &c., or all that had been allotted by the first partition treaty to the Bavarian; while the other shares of the Spanish inheritance were to be divided as before, the dauphin, however, to have in addition the duchies of Lorraine and Bar, and the dispossessed Duke of Lorraine to have in lieu the duchy of Milan. But the emperor, who still wanted the whole of the succession, would not be a party to the treaty. The wretched Charles a second time assembled a council of state to deliberate on the succession. He still inclined to Austria, but the grandees had taken a new turn, and, of twelve, ten were of opinion that a Bourbon prince should be named. The Count of St. Estavan declared that Spain had fallen into such a state of weakness as to be unable to defend or protect herself, and that nothing but interesting France in her favour could save her from that dismemberment to which she had been condemned by the maritime powers. The dominions of the emperor, he said, were too remote, his treasuries too much exhausted, to allow him to render any timely assistance; and then the house of Austria had no fleets, no ports, no naval power whatsoever to cover the coasts and the colonies of Spain from the assaults of England and Holland. France had both fleets and money—or so it was assumed for the sake of the argument—and the "Grand Monarque," who had so recently made all Europe tremble, might preserve the integrity of the Spanish monarchy if the crown were only allowed to descend upon the head of his issue. Only two of these degenerate nobles had the spirit and good sense to propose that the great question which interested every man in the nation should be left to the decision of the national cortes, to be assembled forthwith, and allowed to determine it according to the known laws and constitutions of the realm or realms. Such a small minority had no influence; the suggestion was scouted as disloyal and dangerous; and instead of assembling the cortes, Charles consulted the faculties of law and theology among the professors, of which the French ambassador, the Marquis d'Harcourt, had bought many golden opinions. These faculties decided in favour of the Bourbon, provided only that due means were adopted for preventing the crown of Spain and the crown of France being worn by one and the same individual. But the Austrian blood which flowed in a slow current in the veins of King Charles still sympathized with its cognate streams, and made him still desire that his possessions should fall to a prince of the house of Austria. To subdue this feeling the partizans of the French and the monks and priests alarmed his timid conscience, and threatened him with eternal damnation if he violated the rights of the legitimate heir. "I am partial to my own family," said Charles, "but my salvation is dearer to me than the ties of blood." And in these difficulties he sent the Duke d'Uzeda, one of his household, to consult the pope, and present to his holiness copies of the opinions of the jurisconsults and divines of Spain. Innocent XII., after deliberating for forty days with cardinals devoted for the most part to France, replied that they entertained no doubt that, after his majesty's demise, the whole Spanish monarchy devolved by right of blood on the dauphin; but that his second son, Philip, Duke of Anjou, ought to be called to the succession, in order to prevent the union of the two crowns of France and Spain. The old pope died shortly after, a few weeks before Charles, and just as the great powers of Europe were preparing to solve the problem by the sword. Still, however, in spite of the solemn adjurations addressed to him, the most miserable of kings leaned towards the princes of his own blood; and the queen, and the new confessor whom she had placed about him, in lieu of a monk in the French interest who had recently driven him to the verge of madness, did all they could to encourage and strengthen this natural bias. By these machinations, military preparations were secretly made in Spain; Austrian troops were invited into the kingdom; the Duke of Medina Celi was despatched to Naples with orders to admit the Imperial troops into that kingdom, and negotiations were set on foot with the Duke of Mantua for the reception of an Austrian garrison into his capital, in order to overawe the duchy of Milan. But every part of this scheme was disconcerted; the emperor had but few troops to spare, and the Duke of Medina Celi and the Duke of Mantua were both in the French interest. At the same time the Marquis d'Harcourt rode away from Madrid to the frontiers of France, where Louis had already collected a strong army. Never did imagination conceive, or the darkest romance attempt to picture, such intrigues and horrors as assailed the miserable Charles, who was torn to pieces while yet alive by those who wanted his inheritance. Portocarrero, a cardinal and Archbishop of Toledo, had been entirely gained over by the Marquis d'Harcourt, and had scrupled at no measures, however atrocious, that promised to work upon the weak mind of the king, being aided and assisted in his diabolical proceedings by the Inquisitor-general Rocuperti: and now, when his victim was at the last gasp, with the horrors of hell kept before his eyes, this cardinal produced the celebrated last will and testament, appointing Philip, Duke of Anjou, universal successor to the Spanish monarchy. The secretary, Don Antonio de Ubilla, acted as notary; and the cardinal and Don Manuel Arias stood by as the sole witnesses. Terrified, baited, coerced, as he was, Charles could hardly be brought to put his hand to the paper; and, as soon as he had signed it, he burst into tears, and exclaimed, "I now am nothing." He then fell into a long faint, and was thought to be dead; but he once more opened his eyes to a world which had been to him a world of sorrow and woe, and he lingered between life and death for four weeks. The contents of the will were carefully concealed from the queen, the Austrian party, and the whole of Europe *except the French court.* Louis finished his preparations, and his effective ally, Cardinal Portocarrero, possessed himself of the great seals of the kingdom and of the entire administration of Spain.

As, however disorganized and ill-prepared were the allies, a war inevitably hung in suspense in case Louis XIV. accepted the will, instead of satisfying himself with the portions of the Spanish inheritance allotted to his house by the second partition treaty, that ambitious sovereign at the moment of crisis entertained some doubts and misgivings; but these were merely momentary, and he despatched his grandson Philip into Spain, exclaiming as he sent him—"Now there are no longer Pyrenees." William, who had returned to England a few days before the death of Charles, appears to have been astonished as much as he was irritated by the news of the Spanish will and the decision of Louis. The French court despatched De Tallard, one of the framers of the partition treaties, to London, to wheedle William into some fresh negotiations, which would have been observed with just as much faith as the late treaties. On the other hand the Emperor Leopold, determining not to surrender his pretensions to the Spanish crown, sent over Count Wratislaus as ambassador extraordinary, to renew and extend the old confederacy, and to keep his majesty of England firm to his purpose of opposing the will. Soon giving up his hope of deluding William again, Louis took the initiative in hostile measures, by dislodging, by an unexpected treacherous movement, the Dutch troops in the barrier fortresses. In the meantime Heemskirk, the Dutch minister at Paris, had despatched a memorial representing to his most Christian majesty, "that their high mightinesses did not expect his majesty would have taken a resolution so contrary to the late treaty, which they believed was to be observed in all things by the contracting parties, and to be departed from by none except by common consent." Louis amused the Dutch, brought in a Swedish diplomatist to his aid to advocate a friendly mediation, and declared that it was quite certain, that, with regard to England, the greatest part of the nation dreaded a war, and hence would prefer the will to the partition treaty; and that the King of England would find great opposition in his parliament, in case he should be disposed to carry things to a rupture.[1]

A.D. 1701. The time was now come for William to abide the test of a new parliament. On the retreat of the Whigs he had once more placed Lord Godolphin at the head of the treasury; and, to conciliate still further the

---

[1] *Dépêches, &c., de Louis XIV.*

Tory party, he had made Lord Tankerville privy seal, Sir Charles Hedges secretary of state, and Lord Rochester Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and, at the instance of this new cabinet, a new parliament, which turned out of a very Tory complexion, was called together for the 6th of February. In the first paragraph of his opening speech, the king said, "Our great misfortune *in the loss of the Duke of Gloucester* hath made it absolutely necessary that there should be a further provision for the succession to the crown in the Protestant line after me and the Princess Anne." The son of the Princess Anne and of Prince George of Denmark had, in fact, expired on the 30th of July, the preceding year, in the eleventh year of his age, and, according to Bishop Burnet, his tutor, his death "gave great alarm to the whole nation, the Jacobites growing insolent upon it, and saying, that now the chief difficulty was removed out of the way of the Prince of Wales' succession." Next to his mother Anne, the personage preferred on account of her Protestantism, for the succession, was the Electress Sophia of Hanover, grand-daughter of James I. This lady, as soon as she heard of the unhappy or happy event—the death of the young duke—proceeded with her daughter, the Electress of Brandenburg, to pay a visit to William, who was then at the Loo. It appears that the old princess's doubts as to the succession of her family to the British crown, were removed by her conference with William, which, however, did not last long; for, as the electresses were later in arriving than had been expected, he only made them one ceremonious visit, and, according to the disposition he had previously made, he set sail for England the very next day. The two electresses had other business besides the English succession; they wanted William's concurrence and assistance in raising the Elector of Brandenburg to the rank of King of Prussia; and subsequently, when framing a new grand alliance against France, William gave his assistance. At the same time the English Jacobites sent over a brother of Lord Preston to St. Germain, to represent the succession of the young Prince of Wales as certain and inevitable; but James and his queen both refused one of the conditions proposed, which was, that the prince should be sent over to be educated in England, and thus threw a damp upon all those ardent hopes. It is also asserted that the Princess Anne proposed "very clandestinely" something of the sort.

William's health was visibly and rapidly declining; he had no confidence in his present Tory ministry, and the Tory parliament gave him constant cause for uneasiness. As in the worst and most corrupt days of Charles II., French gold was said to be circulating among the mercenary intriguers who figured as statesmen and patriots. Bishop Burnet says—"A design was laid in the House of Commons to open the session with an address to the king that he would own the King of Spain; the matter was so concerted, that they had agreed on the words of the vote, and seemed not to doubt of the concurrence of the house; but Mr. Monkton opposed it with great heat, and among other things said, if that vote was carried, he should expect that the next vote to be put would be for owning the pretended Prince of Wales." On the 14th of February the commons unanimously resolved, that the house would stand by and support his majesty and his government, and would not fail to take such effectual measures as might best conduce to the interest and safety of England, the preservation of the Protestant religion, and the peace of Europe. But they differed very materially as to the proper interpretation to be put upon the words "peace of Europe," and as to the fittest means of securing that great end. Still, however, there was a party not disinclined to war—a Whig party that had lost the king, and were yet resolved to recover him; who also, perhaps, carried their views beyond the limits of his life, which seemed hastening to a close. And, of course, this party knew in what high and absolute favour Lady Marlborough stood with the Princess Anne, what use was to be made of her, and how much her lord's heart was set on being a captain-general. Of those who looked at the question of peace or war in a sober and a disinterested spirit, the number appears to have been exceedingly small: yet some few there were at all times, who, from pure motives, perferred the chances and changes of a new continental war to a submission to the will of the King of France. On the 17th of February, three days after the address, William told those who presented it that he thanked them for their ready concurrence, which he took to be extremely important to the honour and safety of England; that he should never propose anything but what was for their common advantage; and that, having this opportunity, he must acquaint them that he had just received a memorial from the states-general, a translation of which he would leave with them. "As to the first part of the memorial," said he, "I think it necessary to ask your *advice;* as to the latter part, I desire your *assistance.*"

This memorial left in the hands of parliament was none other than an intimation from the states-general that they had, on the very day that the parliament of England met, given up the partition treaty, to which they were a principal party, submitted to the will of the late King of Spain, and declared for a negotiation. Their high mightinesses, who had been hard pressed by Louis XIV., declared that, having considered their delay in acknowledging the Duke of Anjou for King of Spain was subject to malicious interpretations, as if their aim had been only to gain time to put themselves into a warlike posture, they now thought themselves obliged to acknowledge him without any condition, reserving to themselves to stipulate, in the negotiations about to begin, the conditions necessary to secure the peace of Europe. They assured William that in these negotiations they were resolved to do nothing without his majesty's consent and the consent of the other powers interested; and they therefore prayed him to send to his minister at the Hague the necessary instructions to act conjointly in the negotiations.

The commons took a day to deliberate; but, on the second day after receiving the memorial from the king, they voted an address, praying that he would be pleased to enter into such negotiations, in concert with the states-general and other potentates, as might most effectually conduce to the mutual safety of these kingdoms *and the states-general*, giving him at the same time assurances of support and assistance in the performance of the treaty made with the states in the year 1677. The proceedings of the commons are represented as having fully answered all his majesty's desires. "I hope," adds Vernon, in the letter communicating the vote to the Earl of Manchester, "it will have that good effect on your side as to produce a fair disposition to treat upon reasonable terms, that a war may be prevented; which I see we shall not decline, if we are forced into it by necessity."[1] This was, indeed, more than William had expected; and though he well knew that nothing but a war would prevent the undivided transfer of the Spanish succession to Louis's grandson, he calmly waited events, and left his parliament to take its own course. On the same day that he communicated the Dutch memorial to the commons, he also communicated to both houses a letter from that desperate Jacobite, Lord Melfort, to his brother the Earl of Perth, urging that the present conjuncture ought to be improved for the benefit of the exiled family, and every advantage taken of the animosity then existing at the court of France against William. This old and hackneyed maker of revolutions and insurrections, which had all either come to nothing or ended in the ruin of those who engaged in them, was just as confident and unscrupulous as ever. He had heard fine things at Versailles, and had been admitted to a favourable audience by Madame de Maintenon, the very devout mistress of the "Grand Monarque." He announced to his brother that Louis intended to put out this summer a very great fleet, the orders being given, the money ready, the stores full, and every one concerned active in his station. By means of this fleet the miserable old James, who was now much more like a monk of La Trappe than a king, was to pass over into England and recover all his crowns. "There is no doubt," says Melfort, "but this fleet will be master of the sea for some time, if not for all the summer; because the Dutch dare not stir till the English be ready; and *they* have long debates yet, before they can be in a condition to act, even if they have the will; and it is a question whether they will have it at all. The king never had so favourable a conjuncture, if he can only persuade this king that his affairs are really in the circumstances they are in: *but there is the difficulty.*"

Upon reading this letter, the House of Commons, more excited than they ought to have been by anything that came from such a quarter, thought it incumbent to put the kingdom in a state of defence; authorized the exchequer the very next day to borrow £550,000 at six per cent. for the service of the fleet, the guards, and garrisons; and soon after ordered that the seamen of the royal navy, who had been reduced during the last parliament to 7000, should be raised to 30,000 for the present summer. The lords, on their part, pledged themselves to defend the Protestant succession; but they humbly desired that all the treaties that had been made with any prince or state since the late war should be laid before them, in order that they might be enabled to give the advice which his majesty had asked from them in a mature form, and upon full information. They humbly desired his majesty to enter into alliances with all those princes and states that were willing to unite for the preservation of the balance of Europe; assuring him that they would most readily concur in all such methods as might effectually conduce to the honour and safety of England and the peace of Europe. With reference to Melfort's letter, the lords went farther than the commons; they proposed the old and barbarous expedients of putting the laws in execution for removing all Papists from London, seizing the arms and horses of the Papists and other disaffected persons, and issuing search-warrants for those arms and provisions of war which were described in the intercepted letter as being in readiness.

On the 16th of March, Mr. Secretary Hedges delivered a written message, signed by the king, to the commons, informing them that, according to the address of their house, Mr. Stanhope had been sent to negotiate at the Hague, and that it was his majesty's intention to acquaint them from time to time with the state and progress of the negotiations.

On the last day of March, Secretary Hedges communicated a message from the king to both houses, telling them that the negotiations seemed to be at an end, by the positive answer the French ambassador had given to the states-general.[1] The commons, who were called upon for their advice, adjourned to the 2d of April, when, instead of an essentially warlike vote, which seems to have been half expected from them, they resolved unanimously, "That the humble advice of this house be given to his majesty, to desire that his majesty will be pleased to carry on the negotiations in concert with the states-general, and take such measures as may most conduce to security; and that his majesty will pursue the treaty made with the states-general the 3d of March, 1677:" and they pledged themselves to enable him to support the said treaty. By this time the slow court of Austria was beginning to be in motion, and early in April the emperor declared that he had indispensable reasons for pursuing his right to the whole monarchy of Spain; and he invited the different states and potentates of the empire to join him in a league for the general interest of the empire, and especially the preservation of the Netherlands, &c. His imperial majesty was at peace with the Turks; and the army cantoned along the Danube and the Drave might be brought to the Rhine and the Sambre, where, as he represented, the English and the Dutch would make their last effort to assist him, to be avenged upon France, and to maintain their religion, liberty and commerce. But at that moment, as at other crises, the empire was "so divided in itself" that no uniform and consistent league could be established, and the door seemed barred to the emperor from Vienna to Düsseldorf. The elector-palatine was zealous for the emperor, but several of the other princes were listening to a project of neutrality artfully put forward by France; the Elector of Cologne was receiving money from France, and raising 5000 men; and the Elector of Bavaria was receiving greater sums from the same quarter, and raising 10,000 men.[2]

---

[1] *Cole MSS.*, as quoted by Ralph.

About the middle of April a letter from the Duke of Anjou, dated Buen Retiro, and written in the style of King of Spain, the Indies, &c., &c., was received, and read in William's cabinet council. The Bourbon prince, or those who wrote for him, told his majesty of England, that since he had taken possession of all the kingdoms and dominions belonging to him, he could no longer delay giving notice of the same; and in courtly guise, he offered a sort of excuse for not having notified his accession before, and assured his majesty that he desired nothing more than his friendship. According to Burnet, "the Earl of Rochester and the rest of the new ministry pressed the king to own the King of Spain, and to answer his letter; urging that since the Dutch had done it, it seemed reasonable that the king should likewise do it; and they prevailed *at last*, but with *much difficulty*." Whatever was the degree of William's reluctance or readiness, he answered the letter of "the most serene and most potent prince, brother and cousin;" congratulating him on his happy arrival in his kingdom of Spain, being assured that the ancient friendship and correspondence betwixt the two crowns should remain inviolable, and the advantage and prosperity of all Europe be promoted, &c. There could be no possible use in questioning Philip's title, unless swords and bullets could be used as arguments; and up to this moment it was more than doubtful whether the emperor, if he made war, would not be left to carry it on without any assistance from the empire; and whether the English parliament would prefer a vast continental war to the alternative of seeing the grandson of Louis firmly established on the Spanish throne. At this very moment the parliament was pouring out the vials of its wrath upon the late Whig ministers. Not satisfied with their ample exposure of both partition treaties, and of the mode in which the second had been executed, they fell upon that second partition treaty with fresh fury. All the members of the commons were summoned to attend the service of the house upon pain of incurring its severe displeasure; and, the house having resolved itself into a committee to consider the state of the nation and that partition treaty, the following resolution was adopted forthwith:—"That William, Earl of Portland, by negotiating and concluding the treaty of partition, which was destructive to the trade of this kingdom, and dangerous to the peace of Europe, was guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour." Mr. Vernon and Sir Joseph Williamson, who had been almost as deeply concerned as Portland himself—and Williamson much more so than Somers, for he had actually *signed* the second partition treaty—were overlooked, and the whole fury of the house was directed against the four lords; for besides Portland and Somers, the Lords Orford and Halifax were included in the charge. And, as if they had not materials enough in the passing an unwarranted commission under the great seal, they again attempted to couple the ex-chancellor with Captain Kydd. If we are to believe Burnet, the most nefarious endeavours were made to induce the pirate to inculpate Somers, the Earl of Orford, and Halifax. "Their enemies," he says, "tried again what use could be made of Kydd's business—for he was taken in our northern plantations in America, and brought over: he was examined by the house; but either he could not lay a probable story together, or remnants of honesty, raised in him by the near prospect of death, restrained him: he accused no person of having advised or encouraged his turning pirate; he had never talked alone with any of the lords, and never at all with Lord Somers: he said he had no orders from them but to pursue his voyage against the pirates. All endeavours were used to persuade him to accuse the lords: he was assured that, if he did it, he should be preserved; and if he did not, he should certainly die for his piracy: yet this could not prevail on him to charge them; so he with some of his crew were hanged, there appearing not so much as a colour to fasten any imputation on these lords: yet their enemies tried what use could be made of the grant of all that Kydd might recover from the pirates, which some bold and ignorant lawyers affirmed to be against law. So this matter was for the fourth time debated in the House of Commons; and the behaviour of those peers in it appeared to be so innocent, so legal, and, in truth, so meritorious, that it was again let fall. The insisting so much on it served to convince all people that the enemies of these lords wanted not inclination, but only matter, to charge them, since they made so much use of this; but so partial was a great part of the house that the abandonment of this was carried only by a small majority. When one design failed another was set up." Upon the question being put, "That John, Lord Somers, by advising his majesty in the year 1699 to the treaty for dividing the Spanish monarchy, whereby large territories of the King of Spain's dominions were to be delivered up to France, is guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour," it was resolved in the affirmative by 198 against 188. The same question was afterwards carried with relation to the Earl of Orford by 193 against 148; and, with reference to Lord Halifax, by 186 against 163. It was then resolved that the said lords should be severally impeached at the bar of the upper house. And, anticipating the trial, the commons further resolved, by a majority of 162 to 107, that an humble address be presented to his majesty to remove John, Lord Somers, from his counsel and presence for ever: which was followed by the like motions against Orford, Halifax, and Portland, these being carried without a division. But instantly a counter-address was set on foot in the House of Lords, and carried through by a majority of twenty. It humbly and earnestly besought his majesty to be pleased not to pass any censure upon the four lords, until they were tried upon their impeachments, and judgment given according to the usage of parliament and the laws of the land. The king received the address, but returned no answer. He was surrounded by difficulties which scarcely any human prudence could wholly remove.[1] If he pleased the lords he must offend the commons, and if he gratified the commons he must incense the lords. He had recourse to an adjournment. When the houses re-assembled, other important business forced itself upon their notice.

---

[1] The French ambassador at the Hague had declared to the pensionary that the king, his master, had no other answer to return to the demands made by the states-general of the United Provinces, than that he was ready to renew and confirm the treaty of Ryswick, it being all the security the States were to expect.

[2] We have seen how the Elector of Bavaria charged the French king with taking off his young son. On entering into alliance with Louis, he, in a manifesto, shifted the foul charge to the Emperor Leopold. "That star," he said, "which proves fatal to all who form an obstacle to the greatness of the house of Austria, carried off this young prince by a slight indisposition, by which he had been often attacked without danger, before he was destined to wear the Spanish crown."—*Histoire de l'Avénement de la Maison de Bourbon.* Par Targe. The Emperor Leopold, it will be remembered, was the grandfather of the young prince whom he was thus accused of having destroyed.

Secretary Hedges now informed them that the states-general were resolved not to take any step in the negotiation with France without his majesty's full concurrence; and that they returned his majesty their hearty thanks for the provision he was making for their assistance in case of an attack from France. The commons voted an additional aid of 3*s.* in the pound, to be made good by a tax laid upon land. They also resolved, in a committee of ways and means, that the savings which arose from the non-payment of £50,000 a-year allotted as a dower to King James's queen, of £30,000 a-year fallen in by the death of Catherine, the widow of Charles II., and of £20,000 a-year more by the death of the Duke of Gloucester—making in all £100,000 per annum—might be applied to the public service, without any diminution of the provision originally intended for his majesty. The proposition was very distasteful to the court, and all those in office seemed to consider the said savings as vails of royalty. Many of the temporizing Whigs, who were seeking various methods of recommending themselves to the king and regaining the places they had lost, sided with ministers in the debate. The point was carried in committee, but not without considerable difficulty. When Mr. Conyers reported to the house that he was directed by the committee to move for leave to apply the savings of £100,000 per annum towards the payment of the public debts, the motion was carried by a majority of 214 to 169. This contest was scarcely over when a message from the lords reminded the house, "that as yet no particular articles had been exhibited against the lords impeached; which, after impeachments had been so long pending, were due in justice to the persons concerned, and agreeable to the methods of parliament in such cases."[1] The commons replied that the articles against the impeached lords were preparing, and in a short time would be sent to their lordships' house. For some time people had been complaining out of doors of these continual dissensions between the two houses, of the violence of party animosities, and of the great neglect of the real business of the nation. Many of the men most identified with the Revolution retained a great influence in the country; and it is believed that some of these favoured and promoted the famous "Kentish Petition," which was presented at this critical moment. This petition was drawn up at a meeting of magistrates, grand-jurors, and freeholders at Maidstone, and put into the hands of Sir Thomas Hales, one of the members for the county, to be by him laid before the House of Commons. But Hales, finding it was likely to give great offence to the house, excused himself; and then Mr. Meredith, the other member for the county, undertook to deliver it. But Meredith was cautious, and had his misgivings, and, before bringing up the petition to the table, he told the house that several of the gentlemen of good quality who had signed it were at the door, and quite ready to own their signatures. Upon this, an order was given that these country gentlemen should be admitted. Having severally owned the petition and their signatures, they were ordered to withdraw; and then the paper was read. After expressing their deep concern at the dangerous state of this kingdom and of all Europe, the Kentish gentlemen said, that they thought themselves bound in duty to lay before the house the consequence, in this conjuncture, of their (the commons') speedy resolution and sincere endeavour to answer to the great trust reposed in them by their country. "And," they continued, "in regard that, from the experience of all ages, it is manifest no nation can be great or happy without union, we hope that no pretence whatsoever shall be able to create a misunderstanding among ourselves, or the least distrust of his most sacred majesty, whose great actions for this nation are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot. We most humbly implore this honourable house to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be effectually provided for, that your addresses may be turned into bills of supply, and that his most sacred majesty, whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue, may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late." The "hot-heads" of the house were transported with fury. Some, more moderate, endeavoured to make up matters by going out to the petitioners during the debate, and attempting to persuade them to merit clemency from the house by certain submissions. But the Kentish gentlemen would suffer no concession, declaring that they were of opinion that it was their right to petition the house according to the statute of the 13th of Charles II., and that, as to the matter of the petition, they intended nothing offensive. The commons then, by a large majority, resolved that the petition was "scandalous, insolent, and seditious," tending to destroy the constitution, &c., and that the presenters of it should be taken into the custody of the serjeant-at-arms. A rude scuffle ensued, and then the house, on complaint of the serjeant-at-arms, by a majority of 169 to 93, sent all the Kentish gentlemen to the Gatehouse. According to Burnet, similar petitions were preparing in the city of London and in all parts of the kingdom. The gentlemen who were sent to prison, where they lay till the prorogation, were, he says, "much visited, and treated as confessors." "It was much questioned," he adds, "whether they (the commons) had really an authority to imprison any except their own members, or such as had violated the privilege of their house." The king was at last advised to interfere to prevent the address from the city; and persons were sent in his majesty's name to divert the leading men from that design: "yet, with all this," says Burnet, "it came so near for such an address in a common council, that the lord-mayor's vote turned it for the negative."

---

[1] "Amid these scenes of dissension and disaffection, and amidst the public losses and decline which aggravated them, we have scarce any object to contemplate with pleasure but the magnanimous and unconquerable soul of William. Mistaken in some parts of his domestic policy, unsuited by some failings of his character for the English nation, it is still to his superiority in virtue and energy over all her own natives in that age, that England is indebted for the preservation of her honour and liberty; not at the crisis only of the Revolution, but through the difficult period that elapsed until the peace of Ryswick. A war of nine years, generally unfortunate, unsatisfactory in its result, carried on at a cost unknown to former times, amidst the decay of trade, the exhaustion of resources, the decline, as there seems good reason to believe, of population itself, was the festering wound that turned a people's gratitude into factiousness and treachery. It was easy to excite the national prejudices against campaigns in Flanders, especially when so unsuccessful, and to inveigh against the neglect of our maritime power. Yet, unless we could have been secure against invasion, which Louis would infallibly have attempted had not his whole force been occupied by the grand alliance, and which, in the feeble condition of our navy and commerce, at one time could not have been impracticable, the defeats of Steinkirk and Landen would probably have been sustained at home. The war of 1689, and the great confederacy of Europe, which William alone could animate with any steadiness and energy, were most evidently and undeniably the means of preserving the independence of England. That danger—which has sometimes been in our countrymen's mouths with little meaning—of becoming a province to France, was then close and actual; for I hold the restoration of the house of Stuart to be another expression for that of ignominy and servitude. The expense, therefore, of the war must not be reckoned unnecessary, nor must we censure the government for that small portion of debt which it was compelled to entail upon posterity."—Hallam, *Constitutional History of England,* vol. ii. p. 289.

Another royal message was soon delivered to the commons about the state of affairs abroad;

---

[1] *Journals.*

and in it the difficulties of the Dutch, and their hopes of immediate assistance from his majesty, were declared in a manner that betrayed an anxiety for an immediate declaration of war. And Secretary Hedges, together with this message, delivered a letter from the states-general to the king, in which their high mightinesses drew a forcible picture of French aggression and insolence. They showed how Louis, through his ambassador extraordinary, the Count d'Avaux, had endeavoured to lead them into a separate treaty, and how they had represented to his Catholic majesty that the security of Holland could not by any means be separated from that of England—that the two nations had a common interest—and that they could and would do nothing without the concurrence of his Britannic majesty. "Our condition," said they, "is worse than it was during the late war; whilst the French make forts under the cannon of our strong places and lines along our frontiers, without our being able to hinder it, as we might do if we were at war." The commons postponed the consideration of these important matters till the next day, and went on that afternoon to examine the articles of impeachment prepared in committee against the Earl of Orford. And, on the following morning, before taking up the subject of Holland, they sent up that impeachment to the lords, with a demand that the Earl of Orford should be made to give sufficient security to abide judgment. Then they took his majesty's message and the papers delivered by the secretary into consideration; and, after a very short debate, they resolved unanimously that they would effectually assist his majesty to support his allies in maintaining the liberties of Europe, and would immediately provide succour for the states-general, according to the treaty of 1677. On the very day after this welcome vote, Count Wratislaus, the imperial envoy, presented a memorial to William, setting forth the danger to be apprehended from the excessive power of France by its late union with Spain, the injury done to the emperor by that union, and the resolution of his imperial majesty to vindicate his rights to the Spanish succession. And, after this preamble, he intimated that his master, the emperor, knew the difficulty and danger of the undertaking; that he trusted, however, in the justice of his cause, and the assistance of the kings and princes who had been parties to the late confederacy against France, and among whom his Britannic majesty had the principal place; and then he hinted that the old confederacy or grand alliance, which had been virtually dissolved by the peace of Ryswick and the two partition treaties, was to be held still in force, and competent to bind the members of that old alliance to furnish fresh succour, &c. On the 14th of May the lords voted an address, in which they went still further than the commons. They assured his majesty that they were sensible of the great and imminent danger of the states-general, and perfectly agreed with them in believing that the safety of Holland and that of England were so inseparably united, that whatsoever was ruin to the one must be fatal to the other; they desired his majesty not only to make good all the articles of any former treaty with the states-general, but also to enter into a strict league, offensive and defensive, and to invite into it all princes and states that were concerned in the present visible danger, arising from the union of France and Spain. Nor did they stop here. They further desired that his majesty would enter into such alliance with the emperor as he might think fit, pursuant to the ends of the treaty of 1699, assuring him of their hearty and sincere assistance, and of their confident hope that Almighty God would protect him in so righteous a cause, and that the unanimity, wealth, and courage of his subjects would carry him with honour and success through all the difficulties of a just war.

In spite of the reproof of the lords, that men ought to be tried before the stamp of reprobation were put upon them, the Tory majority in the commons carried an address to the throne for the instant removal of Somers, Orford, Halifax, and Portland, from his majesty's counsels, &c., for ever. The very next day after this motion, and while the lords were on their way to Kensington with their last and warlike address, the commons were cut to the bone by a singular *flagellum.* A packet was put into the hands of the Speaker Harley by a poor woman, and this packet was found to contain a memorial (afterwards entitled the "Legion Memorial"), and a startling letter to the Tory speaker. The letter was in these words:—

"Mr. Speaker,—The inclosed memorial you are charged with, in the behalf of many thousands of the good people of England. There is neither Popish, Jacobite, seditious, court, or party interest concerned in it, but honesty and truth. You are commanded by 200,000 Englishmen to deliver it to the House of Commons, and to inform them that it is no banter, but serious truth; and a serious regard to it is expected. Nothing but justice and their duty is required; and it is required by them who have both a right to require and power to compel, viz., the people of England. We could have come to the house strong enough to oblige them to hear us, but we have avoided any tumults, not desiring to embroil but to serve our native country. If you refuse to communicate it to them, you will find cause in a short time to repent it."

The memorial, which was signed, "Our name is Legion, and we are many," is generally believed to have been the production of that wonderful man, Daniel Defoe.[1] Though, in truth, nothing but a satire and a mystification, it had that writer's characteristic, thorough reality and earnestness; and, like other papers by the same hand, it transported the parties addressed into a perfect fury and panic. The serjeant-at-arms was ordered to go his rounds with the mace to summon all members to instant attendance; a loud murmur was raised of endeavours to excite tumults and sedition; and a committee was appointed to draw up an address to beseech his majesty to check these most perilous attempts, and to provide for the public peace and security. Mr. Howe, who had been a very loud talker in the sense contrary to that of the writer of the Legion Memorial and his party, declared in the house that he was in danger of his life, and several other Tory members were frightened away into the country, believing, as it should appear, that the "Legion," which only existed in the imagination of Defoe, was really on the point of assaulting the parliament. A committee was appointed to meet in the speaker's chamber, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and directed to sit *de die in diem.* But at last the mystification became evident; the Tories became ashamed of their panic, and no report was called for; and the whole affair, which must have convulsed the immortal author of *Robinson Crusoe* with laughter, was silently let fall. While the commons were yet shaking with the panic, the lords reminded them that though they had sent up their articles against Orford, they had, as yet, exhibited none against Portland, Somers, and Halifax. Thus quickened, they drew up the impeachment of Somers in a most malignant spirit; and it was carried up to the lords on the 19th of May. The high crime most insisted upon was his share in the partition treaty; but, in addition, Somers was charged with having passed many great, unreasonable, and exorbitant grants, under the great seal; with having promoted and procured unreasonable and exorbitant grants to be made of the late forfeited estates in Ireland, in contempt of the advice of the House of Commons; with not being content with all the fees, profits, and perquisites legally belonging to the great seal, together with an additional pension of £4000 per annum, but having, contrary to his oath, begged and procured for his own benefit many great and unreasonable grants of manors, lands, tenements, rents, hereditaments, and revenues, belonging to the crown of England, &c.; with having alienated many quit-rents and other rents annexed to Windsor Castle, &c.; and with having used many extraordinary methods, delays, and unwarrantable proceedings in the Court of Chancery, &c. Nor was Captain Kydd, though now hanged, forgotten in this impeachment, Somers, like Orford, being charged with the irregularities of that unlucky adventurer's proceedings. On the 24th of May, the ex-Lord-chancellor of England sent his answer to their lordships. He clearly made it appear that the obnoxious treaty was the king's own measure—though that, in constitutional strictness, did not

JOHN, LORD SOMERS.[2]

---

[1] From internal evidence we feel perfectly convinced that Defoe was the writer, and that no other author of the day could have written it. Oldmixon says, that Defoe had, in his hearing, taken to himself the honour of being the author of the paper. It appears that the commons believed it had been got up by the Kentish commissioners, and that one of those gentlemen, who had escaped from the serjeant-at-arms, was coming, with the whole county of Kent at his heels, to make his threats good. The writer artfully made it susceptible of this latter interpretation by complaining in the beginning of the haughty behaviour of the commons, and their committing to *illegal* custody the writers and presenters of petitions, &c. Several of the clauses of the memorial were as severe and cutting as human pen could make them—others were very cogent. Take for example the following charges against the Tory majority, which now ruled the house:—7. "Voting the treaty of partition fatal to Europe, because it gave so much of the Spanish dominion to the French, and not concerning yourselves to prevent their taking possession of it all. 8. Deserting the Dutch when the French are at their doors, till it be almost too late to help them, is unjust to our treaties, and unkind to our confederates, dishonourable to the English nation, and shows you very negligent of the safety of England and of our Protestant neighbours. 9. Addressing the king to displace his friends, upon base surmises, before the legal trial, or any article proven, is illegal, and inverting the law, and making execution go before judgment, contrary to the true sense of the law, which esteems every man a good man till something appears to the contrary. Delaying proceedings upon capital impeachments, to blast the reputation of the persons, without proving the fact, is illegal and oppressive, destructive to the liberty of Englishmen, a delay of justice, and a reproach to parliaments."

[2] From the statue by William Calder Marshall, R.A., in St. Stephen's Hall, new Houses of Parliament.

exonerate him as a minister for what he had done in it—and that he had given his opinion freely upon the whole business. As to the grants which he had passed, and which he said he believed were not so considerable as those which, in the same number of years, had been passed in the times of most of his predecessors, they had been regularly passed through the proper offices, and brought such warrants with them as he had thought himself obliged to obey. He insisted that he of himself had neither advised nor procured any grants of any forfeited estates in Ireland for any person whatsoever; that the pension of £4000 per annum which he had received was neither more nor less than what had been allowed to several of his predecessors; that he had never begged or used any means to procure any grant whatsoever for his own benefit. As for the charges of abuse of power in the Chancery Court, unfair delays, and irregular proceedings, he gave to one and all a round denial; solemn, but short, as if he scorned the imputations. The lords insisted that the trial should proceed forthwith, and the impeachments be made good or dropped; the commons demanded more time, and proposed that a committee of *both* houses might be nominated to consider of the móst proper ways and methods for proceeding against the lords accused. But the lords rejected this proposal of a joint committee, and gave in their reasons for so doing at a conference. This led to other angry messages; but the lords persisted in their resolution of not consenting to a joint committee. And at this moment the dispute was interrupted by the king's going to the House of Lords to give the royal assent to the new succession bill, which had been carried through both houses, and which was by far the most important act of the session.

According to Roger Coke, a Whig member designed to bring in the bill for fixing the succession to the crown in the Protestant house of Brunswick, "which, being smoked by the speaker, Sir John Bowles, a Tory, and little better than a madman, was employed to present it to the house, who had so little stomach to it, that it hung there above three months before they passed it." Bishop Burnet, who voted on the occasion says—"Sir John Bowles, who was then disordered in his senses, and soon after quite lost them, was set on by the party (the Tories) to be the first that should name the Electress-dowager of Brunswick (Sophia, grand-daughter of James I.), which seemed done to make it less serious, when moved by such a person. He was, by the forms of the house, put in the chair of the committee to whom the bill was committed. The thing was still put off for many weeks, but every time that it was called for, the motion was entertained with coldness, which served to heighten the jealousy. The committee once or twice sat upon it, but all the members ran out of the house with so much indecency that the contrivers seemed ashamed of this management. There were seldom fifty or sixty at the committee, yet in conclusion, it passed, and was sent up to the lords, where we expected great opposition would be made to it. . . . . Many of the lords absented themselves on design: some little opposition was made by the Marquis of Normanby, and four lords—the Earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the Lords Guildford and Jeffreys—protested against it. Those who wished well to the act were glad to have it passed any way, and so would not examine the limitations that were in it." But the bearing of these limitations on the power of thé crown was favourable to the liberties of the nation; and, whatever were their motives for urging them, the Tories, by some of them at least, unquestionably rendered a service to the constitution. The Whig historian will not, of course, allow any merit to his political enemies; on the contrary, he asserts—and the temper and views of many of the Tory party will almost bear him out—that the whole proceeding was marked with insincerity, and intended, by indirect means, to throw the government back into the hands of the exiled family. As eventually passed, the succession bill enacted that all things relating to the well-governing of the kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy council, should be transacted there, and all resolutions taken thereupon signed by such of the privy council as should advise and consent to the same; that no person whatsoever, not a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, or not born of English parents beyond seas (although such persons were naturalized or made denizen), should be capable to be of the privy council, or a member of either house of parliament, or to enjoy any place of trust, either civil or military, or be capable of any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown; that in case the crown should hereafter come to a foreign prince, the nation should not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories not belonging to the crown of England; *that no person who should hereafter come to the possession of the crown should go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without consent of parliament;* that whosoever should hold the crown should join in communion with the Church of England, as by law established; that no person having an office under the king, or receiving a pension from the crown, should be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons; that the judges' commissions should be made *quamdiu se bene gesserint,* and their salaries ascertained and established, but that upon the address of either House of Parliament, it might be lawful to remove them; that no pardon under the great seal should be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament; and finally, that the Princess Sophia, Duchess-dowager of Hanover, should be declared the next in succession to the crown of England, in the Protestant line, after his majesty and the Princess Anne, and the heirs of their bodies respectively; and that the further limitation of the crown should be to the said Princess Sophia, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. The sweeping disqualifications affecting all foreigners whatsoever, and all servants of the government, were not only unpalatable to William, but over-jealous, and, in some respects, unwise. Ungrateful and displeasing as it was in many particulars, William gave the royal assent to this succession bill without a murmur. The Duchess of Savoy, grand-daughter of Charles I., presented a very useless protest against the bill, which, together with the order of the Garter for her husband, was carried over to the Electress of Hanover by the Earl of Macclesfield.

The dispute between the two houses touching the impeachment of Somers, which had been interrupted a little while by the king's going to the lords to give his consent to the succession bill, was renewed a few days after. Each house seemed resolute—the commons in insisting on a joint committee, the lords in refusing it. In a conference, Lord Haversham gave great offence to the commons by saying that they themselves thought the lords impeached innocently. "And I think," said he, "the proposition is undeniable, for there were several lords in the same crimes, in the same fact; there is no distinction, and the commons leave some of these men at the head of affairs, near the king's person, to do any mischief they are inclined to, and impeach others, when they are all alike guilty, and concerned in the same facts." The managers for the commons took this to be so great an aspersion on the honour of their house, that they thought themselves obliged in duty immediately to withdraw from the conference. And, after the return of their managers, the commons resolved that John, Lord Haversham, had uttered most scandalous reproaches and false expressions highly reflecting upon the honour and justice of the House of Commons, and tending to the making a breach in the good correspondence between the lords and commons, and to the interrupting the public justice of the nation by delaying the proceedings on the impeachments; and they sent up Sir Christopher Musgrave to demand justice upon the offending lord, who, on his part, would not allow that his words had been "precisely taken." Then followed other messages and remonstrances. The lords intimated their purpose of bringing on the trial of Lord Somers on the day they had fixed: the commons refused to attend, and made an order that no member of their house should presume to appear at the place erected for the *pretended trial* of the Lord Somers, under pain of their utmost displeasure. On the day appointed, the lords adjourned to Westminster Hall, where proclamation was made, and the impeachment of Lord Somers read, as was also his reply. Then the proclamation was read a second time, and the lord-keeper declared that the house was ready to hear evidence. No evidence was offered—not a member of the lower house appeared. The lords, "after these formalities," went back to their house, and declared that John, Lord Somers, was acquitted of the articles of impeachment against him exhibited by the House of Commons, and of all things therein contained, and that the said impeachment was dismissed. The next day, the commons ordered that the impeaching committee should inspect the lords' journals; that no member should presume to leave town; and that all members should attend the service of the house on the Friday following (the 20th June). When that day came, they were informed by the upper house that their lordships had appointed the 23d for the trial of the Earl of Orford. More angry messages followed, and the commons voted that the lords had refused justice to the commons upon the impeachment, by denying them a committee of both houses, which was desired by the commons as the only method of settling the necessary preliminaries for proceeding to the trial with effect; and afterwards by proceeding to a *pretended* trial, which could tend only to protect the accused from justice by colour of an illegal acquittal, against which they solemnly protested, as repugnant to the rules of justice, and therefore null and void. The upper house replied that the non-appearance of the commons entitled Lord Somers to his full acquittal; that their lordships could infer nothing from their still persisting in their demand for a committee of both houses, which could never be granted, except that they never designed to bring any of their impeachments to trial; and that they should proceed with the case of the Earl of Orford on the day appointed. The commons passed the same order as they had done with regard to Somers' trial: no one appeared in Westminster Hall, and Lord Orford was acquitted. On the next day the lords dismissed the charges against Portland and Halifax, and so put an end to this long and angry business. Then, recollecting the impeachment which had been brought by the Whigs against the Duke of Leeds in 1695, and which had neither been prosecuted nor discharged, they took the opportunity of dismissing it also.

On the 24th of June the commons presented a liberal money bill. William gave the royal assent to the several bills, and put an end to the session in a gracious speech. A week after the prorogation he left Hampton Court, and, attended by the Earls of Carlisle, Romney, Albemarle, M. Auverquerque, and others, set sail for Holland, where he arrived on the 3d of July. The battalions from Ireland and some new levies from England arrived in the Low Countries about the same time: some Scotch troops had been there many weeks; and, as he was accompanied by a battalion of his English guards, William had the appearance of being again at the head of an army. But his health, which had been severely tried by his recent vexations and crosses, was visibly giving way; and, when on the day after his arrival he took his seat in the assembly of the states-general, his haggard appearance seemed to belie the sanguine hopes which he held out to his threatened countrymen. After his business in the states-general, William, as much as his health would permit, passed his time in reviewing the frontier garrisons of Holland; and having visited Bergen-op-Zoom, Sluys, and other places, he returned to the Hague, there to learn that the empty form of negotiation was at an end, and that Louis had recalled his ambassador, D'Avaux.[1]

On the 7th of September a new treaty of alliance, styled "The Second Grand Alliance," was signed at the Hague. This treaty provided that there should be a perpetual and inviolable friendship between the emperor, the King of England, and the states-general of Holland, &c. All kings, princes, and states that pleased might enter into their alliance; and, as tempting money-bargains were made and other advantages offered by England and Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Holstein, and the Palatinate soon joined the confederacy. The emperor was so poor that he was forced to negotiate with Holland for 500,000 crowns, on the security of his quicksilver mines. His imperial majesty, however, engaged to furnish 66,000 foot and 24,000 horse. William on his part agreed for 33,000 foot and 7000 horse; and the states-general for 32,000 foot and 2000 horse.

But long before these forces were assembled, and even several weeks before the treaty was signed at the Hague, the war had begun on the side of Italy. As the active and able Prince Eugene, who continued in the emperor's service, had advanced to the passes of the Alps in the beginning of the summer, an attack was expected and provided for by Marshal Catinat and the Duke of Savoy, who, with an army of French, Milanese, and Savoyards, posted themselves along the Adige, within the Mantuan territory. But Eugene, with 30,000 men, drove them from that position, forced their intrenchments at Carpi, and obliged them to retire behind the Mincio with considerable loss. Catinat and his Frenchmen had excited the vengeance of the Italian peasantry, who flew to such arms as they could procure, massacred their stragglers, and cut off their supplies. Prince Eugene, on the other hand, was favoured by the people, and had a free communication with Austria through the valley of the Adige and the Tyrol: and, after some brilliant manœuvres, he drove Catinat and the duke to the line of the Oglio. Marshal Villeroy joined Catinat with fighting orders, and attacked Eugene and the Imperialists in their lines; but he was repulsed with loss. No other battle took place, and at the approach of the rainy season the French retired to winter-quarters between the Oglio and the Adda.

While these mixed events were passing, the dethroned King James was getting fast out of the reach of their effects, and the rumours of them. The penances and mortifications to which he subjected himself hastened his end, and he had been dying all this summer. On Friday, the 2d of September, a few days before the conclusion of the grand alliance, he was seized with a fainting fit in the chapel of the palace of St. Germain. He was pretty well the next day, but on Sunday he fell into another fit, and lay for some time without life or motion. On Tuesday, the 13th of September, Louis went for a third time to his bedside; and then it is said that, the apartment being full of people, his most Christian majesty declared that he would take his family into his protection, and would treat his son, the Prince of Wales, in the same manner as he had treated him, and acknowledge him as King of England. James lingered till the following Friday, the 16th of September, and then expired, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. His body lay exposed four-and-twenty hours in the midst of priests and monks, who sang the office for the dead all the night through, and in the morning celebrated masses at two altars erected in the room. The body was deposited in the church of the English Benedictine monks in Paris, there to remain "till it should please God to dispose the people of England to repair, in some measure, the injuries they did him in his life, by the honours they should think fit to show him after his death." With a little varnish this bad king made a tolerably good saint. At the time of his last sickness and death William was at the Loo, sickly and feeble himself, and actually apprehending another attempt on his life by one Boselli, an Italian, "infamous for many ruffian-like exploits," who, after being long confined in the Bastille, was liberated at this critical moment, or permitted to escape. Great pains were taken to circulate a report, said to be grounded on a consultation of physicians, that William could not survive more than a month. In the eyes of Louis his single life was of more importance than armies and confederacies; and it was an axiom of the French court that, this troublesome prince once out of the way, the "Grand Monarque" might have his will in Europe. It should appear that his Tory ministry had had a pernicious effect upon William's health and spirits. The blatant, drinking, and red-hot Earl of Rochester, who had in a manner directed and bullied the whole cabinet, was particularly offensive to him, and he was afterwards heard to declare that the most uneasy part of his life was the year in which that nobleman had been in the ascendency. He still consulted Sunderland, who was wise enough to remain in his quiet retreat at Althorp, watching the course of events, and feeling anxious only about those things which might benefit or injure himself personally. His wife, Lady Sunderland, had contracted a romantic kind of friendship with the imperious but fascinating Lady Marlborough; and in the preceding month of January his eldest son, Lord Spencer, had married Lady Anne Churchill, Marlborough's second daughter, upon whose progeny the ducal title eventually devolved. Although William had reinstated that fortunate soldier, he still distrusted him; but Marlborough had of late rendered good services in the House of Lords, and through these and the good offices of Sunderland and others, the king overcame his repugnance, and not only intrusted him with the command of the English forces now in the Netherlands, but also employed him as his chief negotiator with foreign powers.[1] Marlborough had accompanied him abroad, and, though he still professed himself a Tory, lost no opportunity of abusing his party for not going more energetically into the war. By the joint advice of Sunderland and Somers, William made up his mind to dismiss the present parliament, to break with the Tories, and to trust solely to the Whigs; and when he landed from Holland on the 4th of November, he was confirmed in his resolution by the state of the public feeling, and by the ferment which he saw men's minds were in at Louis's prohibitory edict, and recognition of the pretender. On the 11th he dissolved the old parliament, and called a new one to meet on the 31st of December.

---

[1] It appears that the states-general were deluded by D'Avaux's professions of moderation, and that for some time William and Marlborough were the only persons there that saw clearly in what a vacuum the negotiations at the Hague would end. Even as late as the month of August, William's old friend and prime adviser, the Pensionary Heinsius, was persuaded that an arrangement might yet be effected, and expressed his hopes that Louis would give satisfaction to the emperor, &c., rather than incur the risk of a war.—Letter from Marlborough to Godolphin, as cited by Coxe, *Life of Marlborough.*

On the 27th of December, Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, was substituted for Lord Godolphin, as first lord of the treasury. A few days after (on the 4th of January), Charles Montague, Earl of Manchester, late ambassador at Paris, was made secretary of state, in the room of Sir Charles Hedges; and on the 18th of the same month, the Earl of Pembroke, having been transferred from the presidency of the council, and made lord high-admiral, Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset, was appointed to succeed him in the presidency. Some time before these important changes, the Honourable Henry Boyle, afterwards Earl of Carleton, had been made chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of Mr. Smith; and the privy seal, on the death of the Earl of Tankerville, had been put in commission. These members of the new cabinet were all or principally the personal friends of the king. The new parliament assembled, as appointed, on the 30th day of December. The returns proved that, if Sunderland and Somers were not quite borne out in their anticipations of a Whig majority, yet a great change in public feeling had taken place. Although many Tories were sent up from the smaller boroughs, the Whigs had carried most of the counties and great towns. His majesty opened the session with a speech unusually long, and unusually eloquent, which was drawn up by Lord Somers. "I promise myself," said William, "that you are met together full of that just sense of the common danger of Europe, and that resentment of the late proceeding of the French king, which has been so fully and universally expressed in the loyal and seasonable addresses of my people. The owning and setting up the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England is not only the highest indignity offered to me and the whole nation, but does so nearly concern every man who has a regard for the Protestant religion, or the present and future quiet and happiness of his country, that I need not press you to lay it seriously to heart, and to consider what further effectual means may be used for securing the succession of the crown in the Protestant line, and extinguishing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open or secret abettors. By the French king's placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, he is in a condition to oppress the rest of Europe, unless speedy and effectual measures be taken: under this pretence he is become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy; he has made it to be entirely depending on France, and disposes of it as of his own dominions; and by that means he has surrounded his neighbours in such a manner, that, though the name of peace may be said to continue, yet they are put to the expense and inconveniences of war. This must affect England in the nearest and most sensible manner, in respect to our trade, which will soon become precarious in all the variable branches of it; in respect to our peace and safety at home, which we cannot hope should long continue; and in respect to that part which England ought to take in the preservation of the liberty of Europe." He then proceeded to put the importance of their assembly in the strongest light. "It is fit I should tell you," said he, "the eyes of all Europe are upon this parliament; all matters are at a stand, till your resolutions are known; therefore no time ought to be lost; you have yet an opportunity, by God's blessing, to secure to you and your posterity the quiet enjoyment of your religion and liberties, if you are not wanting to yourselves, but will exert the ancient vigour of the English nation: but I tell you plainly, my opinion is, if you do not lay hold on this occasion you have no reason to hope for another. . . . . . Gentlemen of the House of Commons, I do recommend these matters to you with that concern and earnestness which their importance requires. At the same time, I cannot but press you to take care of the public credit, which cannot be preserved but by keeping sacred that maxim *that they shall never be losers who trust to a parliamentary security*. . . . . My lords and gentlemen, I hope you are come together determined to avoid all manner of disputes and differences, and resolved to act with a general and a hearty concurrence for promoting the common cause, which alone can make this a happy session. I should think it as great a blessing as could befall England, if I could observe you as much inclined to lay aside those unhappy fatal animosities which divide and weaken you, as I am disposed to make all my subjects safe and easy as to any even the highest offences committed against me. Let me conjure you to disappoint the only hopes of our enemies, by your unanimity: I have shown, and will always show, how desirous I am to be the common father of my people; do you, in like manner, lay aside parties and divisions; let there be no other distinction heard of among us for the future, but of those who are for the Protestant religion and the present establishment, and of those who mean a Popish prince and a French government."

---

[1] According to Marlborough's biographer, "William's motives for this choice were laudably disinterested and patriotic. Sensible of his own approaching dissolution, foreseeing the inevitable necessity of a continental war, and anxious for the maintenance of that system which it had been the labour and boast of his life to uphold, he was desirous that the political and military powers should be transferred to one who, with abilities equal to the emergency, might possess the confidence of the country and the good-will of his successor. In no one were these requisites united except in Marlborough. Accordingly William selected him to command the forces in the Netherlands, and to negotiate the treaties which were to be formed with foreign powers, for the renewal of the grand alliance."

A.D. 1702.

The effect produced by this speech, which was soon translated and spread through every country in Europe, was prodigious; the voice of dissent was silenced, every Tory apprehending that he might be made to pass for a thorough non-compounding Jacobite, a Papist, and a partizan of France. The lords, with unusual haste, waited upon his majesty the very next day, the 1st of January, with a most loyal and earnest address, in which they echoed his just resentment as to the late proceedings of the French king in owning and setting up the pretended Prince of Wales for King of England. The commons did not present their address till the 5th, but on that day it was presented by the whole house, and was as earnest as that of the lords, and still more explicit. But, reminded by the court party, and by the king himself, of their omissions, the lords carried up a second address, wherein, adopting the great sentiment of the new confederacy against Louis, they declared that England and her allies could never be safe and secure till the house of Austria should be restored to its rights, and the invader of the Spanish monarchy brought to reason. And in conclusion referring also to their addresses in the last session, they approved of all the alliances which had been contracted, and pledged themselves that no time should be lost, nor anything wanting on their part, to give weight and effect to the said treaties.

On the 6th of January Secretary Vernon laid before both houses copies of—1. The treaty with the King of Denmark and the states-general. 2. The secret articles of that new treaty. 3. The treaty with the emperor and the states-general. 4. The convention between his majesty King William, the King of Sweden, and the states-general. 5. The last treaty of all between his majesty and the states-general, signed in the preceding month of November. These documents contained all the diplomacy of the grand alliance, with a pretty clear intimation of the probable cost to England, and of the mercenary motives of some of the contracting powers. But the commons raised not a single objection to any of the treaties; and on the 10th they resolved unanimously, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to take care that it be an article in the several treaties of alliance, that no peace should be made with France until his majesty and the nation have reparation for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended Prince of Wales King of England. The vote of supply was also unanimous; and the first step taken upon it was to authorize the exchequer to borrow £600,000, at six per cent., for the services of the navy; and £50,000 for guards and garrisons. They readily agreed to the quota or contingent which the king was bound to furnish for the war, and which had been fixed at 33,000 foot and 7000 horse; they recognized the contracts made with the foreign mercenaries, subsidized troops, allowed that 10,000 more should be added to the 11,600 already engaged, and that 8300 of his majesty's natural-born subjects should be sent to join the 10,000 already gathered or gathering in Holland. They also granted £350,000 for the maintenance of guards and garrisons, including 5000 men to serve on board the fleet. And they voted that the navy should be raised to 40,000 seamen, and that his majesty's allies should be invited to embark a certain proportion of troops in the English ships of war. As ways and means for the heavy outlays to be hereby incurred, they passed a land and *income* tax of 4*s.* in the pound, to be levied upon all lands, annuities, pensions, and stipends; as also on the profits arising professionally to lawyers, doctors, surgeons, teachers of separate congregations, brokers, factors, &c.; then a tax of two and a half per cent. on all stock in trade and money out at interest; and 5*s.* in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites; next a capitation tax of 4*s.* in the year, to be paid by all persons not receiving alms, or exempted because of their poverty from parish dues, or being under age, or menial servants or day-labourers; next one per cent. upon all shares in the capital stock of any corporation or company, which should be bought, sold, or bargained for; and, lastly, a malt-tax of 6*d.* the bushel. On the 2d of January a bill of attainder against the Prince of Wales, which had been recommended by Sunderland, was brought in; and on the 15th it was passed, *nemine contradicente*, and sent up to the lords. On the 23d their lordships returned the said bill "with a draft of their own amendment upon it." This amendment was, that Mary of Este, whom James had named regent, should be attainted as well as her son. The commons demurred, and asked time to search for precedents. On the 29th the committee to whom this search was referred, made their report; and on the 2d of February, when this report was taken into consideration, the additional clause inserted by the lords was rejected without a division; the commons believing it might be of dangerous consequence to attaint persons by an amendment only, in which case such due consideration could not be had as the nature of an attainder requires. But the lords seemed anxious for the attainder of Maria d'Este. On the 10th they demanded a conference, in which they insisted on their amendment; urging that the method was fit and proper, citing a precedent from the reign of the most brutal of all our kings,[1] whereby it appeared the commons themselves had attainted several persons in simple amendments to bills. The commons, however, adhered to their point, and left the bill unaltered with their lordships, who at length retracted, and agreed to the bill without the amendment. But still there was a party in the upper house that drove hard at the nominal queen-regent, against whom they brought in a separate bill of attainder. The fate of the bill was decided by a thin house, only twenty-eight voting for it, and no more than eighteen against it. The bill was also passed by the upper house. It should be remembered hereafter, when we treat of the political delinquencies of that eccentric and dangerous man, that St. John (Bolingbroke) seconded the bill for abjuring the pretender.

But while men were devising or taking oaths of fidelity and devotion to William, that prince was drawing near his end. He had suffered much during the winter, and in his more familiar conversations with Lord Albemarle he had intimated his apprehensions; but his unshaken mind maintained a most manly struggle with the weakness of his body; he continued to toil in his cabinet, and at his moments of relaxation to take that hard exercise to which he had accustomed himself. As spring approached, hopes were entertained of his recovery. On Saturday, the 21st of February, though his legs were swollen, he set out from Kensington on horseback, as he was accustomed to do every week, to hunt at Hampton Court. As he was galloping along the road, the horse stumbled and fell violently, and the king fractured his right collar-bone. His majesty was carried to Hampton Court, where the bone was set, and where the surgeon, finding his pulse feverish, hinted the expediency of bleeding. William said his pulse had been feverish at intervals for a fortnight past, declined the blood-letting,[2] and, contrary to advice, returned that evening to Kensington. An altercation arose in his presence between his surgeon, Ronjat, a Frenchman, and his physician, Bidloo, a Dutchman; the latter insisting that there was no necessity for bleeding, and that the bone had been ill set. On examination, it appeared that the setting had been deranged by the motion of the carriage; but the fracture was soon reduced again, and the king slept well the whole night. For several days no bad symptoms appeared, or, if they appeared, they were kept secret. On the 28th of February, a week after the accident, he sent the following message to the House of Commons:—"His majesty, being at present hindered, by an unhappy accident, from coming in person to his parliament, is pleased to signify to the House of Commons by message, what he designed to have spoken to both houses from the throne. His majesty, in the first year of his reign, did acquaint the parliament that commissioners were authorized in Scotland to treat with such commissioners as should be appointed in England, of proper terms for uniting the two kingdoms, and at the same time expressed his great desire of such an union; his majesty is fully satisfied that nothing can more contribute to the present and future security and happiness of England and Scotland, than a firm and entire union between them; and he cannot but hope, that, upon a due consideration of our present circumstances, there will be found a general disposition to this union. His majesty would esteem it a peculiar felicity if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place; and is, therefore, extremely desirous that a treaty for that purpose might be set on foot; and does, in the most earnest manner, recommend this affair to the consideration of the house." A similar message was at the same time sent to the upper house. This was William's last public act, and no scheme or intention could well be wiser or greater. On the next day his majesty was visited with some alarming symptoms, and a commission was issued to certain peers to give the royal assent to such bills as were ready; among which was the bill of attainder against the Prince of Wales. On the 3d of March he was seized with fever and ague; and on the 7th, as if a demise of the crown would endanger every measure depending in parliament, the lords were pressed to dispatch the abjuration bill and the malt-tax bill, which were still before them. Another commission was issued to give the royal assent to these bills; and William being no longer able to use his hand, the sign-manual was affixed to the commission by means of a stamp. On the same day his favourite Keppel, Lord Albemarle, arrived from Holland with very good news; but the king said, "*Je tire vers ma fin.*"[1] "By this time," says Ralph, "the court was become such a scene, as in the most lively manner showed the vanity of those possessions which men with the utmost anxiety aspire to: the ante-chamber swarmed with physicians, courtiers, and statesmen, all in such masks as suited best with the several parts they were to act: the council was also extraordinarily assembled, to receive the reports of the king's physicians from time to time, and to back their opinions, as necessity seemed to require. The king was apparently at extremity: Archbishop Tennison and Bishop Burnet continued in their duty about him from Saturday morning to his last gasp." None hoped to gain more from the king's death than the Marlboroughs, who had, no doubt, intelligencers of their own in the ante-chamber. Burnet, one of the two prelates present, has left his own account of "the last scene of all." The bishop says:—The king's strength and pulse were still sinking as the difficulty of breathing increased, so that no hope was left. The Archbishop of Canterbury and I went to him on Saturday morning, and did not stir from him till he died. The archbishop prayed on Saturday some time with him, but he was then so weak, that he could scarce speak, but gave him his hand, as a sign that he firmly believed the truth of the Christian religion, and said he intended to receive the sacrament. His reason and all his senses were entire to the last minute. About five in the morning he desired the sacrament, and went through the office with great appearance of seriousness, but could not express himself: when this was done, he called for the Earl of Albemarle, and gave him a charge to take care of his papers. He thanked M. Auverquerque (or Overkirk) for his long and faithful services. He took leave of the Duke of Ormond, and called for the Earl of Portland; but before he came his voice quite failed: so he took him by the hand, and carried it to his heart with great tenderness. He was often looking up to heaven, in many short ejaculations. Between seven and eight o'clock the rattle began; the commendatory prayer was said for him, and, as it ended, he died (on Sunday, the 8th of March), in the fifty-second year of his age, having reigned thirteen years and a few days.

---

[1] The precedent quoted was from the 3d year of Henry VIII.

[2] Burnet, however, says that the king's strength was then so much impaired, that it was not thought advisable to let him blood, no symptom appearing that required it.

Perfection is not to be expected in a sovereign until the dreams of the Fifth Monarchy Men, or the theories of Utopian philosophers, have been converted into sober realities. Both as a sovereign and as a man William had faults, and weaknesses, and unamiable qualities, although these have all been grossly exaggerated by zealots of various and most opposite parties; the high churchmen detesting him on account of his indifference to the forms of church government, and both high and low on account of his toleration; the Jacobites heaping obloquy upon his name, because he practically upset the theory of the Divine right of kings; the Tories because he naturally preferred the Whigs, who had most contributed to his promotion; and the republicans, then and in all subsequent times, because he did not try again the experiment which had been tried, and which had signally failed—because he was not his own opposite, a

---

[1] "The Earl of Portland told me, that, when he was once encouraging him, from the good state his affairs were in, both at home and abroad, to take more heart, the king answered him, that he knew death was that which he had looked at on all occasions without any terror: sometimes he would have been glad to have been delivered out of all his troubles, but he confessed now he saw another scene, and could wish to live a little longer."—*Burnet.*

De Witt, and a republican—a sort of character which, rightly or wrongly, was then reprobated by the vast mass of the nation, and which could no more have achieved the Revolution of 1689 than it could have changed and reformed the dynasty of the Celestial Empire. But William III. was the first of our rulers that really solved the problem of constitutional monarchy; and since his solution of that problem the duties of our princes have been easy, systematic, and natural. Before his time all was riddle and uncertainty, and the constitution was not understood, because it had never properly been put into practice. If now and then he stumbled, it should be remembered that what to after sovereigns has been a plain, broad, and beaten path was then an unexplored and dark passage, where nearly every step was an experiment. Our admiration of the ability, and the real genius in state affairs, of this illustrious prince must rise to the highest pitch, if we look closely into the complicated nature and surpassing difficulties of his situation. A stadtholder in Holland with republican forms—a king in England and Scotland, with constitutions which had never properly been defined—the ruler, in fact, of the Dutch, the English, the Scotch, and the Irish, who had all separate interests, jealousies, and animosities—compelled, by the very constitution which he called into life or efficacy, to trust ministers whom there was no trusting with safety—engaged at the same time in an almost uninterrupted war with the greatest power in Europe, or undermined by the intrigues of that power, which was even more formidable in diplomacy than in arms—and all this with a frail state of body! We confess that, all these circumstances considered, we are lost in wonder as to the result, and disposed to give William III. by far the foremost place of all the sovereigns that have ever worn the English crown.

Wreck off Tynemouth of the "Betsy Cains,"
The vessel which conveyed William III. to England, in 1688.[1]—From a drawing by J. W. Carmichael.

---

[1] This vessel, at the time of her destruction the oldest afloat, was built on the Thames about the commencement of the seventeenth century, and being subsequently purchased by the Prince of Orange, was named by him the *Princess Mary* in honour of his consort. In her he made his memorable voyage to England in 1688, when he landed at Torbay, and afterwards ascended the English throne under the title of William III. During his reign and that of his successor Queen Anne, this vessel was employed as one of the royal yachts; but in the reign of George I. she was laid aside, and afterwards sold to Messrs. Walters, of London, who named her the *Betsy Cains*, and employed her in the West India trade. She was purchased subsequently by Messrs. Carden, of London, and used by them as a collier. Throughout her entire history she maintained the character of a lucky ship and fast sailer. A prophecy likewise was attached to her that the Papists would never get the upper hand while the *Betsy Cains* remained afloat. About 1825 she was purchased by Mr. G. F. Wilson, of South Shields, and continued to be employed in the merchant service till 17th February, 1827, when she was wrecked and went to pieces on the rocks near Tynemouth. The *Betsy Cains* was built of oak, and profusely carved. She was 80 feet 3 inches in length by 23 feet in breadth, carvel-built, two-decked, had two masts, and was square-rigged.

CHAPTER VII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1702—1704.

ANNE.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1702—DEATH, A.D. 1714.

Succession of Anne to the throne—Marlborough's ascendency—He is appointed commander-in-chief of the army—The queen's aversion to the Whigs—Changes in the officers of state—War proclaimed against France—Marlborough appointed to command the allied army—Difficulties of his command—His military proceedings—Prosperous close of the campaign—Naval expedition to Cadiz—Predominance of the Tories in parliament—Their attempt to destroy the test act by the "Occasional Conformity Bill"—Marlborough raised to the rank of duke—An increase of revenue obtained for Anne's husband—Inculpations of the Whig party by the Tories—A clerical convocation—State of France—Revolt of the Protestants of the Cevennes—They are encouraged by England—Successes of the French on the Rhine—Defeats of the Austrians—Marlborough resumes his military operations—He captures Bonn—His plans deranged by the allies—The Archduke Charles proclaimed King of Spain—The occasional conformity bill again introduced into parliament—It is negatived by the lords—Conspiracy in Scotland called "Fraser's Plot"—Account of Fraser of Lovat and his traitorous proceedings—The Fraser plot examined—Provision made by the queen for the poor clergy—Harley succeeds the Earl of Nottingham as minister of state—Other changes in the ministry—Order of the Thistle revived in Scotland—Further proceedings of Fraser of Lovat—Military operations of Marlborough on the Continent—His plan to carry the war beyond the Rhine—Stages of his expedition—His able manœuvres—Preliminaries of the battle of Donauworth—Marlborough's victory at Donauworth.

KING WILLIAM died, and the Princess of Denmark took his place. Anne was in the thirty-eighth year of her age, but as much under the tutelage of Lord and Lady Marlborough as if she had been a girl of fifteen, or of still tenderer years. Her proclamation took place amidst acclamations, though some credulous people grieved to see her step into a revolutionary and usurped throne; having fondly expected, against all reason or knowledge of the hearts of princes, that she would demur, and resign her seat to her half-brother, the helpless pensioner of France. As the parliament continued sitting, notwithstanding the demise, and by virtue of an act properly passed in William's reign, Anne, three days after her accession, went down to the House of Lords, and there declared her resolution to prosecute the measures concerted by the late king, "the great support, not only of these kingdoms, but of all Europe." Even so much might have been expected from the Marlborough ascendency. The Tories, together with what was called the landed interest, had agreed to leave the conduct of the war to the Earl of Marlborough, who, by means of his lady, was like to have the supreme direction of all things. The city of London, and all the counties, cities, and second-rate towns, sent up addresses. "In these," says Burnet, "a very great diversity of style was observed; some mentioned the late king in terms full of respect and gratitude, others named him very coldly, some took no notice of him nor of his death, and simply congratulated her coming to the crown, and some insinuated reflections on his memory, as if the queen had been ill-used by him. The queen received all civilly—*to most she said nothing;* to others she expressed herself in general words, and some things were given out in her name which she disowned."

The two secretaries of state for Scotland, with such of the privy counsellors of that nation as were in London, waited upon her with professions of loyalty and devotion. Commotions had been expected north of the Tweed, but the Jacobites did nothing beyond talking; and the country continued to obey the privy council, and the authorities established by William, who were all, for the present, left in their places. In Ireland, the Papists were too much impoverished and reduced to excite any apprehensions. The Earl of Marlborough had now attained the great object of his ambition. Three days after Anne's accession he was decorated with the order of the Garter; on the morrow he was named captain-general of the English forces at home and abroad, and soon afterwards he was appointed master of the ordnance. The queen's husband, Prince George of Denmark, who was still considered as a subject, and who continued to occupy his seat in the House of Peers as Duke of Cumberland, was named generalissimo and lord high-admiral; but, as he had neither the ability nor the wish to take a very active part in affairs, and as he had always been as absolutely under the control of the favourites as his wife, Marlborough had, in effect, the entire command of the army. His countess, to whom his own elevation was owing, was made groom of the stole and mistress of the robes, and intrusted with the management of the privy purse. Marlborough was ready to be either

Whig or Tory. Anne had a great aversion to the Whigs, and a proportionate love of the Tories; or, in the words of Lady Marlborough, "The queen had, from her infancy, imbibed the most unconquerable prejudices against the Whigs. She had been taught to look upon them all, not only as republicans, who hated the very shadow of regal authority, but as implacable enemies to the Church of England. This aversion to the whole party had been confirmed by the ill-usage she had met with from her sister and King William, which, though perhaps more owing to Lord Rochester than to any man then living, was now to be all charged to the account of the Whigs. And Prince George, her husband, who had also been ill-treated in that reign, threw into the scale his resentment. On the other hand, the Tories had the advantage not only of the queen's early prepossessions in their favour, but of their having assisted her in the late reign in the affair of her settlement. It was, indeed, evident that they had done this more in opposition to King William than from any real respect for the Princess of Denmark. But still they had served her. And, the winter before she came to the crown, they had, in the same spirit of opposition to the king, and in prospect of his death, paid her more than usual civilities and attendance. It is no great wonder, therefore, all these things considered, that, as soon as she was seated on the throne, the Tories (whom she usually called by the name of the church party) became the distinguished objects of the royal favour." Godolphin, who was the same sort of Tory as his friend and family ally, Marlborough, was intrusted with the sole management of the finances, with the title of lord high-treasurer, and he became in reality prime minister and arbiter of all things in the council, as Marlborough was of those in the field. "And I am firmly persuaded," continued the duchess, "that, notwithstanding her majesty's extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin had for many years showed to her service, they would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence if they had not been reckoned in the number of the Tories." Lord Nottingham, one of the Tory chiefs, was appointed secretary of state. Lord Rochester, the queen's hot-headed uncle, was continued Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, with express permission to be absent as often as might be thought fit for attending in the English council, where, with his old temper unimproved, he aimed at absolute authority, and browbeat all his brother counsellors and ministers. The Duke of Somerset was dismissed from the office of lord-president, to make room for the Earl of Pembroke, who had the merit of not being a Whig, though he had no pretension to that of being a Tory. The Earl of Bradford, a friend or dependant of Rochester, was made treasurer of the household; the comptroller's staff was transferred from Lord Wharton, a zealous Whig, to Sir Edward Seymour; the Marquis of Normanby got the privy seal; but the Earl of Jersey retained his post as chamberlain. Most of the subordinate posts were also filled up by Tories. The only Whigs left in the occupation of commanding posts were the Duke of Devonshire, lord high-steward, and Mr. Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer. The names of the great Whig leaders, Somers, Halifax, and Orford, were erased from the list of the persons directed to be summoned to attend the meetings of the privy council. The queen's husband, Prince George, appointed a council to act with him, or for him, into which he admitted none but Tories; Sir George Rooke, distinguished by his aversion to everything that bore the name of Whig, became Vice-admiral of England, and president of the commission for managing the fleet, &c.; and another member of the lord high-admiral's council was Marlborough's brother, George Churchill, who was not merely a Tory, but a downright Jacobite. Rochester, who was disappointed at not being placed at the head of the treasury, and who could tolerate no difference of opinion, soon began to quarrel with Godolphin, and numerous materials contributed to envenom the dispute. The head of the high-church party would have got up a new persecution of dissenters, and would have driven every man that was not a declared

QUEEN ANNE.—After Sir G. Kneller.

Tory out of the commission of the peace; Godolphin, on the other hand, was bent upon pursuing a mild and conciliatory course, and he, or his friends, represented Rochester as a fire-brand: Rochester, moreover, was against the war. The two Whig Dukes of Devonshire and Somerset voted with Godolphin, and the majority of the council decided upon a declaration of war against France. Anne had despatched a letter to the states-general, announcing her intention to maintain the alliances concluded by the late King William; and now she deputed Marlborough to Holland as ambassador extraordinary. The lord-general reached the Hague on the 28th of March, and was received with transports of joy. It was presently arranged with the heads of the republic, and the envoy of the emperor, that war should be declared on the same day at London, the Hague, and Vienna, and that Marlborough should have the chief command of the allied armies—a post coveted by the new King of Prussia, by the Elector of Hanover, by the Duke of Zell, and by the Archduke Charles of Austria. On his speedy return to London, it was made apparent that either Rochester must withdraw, or the cabinet be distracted by incessant jars. "The gibberish of that party," says her Grace of Marlborough, "about non-resistance, and passive obedience, and hereditary right, I could not think to forbode any good to my mistress, whose title rested upon a different foundation." The head of the high-church party retired to the country in disgust, being the first of the Tory leaders "that discovered a deep discontent with the queen and her administration." Towards the end of the year, her majesty was "so unreasonable as to press him to go to Ireland, to attend the affairs of that kingdom, which greatly needed his presence." Rochester told her with great insolence, that he would not go into Ireland though she should give the country to him and his son. His resignation of the lieutenancy followed, and he was so angry that he would neither go to court nor to council.

SIDNEY, EARL OF GODOLPHIN.—After Sir G. Kneller.

The queen had declared her resolution to defend and maintain the church as by law established; but this was not enough for the zealots, who wanted the power of persecuting and the exclusive occupancy of all places, civil and military, as well as ecclesiastic. All this brewed a storm, which soon afterwards burst forth. In the meantime, however, the commons voted her majesty for life £700,000 a-year, of which she chose to assign £100,000 to the public service. The war had been proclaimed on the 4th of May, and the requisite measures adopted for prosecuting it with vigour; the oath abjuring the Prince of Wales had been taken by the members of both houses, and the name of the Princess Sophia, Electress of Hanover, introduced in the public prayers as next in succession to the throne; and Marlborough, on the 12th of May, had departed for Holland, on the frontiers of which country military operations had already commenced. The negotiations, which had been going on in Germany among the minor states, had induced the house of Brunswick to send 10,000 men to join Marlborough, had won over the Elector of Brandenburg, now King of Prussia, had compelled the Princes of Saxe-Gotha and Wolfenbüttel to renounce their connection with the King of France, had engaged the elector-palatine in the grand alliance, and had compelled the Duke of Bavaria, the Elector of Cologne, and other little potentates who had been devoted to France, to remain neutral in the great struggle. The principal army of the allies, under the temporary command of the Earl of Athlone (Ginckel), was assembled in the vicinity of Cleves, to cover that part of the frontier which lies between the Rhine and the Meuse. The first blow was struck while Marlborough was employed in settling a plan of the campaign with the Dutch, and the ministers of the allies, by his royal highness the Duke of Burgundy, who, being joined by Marshal Tallard, made a sudden move upon Nimeguen, which was without a garrison, and almost without artillery; but the burghers were active and brave, and Athlone, by a brilliant march, got to their assistance, and saved the place. Different plans of operation were proposed by the various members of the grand alliance, and Marlborough began to experience the extreme difficulty of giving a unity of plan and purpose to a heterogeneous coalition. And perhaps at that moment he repented of his old criticisms upon

ANNE, QUEEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Anne, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, born at Twickenham, near London, 6th February, 1664, was the second daughter of James II., then Duke of York, and Anne, his wife. She married Prince George, brother to King Christian V. of Denmark, by whom she had many children, all of whom died in childhood. On the arrival of William, Prince of Orange, in 1688, Anne was inclined to go into exile with her father, but she was ultimately prevailed upon to join the triumphant party. On the death of William III. in 1702 she ascended the English throne; but, as her character was essentially weak, she governed the kingdom first through Marlborough and his wife, and afterwards through Mrs. Masham. Still, although her temper was fickle and her will infirm, she had a royal presence, a gracious manner, and a genuine affection for her subjects, which gained for her the name of "Good Queen Anne". Many were the intrigues and dissensions among her councillors; so that, agitated by these, and by the debates in Parliament, the queen at length was stricken with apoplexy, and fell into a condition of lethargic weakness, which ended fatally on 7th August, 1714.

FROM THE STATUE BY RYSBRACK AT BLENHEIM HOUSE

the military performances of the late king, feeling, as he did, the same difficulties which had so often impeded the career of William. It was near the end of June before he matured his arrangements, and then he found that the Prince of Saarbrück, Athlone, and the other leading generals, were in no disposition to submit to his authority, and act cordially with him. At the same time he found himself checked by the field-deputies—obstinate functionaries whom the states-general were accustomed to send out with their armies, and who, on their part, were bound to do nothing, and permit nothing, without advising with their high mightinesses at the Hague. However, Kaiserswerth having surrendered, Marlborough collected the forces which had been engaged in that siege, brought up the English from Breda, and, being joined by other bodies of the allies, found himself at the head of 60,000 men. But even then he was distracted and hampered by three or four plans of operations, each of which had its advocates in the allied camp. Moreover, when he had overcome the timidity of the Dutch government, and was about to do something, the general of the Hanoverians announced that his men could not march without the orders of Bothmar, the elector's minister at the Hague. He summoned Bothmar to the camp, and, after losing some valuable time, removed these obstacles. But the Prussians had their scruples and difficulties as well as the Hanoverians, and the removal of these cost more time. At last, on the 7th of July, he crossed the Waal, and established his head-quarters at Duckenbourg. On the 16th, his army was posted at Over-Hasselt, with the Meuse in the rear, and the French in front at the distance of two short leagues. At length he obtained from the states-general full powers to execute his own plan, which was offensive. He moved forward *en masse* on the 27th, and by the 30th had his advanced posts near Hamont. The French, meanwhile, had suddenly decamped by night. He expected a hard battle; but they would not risk an attack, though one or two small fortresses were assaulted and carried under their eyes. On the 31st, Marlborough was twelve hours on horseback reconnoitring the ground and ascertaining the French line of march. Although Tallard had come up with fresh forces, the French continued to edge off towards the Demer. Marlborough's object was to throw himself between them and that little river, and to give them battle on some exposed heaths; but, either through the slowness of his troops, or the indecision of the Dutch field-deputies, he failed in this attempt. The Duke of Burgundy, however, quitted the army to avoid the dishonour of witnessing the reduction of the fortresses on the Meuse; Venlo was invested on the 5th of September, and was forced to surrender on the 23d; on the 29th Ruremond and Stevenswaert were invested, and both places were taken by the 7th of October. While these operations were in progress, the army of the empire, under the command of Joseph, the young King of the Romans, had reduced Landau, and threatened the whole of Alsace. In consequence of this loss, the French were obliged to weaken their main body, and to leave exposed the important city of Liége. Marlborough instantly moved upon that place, opened his batteries on the 20th of October, and compelled the French garrison to surrender on the 29th. By this important capture, the Dutch frontier was secured, and the navigation of the Meuse was wholly free.

With these operations the campaign ended; the French retired within their lines, and Marlborough, after distributing his troops in winter-quarters, began his journey homeward. His exploits were set off by the failures of other officers in other quarters. The plan for the reduction of Cadiz had been formed by the late King William, and since promoted by Marlborough and Godolphin. The expedition, after being long delayed, was at last got to sea; and on the 12th of August, Sir George Rooke and the Duke of Ormond, with a fleet of fifty sail and a land force of 13,000 men, came to anchor in Cadiz Bay. The Spanish governor was summoned to surrender to the allies of the rightful sovereign of Spain; but he refused, and then Rooke and Ormond, like all sea and land officers in a similar situation, quarrelled as to what was to be done next. Troops were subsequently landed at Port St. Mary's, at Vigo, and on other points; but they were badly commanded, and acted like an undisciplined rabble. In the harbour of Vigo a rich convoy of plate-ships had taken refuge. After a stout resistance the Spaniards removed a part of this treasure and then set fire to the ships. The English succeeded in bringing off ten men-of-war, several galleons, and 7,000,000 of pieces of eight; but more ships and far more money were burned or left behind at the bottom of the sea.

A new parliament had assembled on the 20th of October, and now the Tories were found to have a majority powerful enough to carry everything before it. Such was the effect of the known Tory predilection of the new sovereign, the discouragement of the Whigs at the death of William, and the exertions of the favoured party throughout the country. The partition treaty, and everything else with which the former reign could be loaded, was brought into the account. After a debate, in which Marlborough was "praised at William's cost," all that had favour at court, or that hoped for any, joining in the cry against the deceased king, they brought in the famous "Occasional Conformity Bill," the professed object of which was to prevent hypocrisy in religion and danger to the church; but the real object of which was to destroy the toleration act. By this bill, all those who took the sacrament and test as qualifications for office, and did after that go to the meetings of dissenters, or any meeting for religious worship not according to the Liturgy or practice of the Church of England, were to be disabled from holding their employments, punished with heavy and increasing fines, &c.; and, whereas the test act only included the magistrates and corporations, this new act was to embrace all the inferior officers or freemen having a right to vote for members of parliament, &c. The bill was carried in the commons by a great majority; but in the upper house strong objections were taken to the high penalties imposed in it; some of the lords remembered the evil practices of informers in the reign of Charles II., "and would not consent to the reviving such infamous methods." The queen had the matter at heart—made her husband vote for the bill, although this royal Dane was himself one of the occasional conformists, having received the sacrament of the Anglican church to qualify him for the office of lord high-admiral, and yet keeping a Lutheran chapel and Lutheran chaplains. The whole strength of the court was exerted; but still the majority of the lords remained steady to their purpose of throwing out or greatly modifying the bill. Most of the bishops agreed with the secular peers upon this point, though upon different views. The upper house, however, was ready to consent, that such persons as went to meetings and conventicles after they had received the sacrament should be disabled from holding any employments, and be fined £20. The commons resolved to maintain their point—that is, their original bill in all its rigour. The lords proceeded to make many alterations. In the end the bill was lost.

It is important to observe that this bill against dissenters was first introduced to the House of Commons by Bromley and by the famed St. John, who had himself been brought up a dissenter, but who, having no religion at all, was willing to adopt even a scheme of religious intolerance and persecution if it favoured the views of the Tory party with which he had engaged. Marlborough threw all his weight into the scale of intolerance, speaking, and voting, and doing all that in him lay, to revive the severity of the penal statutes against Nonconformists. By pursuing this course he gratified the Tories, who then formed the majority in the commons, and he pleased the queen, who always entertained the highest of high-church notions. Both Marlborough and his countess affected to raise some delicate scruples touching such an elevation; but the queen insisted upon the lord-general's being made a duke, and a duke he was made accordingly on the 14th of December; and as his property was considered insufficient to maintain that dignity, Anne sent a message to the House of Commons, intimating the creation, and stating that, with the title, she had conferred upon Marlborough £5000 per annum for her own life; and, in conclusion, she requested the house to devise a proper mode for settling the said grant on himself and his successors. This seemed paying high for the capture of a few towns, which, with the exception of Liége, were only third or fourth rate places; and this was all that Marlborough had done as yet. Both the court and the general, however, were apparently surprised as much as they were vexed by an instant appearance of opposition in the house. Insinuations were thrown out there that Marlborough and his wife were making a monopoly of the royal favour and bounty. The outcry was so loud that Anne, with the advice of Marlborough and his countess, withdrew her application.

JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.—After Sir G. Kneller.

Anne, it is said, earnestly desired that her husband should be associated with her on the throne; but this being deemed unconstitutional, her next thought was to secure a permanent revenue for him. A royal message intimated this wish for the settlement of a further provision on the Prince of Denmark, in case of his surviving her majesty. Mr. Howe, the fiery Tory who had been so vehement against the grants of the late king, moved for an annual allowance of

£100,000. The bill was carried, and sent up to the lords. But there it encountered a sterner opposition. Marlborough's son-in-law, Lord Spencer, recently raised to the House of Peers by the death of his father, the Earl of Sunderland, strongly opposed the grant, and by so doing drew down upon himself the wrath of his imperious mother-in-law the duchess. "Great opposition," says Burnet, "was made; but the queen pressed it with the greatest earnestness she had yet shown in anything whatsoever; she thought it became her, as a good wife, to have the act passed. . . . . The court managed the matter so dexterously that the bill passed, and the queen was highly displeased with those who opposed it; among whom I had my share." Anne, in one of her extravagant letters to the Duchess of Marlborough, attributes the passing of the bill solely to the pains taken by her grace and her husband.[1] Another bill, which occupied and agitated this session, was one in favour of those who had not taken the oath abjuring the Prince of Wales by the day named, and granting another year for reflection.

A.D. 1703.

The clamour against the former reign and its Whig ministers was still kept up. A committee of the House of Commons prepared a long address to the queen, laying the whole of the increase of the national debt at the door of the Whigs. This step followed a report made by a commission appointed to examine the state of the public accounts, and which inculpated Lord Ranelagh, paymaster of the army, and Lord Halifax, auditor of the exchequer. The first of these lords, whose reputation was none of the best, was expelled the House of Commons, of which he was a member, and compelled to resign his place. His profitable post was presently divided into two parts, and the best was given to Mr. Howe. Halifax was a member of the upper house, and the majority of the lords espoused his cause, and vindicated his character in a very decided resolution. Hereupon the commons denied the competency of their lordships to interfere in any such matter, or to pass any vote of acquittal where the matter charged consisted of money, &c. This produced another violent quarrel, and drove both houses to the press to explain their several motives and conduct. More serious consequences might have ensued if the queen had not suddenly prorogued parliament on the 27th of February. During this session the lords had gained a great reputation throughout the country by their opposition to the Tory House of Commons. To strengthen their party in the upper house, and to have a clear majority there, the Tories induced the queen, soon after the prorogation, to create four of the most violent members of the commons peers. The four selected Tories were Finch, Leveson Gower, Granville, and Seymour.

During the sitting of parliament a convocation of the clergy had continued its labours. Like the national parliament, the churchmen thus assembled were divided into an upper and a lower house; and, like the parliament in this present session, these two houses disagreed and quarrelled with one another. The churchmen in the lower house wished to cast some reflections on the preceding reign; but, as most of the bishops owed their promotion to William, and were personally pointed at in these reflections, they absolutely refused to concur. The convocation ended with the prorogation of parliament; the lower and the upper house, like the commons and lords, being apparently fixed in opposition and animosity to one another.[2] Hot disputes continued to prevail among the teachers of peace and good-will to all men. Precisely the same disposition had existed in the preceding reign; but, for various reasons, the chief among which was William's firm determination to take part with neither, the two church factions had not been able to make so much noise. But now Anne warmly favoured the high-church party, and gave importance to every dispute by entering into the merits of it. As an important part of her prerogative and right divine, Anne assumed the power of performing miracles—that is, she had revived the revolting practice of touching for the scrofula or king's-evil, and her clergy had inserted in the Liturgy and Prayer Book an office to be used during that performance.[3]

The Duke of Savoy, upon seeing the successes in Italy of Prince Eugene, began to waver in his alliance with Louis XIV., and the King of Portugal absolutely detached himself from the French, and entered into the grand alliance this spring. These defections were of the utmost importance to the French monarch; who, moreover, was distracted and distressed by the insurrection, within his own territories, of the oppressed Protestants of the Cevennes, a mountainous country bordering on the frontier of Catalonia. The Duke of Marlborough saw the advantages that might be derived from this formidable insurrection; and he proposed to the English ministry that assistance should be sent to the insurgents, and all means adopted for fomenting the troubles in the Cevennes. This was the "good old plan," so dear to Burleigh and Queen Elizabeth, and so often acted upon by France as well as by England. Louis had repeatedly encouraged insurrection in the dominions of the emperor; he was at this very moment in a close correspondence with the oppressed Protestants in Hungary and Bohemia; and under his especial patronage the Hungarians were now organizing a most important insurrection against the emperor. Yet Lord Nottingham and the other partizans of passive obedience strongly opposed Marlborough's proposition, simply upon the grounds of the injustice and the impolicy of assisting rebel subjects against their legitimate sovereign. To the higher view of the case, which exposes the iniquities of such an interference, these men were never capable of ascending. Their opposition was, however, overruled in the cabinet; supplies of arms and ammunition were forwarded to the Cevennes, direct communications were established, and a considerable body of Louis's troops, instead of being marched to the great seat of the war in Flanders and on the Rhine, were kept at home to prevent the spread of this dangerous insurrection. On the Rhine events had occurred, after Marlborough's campaign of the preceding year, that greatly tended to revive the spirit of the French. The Elector of Bavaria, who at last declared openly for France, had surprised Ulm, and had opened a communication with the French on the Upper Rhine; and on the 14th of October, when Marlborough was on his way to winter-quarters, Marshal Villars had defeated the Margrave of Baden, and cleared the passages leading to the Black Forest, while Marshal Tallard, on the other hand, extended his force along the Upper Rhine and Moselle, and reduced Treves and Traerbach. The Germans were thus prevented from profiting by the reduction of Landau, and were hemmed in at Stolhoffen. Louis had determined to open the campaign of the present year with the utmost vigour, and a mighty plan had been conceived for the utter destruction of the house of Austria. While Marshal Villeroy was again to threaten the Dutch frontier, and occupy Marlborough in that corner, the troops on the Upper Rhine were to march through the defiles of the Black Forest, and join the Bavarians; from beyond the Alps the Duke of Vendome was to open his way through the Tyrol; and these two armies, moving in different directions, and favoured in the very heart of the empire by the Elector of Cologne, as well as by the Bavarians, were to form a junction between the Inn and the Danube, were to call upon the insurgents in Hungary, and then, like a torrent swollen, were to roll on to Vienna. In accordance with this grand plan, Marshal Villars broke up from his cantonments before the winter was finished, surprised several bodies of Germans in their quarters, and on the 9th of March, eight days before Marlborough arrived at the Hague, he reduced the important town of Kehl. And soon after this, leaving Tallard to keep the Margrave of Baden in check at Stolhoffen, Villars struck through the Black Forest, and descended into Bavaria, where he was joined by the elector, who had already defeated the Austrians, driven them beyond the Inn and the Danube (thus leaving clear the proposed point of junction), and taken Neuburg and Ratisbon, in which imperial city a diet was assembled to pronounce his forfeiture and put him to the ban of the empire. Count Styrum moved with 20,000 of the emperor's troops to free the Margrave of Baden; but, by the advice of Villars, the Elector of Bavaria threw himself between these two imperial forces, attacked the count near Donauwerth, and completely routed him. Continuing this career of success, the French and Bavarians took Augsburg, and lay across what seemed an open road to the old walls of Vienna. But they were not cheered by any sight of the heads of columns which the Duke of Vendome was to lead from Italy through the Tyrol; the elector and the French general disagreed, and Villars, who was wanted to look after the insurgents in the Cevennes, was recalled. And from this moment the grand scheme tottered.

---

[1] Letter of the queen, in *Marlborough Papers*, as given by Coxe.

[2] *Burnet*. The Whig bishop continues—"From those disputes in convocation divisions ran through the whole body of the clergy, and to fix these, new names were found out: they were distinguished by the names of high-church and low-church. All that treated the dissenters with temper and moderation, and were for residing constantly at their cures, and for labouring diligently in them; that expressed a zeal against the Prince of Wales, and for the Revolution; that wished well to the present war, and to the alliance against France; were represented as direct favourers of Presbytery, and as ill affected to the church, and were called low churchmen."

[3] "It appears by the newspapers of the time that on the 30th of March, 1714, 200 persons were touched by Queen Anne. Amongst these was Samuel Johnson, afterwards the justly celebrated moral writer."—Pegge, *Curialia*.

It was the 17th of March ere Marlborough arrived in the Low Countries. Death had relieved him from the jealousies of the Prince of Saarbrück and of the Earl of Athlone; and he found himself comparatively without a rival. It appears to have been the design of the English general to act upon the offensive, and to invade French Flanders and Brabant; but the states-general preferred beginning with the siege of Bonn, flattering themselves that the elector would capitulate rather than risk the ruin of his town. He repaired to Nimeguen to concert with Cohorne the plan for the siege of Bonn. He then inspected the fortifications and garrisons of Venlo, Ruremond, and Maestricht, and the other places he had taken on the Meuse. This done, he crossed the country to Cologne, where he felt "a good deal of spleen," for nothing was ready for the siege, and Cohorne coolly proposed to let it alone till the end of the year. Marlborough, however, gave orders for investing the place, and proceeded to Bonn, with forty battalions, sixty squadrons, and 100 pieces of artillery. The trenches were opened on the 3d of May, and the

Marquis d'Allegre capitulated on the 15th. During the siege the news from Germany continued to be "very ill;" and Villeroy and Boufflers, who had manœuvred in vain to save Bonn, seemed to be increasing their strength upon the Meuse. Marlborough, however, returned to his former plan of transferring the war into the heart of Brabant and French Flanders; the Dutch generals Cohorne, Spaar, and Opdam were detached to Bergen-op-Zoom to forward the necessary preparations; and, as a part of this plan, an English fleet with a strong land force on board was to alarm the French coast from Calais to Dieppe, and, in conjunction with the Dutch troops, to make a descent near the latter place. With fifty-nine battalions, and 129 squadrons, Marlborough crossed the river Yaar, close under the walls of Maestricht; and, near the heights of Hautain, between that river and the Meuse, he surprised a considerable part of the French army, and nearly cut them off. The French, who had so long been accustomed to slow movements on the part of the allies, had no expectations of such rapid ones; they retreated in confusion, destroyed the works of Tongres, and fled, without halting, three leagues beyond Thys. Marlborough fixed his camp at Thys, and there he was greatly disconcerted and vexed; for he learned that Cohorne had obtained the consent of the states-general to employ his troops in making an irruption into the country of Waes, where he hoped to levy large contributions. This entirely deranged the plan of the English general, who had intended in the first place to reduce Antwerp and Ostend. And Marlborough had other troubles; the confederates on the Upper Rhine were clamouring for reinforcements, and there were some both in England and Holland who would have greatly weakened the army in the Netherlands to send them succour. "This," said Marlborough, "would only answer the purpose of bringing things here into the same condition as they are there." His heart was set upon the taking of Ostend and Antwerp, but it was not till the 10th of June that he could move anywhere. Then he marched upon Hanef. In this march he expected an engagement, but the French retreated. Innumerable errors—or deeds deserving a harsher name—were committed by the Dutch field-commissioners and the generals that were acting with him. Opdam was well beaten by Boufflers and Bedmar, and all that the allies could do, during the rest of this campaign, was to take the towns of Huy, Limburg, and Geldern.

On the other side, the far grander plan of the French, of concentrating their forces upon the Danube, and capturing Vienna, had gone absolutely to wreck. Vendome, who was to advance through the passes of the Alps from Italy, was obstructed by the brave Tyrolese, who fought gallantly for their old family sovereign the emperor, and for their own independence; and he was still further impeded by the now avowed defection of the Duke of Savoy, who had made a very profitable bargain with the emperor, England, and Holland, the maritime powers agreeing, among other things, to pay him a monthly subsidy of 80,000 crowns. In the meantime, to obviate the objection against uniting the crown of Spain with those of Austria and the empire, Leopold and his eldest son Joseph renounced their claims to the Spanish succession in favour of the Archduke Charles, the second son of that house. The young prince was accordingly proclaimed King of Spain at Vienna. About the middle of September the archduke, or King Charles of Spain, the Indies, &c., set out from Vienna on his journey; passing through the territories of the Elector of Hanover, he was met by that prince, and complimented on his accession; at Düsseldorf he was received by the elector-palatine and by the Duke of Marlborough, who was charged by her majesty of England with congratulations to the young sovereign. The king without a kingdom, and the fortunate general who was in the course of acquiring almost wealth enough to buy one, travelled on together to the Hague, where the states-general received them both with nearly equal honour. Marlborough hastened over to England on the last day of October, but presently was despatched from court to Portsmouth, to compliment his majesty of Spain on his happy arrival in the dominions of England, and to conduct him to Windsor Castle.

The parliament assembled on the 9th of November. The speech of the queen was warlike and confident. Neither lords nor commons remonstrated against the dangerous intention of carrying on the war till Charles of Austria was seated on the Spanish throne. The commons resolved that the army should be raised to 58,000 men, the navy to 40,000 sailors and marines; and they voted the necessary supplies with great readiness. But a new storm was raised by the reintroduction of the "Occasional Conformity Bill," shorn of some of its penalties, but still severe and irritating to all classes of men that differed from the Established church. It was again carried triumphantly through the House of Commons upon the old pretence that the church was in danger; but in the House of Lords it encountered a much stronger opposition than in the preceding session, and the second reading was negatived by a majority of seventy-one to fifty-nine.

On the 17th of December, her majesty, after giving her assent to the "Land-tax Bill," took occasion to inform the House of Commons that she had received unquestionable information of ill practices and designs carrying on in Scotland by emissaries from France.

The affair, which gave rise to a prolonged quarrel between the two Houses of Parliament, was what is commonly called "Fraser's Plot," the hero of which was Simon Fraser of Lovat, who, in the preceding reign, had led his family clan, with pibroch playing, to join the banner of Dundee; and who, from his early youth to his final exit in his old age upon a scaffold on Tower-hill, was engaged in plots and conspiracies and the most lawless enterprises. This Fraser of Lovat had a genius for iniquity—a cultivated intellect with the heart of a savage. He had brutally violated the sister of Lord Athole, and upon his consequent outlawry, had settled in France, the language of which country he spoke like a native. The nature of his offence, and the immorality and violence of his whole life and character, were no obstacle to his being received into the favour and confidence of the devout court of St. Germain. He undertook to excite a fresh insurrection in the mountains of Scotland, and to assemble 12,000 Highlanders for the Prince of Wales, if the court of France would only contribute a few regular troops, some officers, arms, ammunition, and *money.* Louis XIV. entered into the project; but as so many schemes of the same kind had signally failed, and as he had no great confidence in Fraser's sincerity, he insisted that the outlaw should first return to Scotland, with two persons upon whom his majesty might rely, and who were instructed to examine the Highlands, and sound the clans themselves. But Fraser no sooner reached Scotland with these two individuals, than he privately discovered the whole plot to the Duke of Queensberry, undertaking to make him acquainted with the whole correspondence between the Scottish Jacobites and the courts of St. Germain and Versailles. Queensberry, who had reasons for suspecting many persons of name and influence, concluded a bargain with the double-dealer, gave Fraser a pass to secure him from arrest or molestation, and sent him into the Highlands, where he was to learn and report to the minister *who* were determined Jacobites, ready for insurrection and civil war, and who were *not.* Before setting out upon this treacherous, trepanning circuit, Fraser delivered to the duke a letter from the Queen-dowager Maria d'Este, directed to the Marquis of Athole, whose sister the civilized ruffian had dishonoured, and whose prosecution of him for that offence he sought to avenge through a sentence for treason and death on the scaffold. After his journey in the Highlands, Fraser proposed returning to France, where, as he affirmed, he could obtain still more ample evidence, learn all the schemes and plots going on at the court of St. Germain, and disconcert them all by leading the plotters into false tracks. The Duke of Queensberry procured him a passport, but under a feigned name, from the Earl of Nottingham, and Fraser went off for France by way of Holland. Queensberry communicated his discovery secretly to the queen, and Anne's own spies at Paris confirmed the particulars of the plot for a rising in the Highlands. At the same time Sir John Maclean, the head of a clan, was arrested with his wife at Folkestone, in Kent, where he had landed from the French coast. Maclean, on first being examined in the secretary of state's (Nottingham's) office, pretended that his intention was merely to go through England into Scotland, in order to submit to the present government, and to take the benefit of the queen's pardon; but, subsequently, he confessed that there had been some consultation at St. Germain about sending over a body of troops to join the malcontents in Scotland. Maclean further gave the clue for discovering and apprehending one Keith, whose uncle was one of the two that had accompanied Fraser from France at the desire of King Louis or his minister. This Keith, the nephew, confessed in his prison that there was a design on foot for securing the crowns of England and Scotland for the young pretender, *after her present majesty's death.* At nearly the same moment, Mr. David Lindsay, who had been under-secretary to King James and the Prince of Wales, was arrested; and Mr. James Boucher, who had been aide-de-camp to James's natural son, the Duke of Berwick, was taken on the coast of Sussex, coming clandestinely from France. According to their own account, they all came proposing to live peaceably at home under her majesty's happy government; and at this moment the far-famed Presbyterian preacher, Ferguson, whose hand was in every plot, came in voluntarily, and declared his readiness to disclose all that he knew of the matter. This *knowledge* was such as might have been expected from the character of the man, and the nature of the whole transaction: he affirmed that Fraser was indeed employed by the Duke of Queensberry, her majesty's high-commissioner in Scotland, to draw some persons into a plot; but there was, in reality, no Jacobite plot at this time, for they were very glad to see one of the race of the Stuarts upon the throne; though they hoped that matters would be so compromised that the queen might enjoy the crown for life, and that her brother might succeed her. The nearly simultaneous arrival of the several Jacobites is a suspicious circumstance; and as there is ample evidence to show that, in 1706, there was an extensive conspiracy in Scotland, with a design for supporting which the Frasers, Athole, and others were engaged, it is not unreasonable to believe that there might have been something of the same sort in the years 1703 and 1704. Upon the arrest of Boucher, who was well known, and who was suspected of being "sent on great designs," the House of Lords, apprehending a remissness in the ministry in searching and examining those who came from France, requested that the said Boucher might be well looked to, and that Sir John Maclean might be brought before them. After some delay the Earl of Nottingham told the house that the prisoners were brought up, and that they might do with them as they pleased. Boucher was then prosecuted on the statute of treason, confessed his crime (for it was impossible to deny that he had been in arms against the government established by the Revolution), and received sentence of death. He was reprieved, but he died soon after in Newgate.

A.D. 1704. On the 29th of January, the Earl of Nottingham informed the house that the queen had commanded him to lay before them the papers containing all the particulars hitherto discovered of the conspiracy in Scotland; but that there was one circumstance which could not be communicated without running the risk of preventing a discovery of still greater importance. Nottingham had been all along suspected of a desire to cover the conspirators, or at least to make the conspiracy appear as a very insignificant affair. The papers produced went merely to show that many messages had been exchanged between the courts of St. Germain and Versailles, with relation to the affairs of Scotland; that the French king was willing to send an army to Scotland, but desired to be well assured beforehand of the assistance that might be expected there, and that Fraser of Lovat and two others had come over to ascertain that point. The lords, dissatisfied, ordered their committee to pursue their examination. The committee of the lords, after some days, presented a very full and alarming report. And in an address they besought the queen to use her endeavours to have the succession of the crown of Scotland declared to be settled on the Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, assuring her majesty that, when her endeavours for settling the succession should have taken effect, they would do all in their power *to promote the union of the two kingdoms.*

Towards the close of the session the queen gave what was considered a very unequivocal proof of her attachment to the Established church. On the 7th of February Secretary Hedges informed the House of Commons that her majesty, having taken into her serious consideration the mean and insufficient maintenance belonging to the clergy in divers parts of this kingdom, in order to give them some ease, had been pleased to remit the arrears of the tenths to the poor clergy, and that, for an augmentation of their livings, she had declared that she would make a grant of her whole revenue arising out of the first-fruits and tenths, as far as it was or should hereafter become free from encumbrances. These tenths amounted to about £11,000 a-year, and the first-fruits, one year with another, to about £5000: the money, Burnet tells us, was not brought into the treasury like the other branches of the revenue; but the bishops, who had been the pope's collectors, were now, and had been ever since the Reformation, collectors for the crown, and so persons in favour obtained assignations upon them for life, or for a term of years. "This," adds the bishop, "had never been applied to any good use, but was still obtained by favourites for themselves and their friends; and, in King Charles's time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. It seemed strange, that while the clergy had much credit at court, they had never represented this as sacrilege, unless it was applied to some religious purpose; and that during Archbishop Laud's favour with King Charles I., or at the restoration of King Charles II., no endeavours had been used to appropriate this to better uses: sacrilege was charged on other things, on very slight grounds; but this, which was more visible, was always forgot." He goes on to lament that no means had formerly been thought of for providing a better subsistence for the poor clergy; "we having then amongst us some hundreds of cures that had not, of certain provision, £20 a-year, and some thousands that had not £50." The commons expressed their sense of her majesty's pious concern for the church; and a bill was brought in to enable her majesty to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation, by charter, to apply the money, according to the queen's intention, in increasing the miserable stipends of the poorer clergy. To the act was appended a repeal of the statute of mortemain, so far, at least, that it might be free to all men to give, by deed or by *their last wills,* whatever they chose towards the augmenting of benefices. The bishops were unanimous for the whole bill, and it was carried in the lords and passed into a law. Addresses of thanks and acknowledgments from all the clergy of England were presented to Anne, who rejoiced more especially in the title of "Nursing Mother to the Church." But this maternal care did not extend to Irish Presbyterianism, for she had just allowed the parliament of Ireland to stop the trifling sum of £1200 per annum, which had been paid to the poor Presbyterian ministers in Ulster, in the reign of King William.

While parliament was still sitting, the fate of the Earl of Nottingham was sealed. "Pushing at such hot measures, like an axe struck upon a hard stone, the blow rebounded, and the weapon flew out of the hand of the unskilful workman."[1] His projects had all failed, his party had overcast themselves, and never recovered. After a vain attempt to induce the queen to dismiss the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire from the council, he resigned. Harley, still rising, and now favoured by Godolphin and the all-prevalent Duke and Duchess of Marlborough, succeeded him as chief secretary of state, and was allowed to continue speaker of the House of Commons, notwithstanding this appointment. Mr. St. John at the same time became secretary at war. Soon after Sir Edward Seymour was dismissed, the lord-keeper, Sir Nathan Wright,[2] "deposed," and other props of the "high-flying party" were left out of the council, and removed from their places in the government. An inquiry into the condition and management of the navy—which had been grossly *mismanaged*—gave rise to another collision between the two houses. And still another quarrel arose out of an arbitrary act for recruiting the army by impressment. During this session Anne was pleased to revive the order of the Thistle in Scotland; and, on the 4th of February, she conferred the green ribbon on his grace the Duke of Argyle. The vista was opened towards a union, but in either nation there was so much passion and prejudice, as to make it doubtful to many statesmen whether that great measure could be carried in their lifetime. On the 3d of April the queen prorogued parliament. The day after the parliament rose, David Lindsay was brought to trial for high treason, which was taken to be proved by his returning from France without pass or license. He was condemned as a traitor in dangerous correspondence with France, &c. He denied all knowledge of Fraser's plot. To frighten him into a confession he was drawn to Tyburn, but he was proof even to the sight of the fatal tree; ministers did not mean to hang him: he was conveyed back to Newgate, where he remained some years; and the end of the man was, that he died in want and misery in Holland. Simon Fraser of Lovat, in the meanwhile, had found his way back to Paris, but had there been shut up in the Bastille. He had delivered a long memorial to Maria d'Este, the so-called queen-regent, in which he gave a pompous account of the success of his mission, not merely in the Highlands, but also in the Lowlands, with the ministers of the crown, as well as the chiefs of the clans. But the Earl of Middleton perceived his falsehood and double treachery, and, by means of a letter to M. de Torcy, laid him fast for the present. One effect of his manœuvres was the temporary disgrace of the Duke of Queensberry, whose interest in Scotland had been long on the decline. Anne, who at this moment was accused "of a secret bias of sisterly affection for the court of St. Germain," appointed the Marquis of Tweeddale her commissioner.

The Order of the Thistle.

In the meanwhile Marlborough was gaining the greatest of his victories—was becoming "the hero of Blenheim." He arrived at the Hague from London on the 19th of January, and, encouraged by the prospect of having 50,000 British troops under his immediate command, he proposed to the Dutch to open the campaign on the Moselle with his own troops and part of the foreign auxiliaries, while General Auverquerque remained to act on the defensive in the Netherlands with the Dutch and the auxiliaries. This, in fact, was only part of a bold plan he had formed for carrying the war beyond the Rhine, where the cause of the emperor seemed still falling to ruin; but this part was all he thought fit to confide for the present to the states-general, whose timidity and irresolution would, he feared, have opposed his daring scheme if they had known the whole of it at once. And there was also another reason, and a weighty one, for this *réticence:* somehow it had generally happened that, when a scheme of operations was laid, and produced in the Dutch cabinet, in the allied camp, or in conferences with the ministers of the confederated powers, it was forthwith communicated partially or entirely to the court of Versailles, or to the French generals commanding in the field. At first the states-general would hardly enter into Marlborough's modified or half-revealed proposal, considering it too hazardous, and as likely to leave Holland too much exposed; but the pensionary, who had always so ably assisted King

---

[1] Defoe, *History of the Union between England and Scotland.*

[2] "Wright," says Burnet, "was a zealot to the party, and was become very exceptionable in all respects. Money, as was said, did everything with him; only in his court, I never heard him charged for anything but great slowness, *by which the Chancery was become one of the heaviest grievances of the nation.*"

William, seconded the proposal, and engaged to employ all his influence, and that of his friends, in procuring the concurrence of his government. At the same time, Heinsius and Marlborough induced the states to grant a subsidy to the Margrave of Baden, and a supply to the circle of Swabia; to take into pay 4000 Würtembergers, in lieu of 4000 or 5000 English and Dutch, who had been detached to Portugal, and also to make a promise of money to the Duke of Savoy. Under the same influences fresh encouragements were given to the elector-palatine, and to the new King of Prussia, the most selfish and wrong-headed of all the allied princes. This over, Marlborough hurried back to London, where he arrived on the 24th of February. Having remodelled his politics so as to square with those of a partly Whig cabinet, he left London early in April to put himself at the head of the army. In spite of all the endeavours of the pensionary and his friends, he encountered considerable opposition even to that part of the plan which he had revealed (the real plan, in its full extent, was still a mystery even in England); the states of Zeeland and Friesland in particular objected strongly to any movement of troops to such a distance from the Low Countries. But at length Marlborough, who had procured a general instruction from the English cabinet, empowering him to take such measures as should be deemed proper for relieving the emperor and reducing the Elector of Bavaria, told the states that he was fully resolved upon going to the Moselle with upwards of 40,000 men.

The states-general were silenced by his determined declaration, and consented with a good grace to that which they could not prevent. At the same time, however, they intrusted him with powers which they might and would have withheld if they had known the whole of his hazardous project. The only one of the generals of the allied powers that was intrusted with the secret was Prince Eugene of Savoy, who had been appointed to the command of the emperor's army on the Upper Danube. Leaving Auverquerque with the Dutch troops and part of the auxiliaries to guard the frontiers, Marlborough proceeded to Utrecht, near which place he passed some days with the Earl of Albemarle, the favourite of the late king, and the depositary of William's secrets and plans. He then went by Ruremond to Maestricht, and thence to Bedburg, in the duchy of Juliers, which had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous for the forces concentrating from different quarters. Here he found his brother, General Churchill, with fifty-one battalions and ninety-two squadrons of horse. With these troops, which were to be joined on their line of march by Prussians, Hessians, Lüneburgers, and others quartered on the Rhine, and eleven Dutch battalions stationed at Rothwell, Marlborough, on the 19th of May (N. S.), began his celebrated expedition. He had got no farther than Kerpen (on the 20th), when he received an express from Auverquerque imploring him to halt, because Villeroy had crossed the Meuse at Namur, and was threatening Huy. At the same moment letters arrived from the Margrave of Baden urging him to hasten his march towards the lines of Stolhoffen, because Tallard had made a movement towards the Rhine. But Marlborough adhered to his grand project; and, only halting a day to quiet the alarms of Auverquerque and the Margrave of Baden, he pushed forward might and main to Kalsecken. At that point he deemed it expedient to disclose more of his plan: he wrote to the states-general to assure them that no danger was to be apprehended on the side of the Netherlands, while his own sudden operations engaged the entire attention of the French; he even ventured to ask for further reinforcements, insisting that Auverquerque would still be strong enough to cover their lines. Then he pushed forward to Sinzig, where he acted as if he intended to make the banks of the Moselle the scene of his campaign. He had not only kept his own design secret, but had established the means of a most rapid communication in all directions—if not a correspondence with some of the allies of the French, who betrayed the movements of Louis's generals. Upon the intelligence that Tallard had passed the Rhine, thrown forward a reinforcement of 10,000 men to the Elector of Bavaria, and then resumed his former position near Strasburg, he accelerated his march, advancing with the cavalry upon Coblenz, and leaving his brother to follow with the infantry and artillery. His progress was favoured by the German people;[1] and, on the 26th of May, while visiting the Elector of Treves, who was sojourning in that lofty and romantic citadel, he witnessed from the heights of Ehrenbreitstein the passage of his army across the Moselle and the Rhine. Again calling urgently upon the states-general for reinforcements, he advanced along the bank of the Rhine to Broubach. The march, though rapid, was admirably conducted, so as to save the troops from the heat of the mid-day sun, and from all unnecessary fatigue. From Broubach he wrote to the King of Prussia, praising the valour of the Prussian troops, and requesting to have more of them. He arrived at Mentz on the 29th, and rested there a day to refresh the troops and to partake of the hospitality of the elector. The army was fresh, and in such admirable order and

---

[1] Wherever he went he sent forward assurances that the strictest discipline would be observed; and these promises were kept much better than they usually had been.

tenue that the elector exclaimed, "These gentlemen seem to be all dressed for a ball!"[1]

While at Mentz, Marlborough received advices that the states had consented to send after him twenty squadrons and eight battalions of Danish auxiliaries; but at the same moment he received the less welcome intelligence that the Margrave of Baden, to whom he had induced his sovereign to send money out of the privy purse, had not only suffered the 10,000 men that Tallard had thrown forward, to reinforce the Elector of Bavaria, but had also neglected a most favourable opportunity of bringing that elector to battle. In fact, 30,000 German troops, of different circles, had permitted the Elector of Bavaria to move from his camp at Ulm towards the head of the Danube, to meet the French forwarded by Tallard; had allowed the elector to pass unmolested through narrow defiles, to march, in a manner, right through the main body of the Imperialists, to effect his junction with the French, and then to return through the narrow and dangerous pass of Stockach with a long line of carriages—whereas, by his seizing that pass, he might have cut off the elector's retreat, and reduced him to surrender at discretion, his army being without bread, so that any delay or stoppage must have been fatal to it. Marlborough, however, did not lose heart; he persuaded the Landgrave of Hesse to put his artillery at his disposal, summoned several of the auxiliary or partizan leaders to receive his instructions as to the proper points where they were to join him, took up money to pay the English, "who, notwithstanding the continual marching, were extremely pleased with this expedition," and moved towards the Neckar, where he had previously ordered bridges to be constructed. He had already saved the emperor from all fears of the Elector of Bavaria and his French allies; but, hoping to achieve much more than this, he was now directing his steps to the banks of the Danube, leaving the French in his rear lost in astonishment, and too weak and too indifferently commanded to be able to do anything but look on. They, indeed, were still uncertain as to his real intentions: at first they had expected an attack by the Moselle, then upon Alsace; his throwing a bridge over the Rhine at Philipsburg, and the advance of the Landgrave of Hesse's artillery to Manheim, seemed to indicate the siege of Landau, which place had been retaken by the French and much improved in its fortifications. The French generals were at last completely bewildered. If the Condés and the Turennes had been alive, affairs might have gone differently; but Marlborough's genius was opposed by the mediocrity of Villeroy and Tallard: the first of these generals, who had followed him at a respectful distance from the Meuse, brought up reinforcements from French Flanders;[2] Tallard, on the other hand, descended to the Lauter, with the view of joining Villeroy, so as to protect Alsace. They were thus at fault, when Marlborough crossed the Neckar, and proceeded to Erpingen, with a force continually increasing by means of small bodies of Prussians, Hessians, Palatines, and others, who flowed in to his line of march, right and left, like tributary streams to a main river. On the 7th of June, he encamped at Erpingen, to wait for his brother, who was several marches behind him, with the cannon and part of the infantry. His rest at Erpingen was short; and, on the 9th, he crossed the Neckar in another part of its course, and advanced to Mondelsheim, where, on the 10th, he met for the first time Prince Eugene of Savoy, the partner or rival in his glory. Many compliments passed, and the prince bestowed great praise on the English cavalry, which has not usually been the best part of our armies. At Hippach they halted three days, to await the arrival of the infantry and artillery, who were still behind, and to concert their future operations, which could only fully succeed by an entire understanding and cordial co-operation. The Margrave of Baden, after detaching some troops to secure the passage of the Rhine against Villeroy, came up and joined them at Hippach, where he saluted Marlborough as "the deliverer of the empire." Of necessity this margrave was ad-

PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY.
From a fine print by Smith, after D. Rickter.

---

[1] Hare's *Journal*.

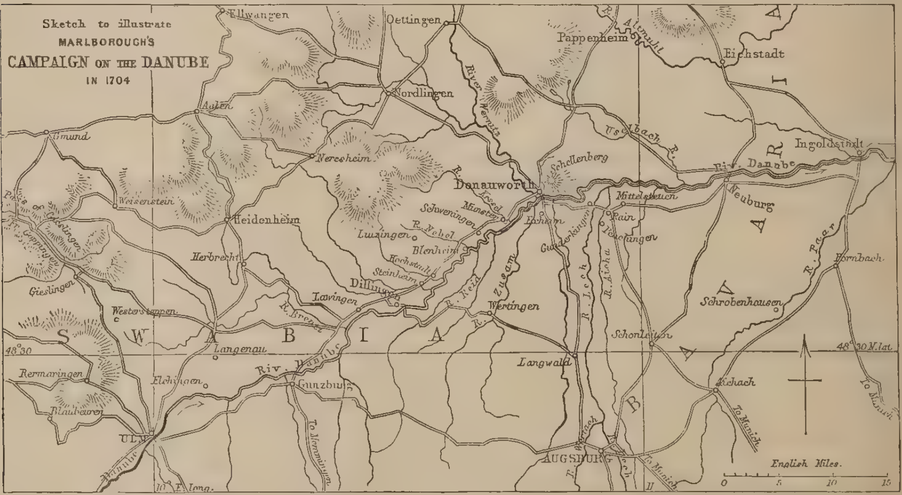
[2] "Marshal Villeroy," says Voltaire, "who had wished to follow him on his first marches, suddenly lost sight of him altogether, and only learned where he really was on hearing of his victory at Donauworth."—*Siècle de Louis XIV.*

mitted into their councils and deliberations, and from that moment there arose differences and jealousies, which might have deranged the whole plan. Marlborough, as we have seen, wished the margrave to remain on the Rhine, and to have Prince Eugene as his colleague on the Danube, where the brilliant and decisive part of the campaign was to be enacted; but the margrave, who was older in rank than Prince Eugene, and unwilling to be kept in an inferior field of action, insisted on a right of choice, and, in fact, on a right of supreme command on the Danube; and it was not without difficulty that the obstinate German consented to share that command by alternate days with the English general. Greatly to the mortification both of Eugene and Marlborough, the former was therefore left upon the Rhine, while the latter moved towards the Danube with the Margrave of Baden. At the same time news was received that Auverquerque had been baffled in an attempt upon the French lines in Flanders, and had lost an excellent opportunity upon the Meuse. Nor was this all; there were misfortunes nearer at hand, for some Prussian and Swabian corps, that were appointed to join between the Rhine and the Danube, mistook their instructions and lost ten days in marches and counter-marches. Marlborough, however, went on to Ebersbach, where he rested two days.

On the 15th of June, Prince Eugene was at Philipsburg, on the Rhine; and Marlborough, still hampered by the delays and blunders of his allies, was preparing to cross the range of mountains which separated him from the valley of the Danube, beyond which river he expected the Elector of Bavaria would retreat. It was not till the 20th that everything was ready, and then, while the states-general were sending courier after courier to induce him to weaken his army and send back troops to the Netherlands, he traversed the narrow and dangerous pass of Gieslingen with his entire force, and without accident.[1] Beyond that defile he came in communication with the troops of Prince Louis, who had taken up a position near Westersteppen. On the 24th, he advanced to Elchingen, close on the Danube, thus compelling the Elector of Bavaria to withdraw from his post at Ulm. On the 25th, amid torrents of rain which lasted several days, Marlborough fixed his head-quarters at Langenau, the Elector of Bavaria retiring along the bank of the Danube to an entrenched camp, constructed by himself and his French allies in the preceding campaign, between Lawingen and Dillingen, having broad morasses in front, and the Danube in the rear. On the following day, Marlborough moved, and halted on the little river Brentz, only two short leagues from the enemy; but his brother, General Churchill, did not arrive with the artillery and part of the foot till the 27th, when the combined army amounted to ninety-six battalions and 202 squadrons, with a train of forty-eight pieces of artillery, pontoons, &c. None of the expected forces were wanting except the Danish horse, under the Duke of Würtemberg; but Marlborough did not think himself able to act against the Elector of Bavaria as he could wish until that Danish cavalry came up. While he was waiting, the elector and the French officers serving with him threw up some fresh works in front of their entrenched camp on the bank of the Danube, and detached General d'Arco with 12,000 men to occupy the Schellenberg, a commanding height overhanging the important town of Donauworth. Marlborough saw clearly that by this skilful disposition the elector hoped to cover his own dominions, and keep the allies in check till he should receive reinforcements, every day expected from France: he therefore insisted upon an immediate attack upon the heights of Schellenberg. The Margrave of Baden hesitated, but at last consented to an advance; and, on the 1st of July, when Marlborough had the command for the day, he defiled before the elector in his marshy camp, and directed his march to the foot of the Schellenberg. The roads were little better than bogs, the horses frequently sunk to their saddle-girths, the artillery and heavy baggage waggons stuck in the mud, and the march was altogether slow and most laborious. Yet towards evening Marlborough rested on a convenient plain a few miles from the foot of the mountain, from whose summit the Gallo-Bavarians were watching his progress with evident uneasiness. Gazing on those heights, and foreseeing that they would not be carried without great bloodshed, he gave orders for establishing an hospital for his wounded—an attention not as yet generally bestowed by generals on suffering humanity. He also took 130 picked men from each battalion of the army, joined these—which, collectively, amounted to 6000 foot—to thirty squadrons of horse and three regiments of Austrian grenadiers, and ordered that this detachment should precede the main body of the army, and begin the attack. At three o'clock in the morning, as the first rays of the sun began to light up the Danube, the plain, and the mountain, this column was put in motion by Marlborough in person, who, at five, followed with the rest of the army. There remained to be crossed, at about a mile from the foot of the Schellenberg, the Wernitz, a deep and rapid stream flowing into the Danube; but bridges had been prepared to throw across, and the van were provided with pontoons and fascines. It was about nine o'clock when Marlborough joined the head of the attacking column on the bank of this stream, where he was saluted by the enemy with a heavy cannonade, and whence he could see the very formidable nature of the attack he contemplated. The Schellenberg was rough and steep; the summit was covered with troops, and protected by an old fort and by entrenchments: and besides all this, there lay between him and the summit a thick wood, a rivulet, and a ravine; while on the opposite side of the Danube there was a regular camp, occupied by a strong detachment of cavalry, who could communicate with the town of Donauworth and the acclivities of the Schellenberg by a bridge. About noon, Marlborough, without waiting for the Imperialists, who were still in the rear, crossed the Wernitz, and, at about five in the afternoon, he gave his last orders to the attacking column, the command of which was consigned to the Dutch General Goor, and the first line of which was led by Brigadier Ferguson, the whole being preceded by a forlorn hope of fifty English grenadiers, under Lord Mordaunt. The assailants advanced to the hill with a firm step, under a tremendous fire from the enemy's works. As soon as they arrived within the range of grape-shot, the carnage became dreadful. General Goor and other officers fell, and for a moment the men paused and hung back. But other officers stepped forward to supply the places of those who had fallen, and then the column moved forward till they came to the ravine, which some of the men in their ignorance mistook for the ditch of the entrenchment, which might be made passable by the fascines they carried. While they were throwing in their fascines, standing exposed on the edge of the ravine, General d'Arco plied them with every gun he could bring to bear upon them; and, when this tremendous fire had produced some effect, he threw out some French and Bavarian battalions, who, rushing from their works, charged with the bayonet. This charge was repulsed principally by a battalion of the English guards, who stood their ground almost alone, and kept in perfect order, though nearly all their officers had been knocked on the head before the charge began. The attacking column soon formed again, and advanced still nearer to the works. But D'Arco concentrated nearly his whole force in their front, by drawing in the men that had occupied the flanks, and he not only continued to ply the assailants with grape-shot, but sent out beyond his trenches several strong sallying parties, who fought bravely, and used both musket and bayonet with great effect. Again the allies began to waver and give way; and their repulse seemed complete, when General Lumley led forward a body of horse, threw back the enemy, and closed up or re-formed the ranks of the allies. During the severe sufferings of the allies, the French and Bavarians had not escaped tremendous loss: of some of the parties that sallied from the trenches, scarcely a man had returned; and at this critical moment the accidental explosion of some gunpowder in their works spread a sudden panic, which could not be overcome in the shortness of time allowed them. For the next moment the English and the Dutch burst into the

---

[1] "There is a continued defile of about two English miles, which would take up almost a day's time in the best season of the year to pass with any number of troops: but it was much more difficult now because of the excessive rains which had fallen for the last three or four days together, and had so levelled the rivulets and deepened the roads that they would have been thought altogether impassable by any but such as were carried on by an invincible resolution."—Hare's *MS. Journal.*



entrenchments, and the Imperialists, led on by the Margrave of Baden, were seen advancing towards the heights from under the walls of Donauworth. While the English and the Dutch were, as yet, part in the ditch, and part scaling the entrenchment, the French and Bavarians, abandoning every part of the work, fled in complete disorder down the hillside, towards the bridge over the Danube. The fugitives were followed by the whole body of the allied cavalry, and the carnage was terrific. And when the unhappy fugitives reached the bridge, it broke down under their weight, and hundreds of them were drowned. Other bodies were driven over the banks; and, in the end, between the sword and the Danube, 7000 or 8000 perished on that fatal evening. Of the whole force detached to Schellenberg, only 3000 men rejoined the elector, but a considerable number came in as deserters to the allies. Sixteen pieces of artillery and all the tents were taken. The night set in with a heavy rain; and, in spite of the shouts of triumph, the allied camp presented a sight of horror, misery, and suffering: there were 4000 men wounded, and, at the very least, 1500 killed. The loss in officers was particularly heavy; eight generals, eleven colonels, and twenty-six captains being among the slain, and the Prince of Bevern and Count Styrum being mortally wounded.[1]

CHAPTER VIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1704—1707.

ANNE.

Misunderstandings among the allied commanders after the victory at Donauworth—Fame of Marlborough—His plan for the campaign—He crosses the Lech—He is deceived by the Elector of Bavaria—The electorate punished with military execution—Movements of Prince Eugene—His difficulties in effecting a junction with Marlborough—The united army advances towards Blenheim—Arrangements of Marlborough and Eugene for battle—Preparations of the French—Battle of Blenheim—Eventful movements of the conflicts—Utter defeat of the French and Bavarians—The French hopes of universal conquest annihilated—Marlborough made a prince of the empire—English expedition to the Tagus in support of Charles, King of Spain—Movements of the expedition—Gibraltar captured by Rooke and Shovel—Naval fight of Rooke with the French off Malaga—Its indecisive termination—The occasional conformity bill a third time brought forward and negatived—Woodstock, &c., conferred on Marlborough for his victory of Blenheim—The Tory parliament dissolved—Marlborough returns to the Continent—Obstacles in the continuation of the war—The Earl of Peterborough's brilliant and eccentric campaign in Spain—He captures Barcelona—He reduces Catalonia—His singular successes—Depression of the Tories and preponderance of the Whigs—Opposition of the Whigs to the high-church agitation—Their anxiety to secure a Protestant succession in the throne—Difficulties of the measure—The "church in danger" cry proscribed by the Whigs—Marshal Villeroy attempts to retrieve the disgrace of Blenheim—His total defeat by Marlborough at Ramillies—The French attempt the capture of Turin—They are defeated by Prince Eugene—The war in Spain in behalf of Charles—Peterborough abandons his cause—Prolonged contest between Charles and his rival, Philip—Project of the union of England and Scotland—Progress of the negotiation—Terms offered to Scotland—Hostility of the Scots to the proposal—Their objections—Manner in which the opposition was calmed—Provisions of the union—Opposition in the English parliament to the union—It is ratified.

AFTER this battle of Schellenberg or Donauworth, as it is variously called, fresh misunderstandings broke out between the English general and the Margrave of Baden. The German general had been slightly wounded in the engagement, and had entered the entrenchments before Marlborough came up in person; hence the margrave and his friends claimed for him the chief honour of the victory, regardless of the obvious facts, that the whole plan was the English general's, and that, without the decided will of Marlborough, there would have been no battle at all. Marlborough, on the other side, spoke with contempt of his colleague. A feud was the consequence, which spread from the army, where it might have proved very dangerous, to the Low Countries and the Hague, where the party inimical to Marlborough struck a medal with the effigies of the margrave on the one side, and the lines of Schellenberg on the reverse, to commemorate the victory. But the world at large took a juster view of the case, and of the relative merits of the two commanders; throughout Germany, throughout Italy, in every part of the Continent, by friends and by foes, the merit of the achievement was given to Anne's general, and the name of Marlborough was on every man's tongue. Even the French began to sing him in songs, and the Italians, farther off, dreamed of him as of some fierce conqueror of the old times.[1] But Marlborough had more serious thoughts to occupy his mind than these jealousies and bickerings. He received intelligence that Villeroy had promised the Elector of Bavaria that he would send him, by way of the Black Forest, fifty battalions of foot and sixty squadrons of horse—"the best troops in France, which would make him stronger than the confederates." The English general, however, relied much on the assurances of Prince Eugene, that he would venture everything rather than suffer these French reinforcements to pass quietly as the last had done. Marlborough also expected that the enemy would defend Donauworth to the last extremity. But here he was agreeably disappointed; for the Elector of Bavaria withdrew his garrison, set fire to his magazines, abandoned all his positions, and commenced a retreat towards Augsburg, thus leaving his hereditary dominions open to invasion. On the 6th of July, he wrote to Godolphin:—"We are now taking care for a passage over this river of Lech, and then we shall be in the heart of the elector's country. If he will ever make propositions it must be then. The Marshals de Villeroy and Tallard are separated. The latter is to join the Elector of Bavaria, and the Duke de Villeroy is to act on the Rhine. Prince Eugene will be obliged to divide his army, so that he may observe each of their motions. As for his person, it will be with that army that is to observe M. Tallard. By all the intelligence we have, our last action has very much disheartened the enemy, so that, if we can get over the river to engage them, I no ways doubt but God will help us with the victory. Our greatest difficulty is, that of making our bread follow us: *for the troops that I have the honour to command cannot subsist without it, and the Germans, that are used to starve, cannot advance without us.*"

---

[1] See note to the queen immediately after the victory, in Coxe, *Life;* and *Despatches of the Duke of Marlborough*, edited by the Right Hon. General Sir George Murray, London, 1845.

LUD. WILHELM. D. G. EX. CAES. GEN. LOC.
APERTA · VIRTUTI · PRINCIPIS · ET · SOCIORUM · VIA · VICTORIIS · INSEQUENTIBUS
FUGATO CASTRIS DIREPTIS
AD SCHELLENBERGAM DONAWERDAE.
1704

MEDAL STRUCK BY THE PARTY OPPOSED TO MARLBOROUGH.

On the 7th the passage of the deep, broad, and rapid river Lech was effected at Gunderkingen, and upon this the Bavarian garrison at Neuburg abandoned that important place and retired to Ingoldstadt. On the 10th, Marlborough was encamped near Mittelstetten, with seventy-three battalions and 174 squadrons. He had now the whole of the army in the elector's country, and he announced that if that unfortunate prince would not condescend to terms, he would do his utmost to ruin that country. At this moment the elector, showing no disposition whatever to treat, lay strongly encamped at Augsburg, awaiting the reinforcements which Villeroy had promised. Bread was now plentiful in Marlborough's camp; provisions were brought out of Franconia, and the soldiers helped themselves in Bavaria, plundering the poor people without mercy. Several unwise delays which now took place were owing to the backwardness and wilful obstinacy of the Margrave of Baden. Rain, an insignificant fortress, detained him five or six days, and when he proposed a rapid movement for the reduction of Munich, the capital of Bavaria, he was unable to obtain the artillery and stores which had been promised by the margrave. In the meantime he had detached thirty squadrons to assist Eugene in disputing the advance of the promised French reinforcements, which were now known to be under the command of Tallard. Without cannon and without money, Marlborough was glad to receive, at last, some propositions from the elector. Though unwillingly, the emperor's ambassador entered into these preliminaries, engaging to obtain for the elector the restoration of his dominions, and a subsidy of 200,000 crowns, upon condition of his entirely breaking off from the French, and furnishing 12,000 men for the service of the emperor. But Villeroy's assurances and Tallard's advance revived the spirit of the Bavarian prince; he failed in an appointment to meet the Austrian plenipotentiary for the conclusion of the treaty, and sent a message to announce that the French general was approaching to his succour with 35,000 men, and that he should run the chances of his brave and steady ally. No doubt the elector's propositions and overtures had been illusory from the first, and meant merely to gain time. Marlborough felt it in this way, and forthwith he gave up the whole country as far as Munich to military execution. The sight of the burning towns and villages, however, went to his heart; and he deplored the cruel necessity which he considered he lay under. On the other side, Tallard got through the Black Forest, and, after losing five days in a fruitless and absurd attempt on Villingen, forded the Danube at Moskirk, and emerged into the plains about Ulm. He then struck away to the north-west, and, with a few rapid marches, came into communication with the electoral army, which continued to hold its ground at Augsburg. Prince Eugene, unable to prevent these movements, made a parallel march from the Rhine, with an inferior force, and reached the plains of Hochstadt with his 18,000 men nearly at the same time that Tallard effected his junction with the Bavarians. He was still far apart from Marlborough and the rest of the confederates—he was precisely in that position where a Condé or a Turenne would have crushed him by a concentrated attack, and have then marched away with a superior force, flushed with success, to crush Marlborough. But Tallard had none of this genius and decision; and Marlborough and Eugene were left to exercise their superior abilities, and to join their separated armies in one compact and formidable mass. Marlborough fell back upon Neuburg, and, on the 6th of August, encamped on the Paar near Schrobenhausen. Here Prince Eugene, who had left his army, galloped into the camp almost alone and unknown, to concert measures with the English commander. One of their first resolutions appears to have been to get rid of the conflicting voice and authority of the Margrave of Baden, who fortunately consented to go with twenty-three battalions and thirty-one squadrons to lay siege to Ingoldstadt. On the 8th Marlborough approached the bridges laid near the conflux of the Lech and the Danube; and, on the morrow, upon intelligence that the united Gallo-Bavarians were marching down to the Danube, he advanced to Exheim. At this last point Eugene left him to bring up his own 18,000 men, but in an hour or two the prince galloped back to apprize Marlborough that the enemy were in full march towards Dillingen, in the evident intention of crossing the Danube and overwhelming his (Eugene's) little army. By joint advice Eugene's troops were thereupon ordered to fall back, and the mass of the forces of Marlborough were put in motion to recross the Danube, in order to be on the same side of the river with those of Eugene, and to join them as soon as possible. This operation was exceedingly difficult. Marlborough had to traverse the Aicha, the Lech, and the Wernitz, as well as the Danube, and all these streams were swollen by the recent rains. The operations, however, were conducted with admirable skill and forethought, and by the 10th Marlborough had pitched his camp between Mittelstetten and Peuchingen, having, to quiet the alarms of the Margrave of Baden, promised to cover the siege of Ingoldstadt. On the evening of that day he threw across the Danube twenty-eight squadrons of horse and twenty battalions to reinforce Prince Eugene, who was now at Donauworth, and prepared to follow with his whole army as soon as he should be certain that the Elector of Bavaria and the French marshal had passed the Danube with *their* whole army. As he was retiring in the night for a short rest, Eugene announced, by express, that the enemy had crossed the Danube in force, and that he stood in need of instant succour. The prince had posted his infantry in D'Arco's old position on the Schellenberg, with orders to repair the entrenchments: his baggage he had left at Donauworth, and he himself, supported by the Duke of Würtemberg, was endeavouring to maintain himself on the Kessel. No time was to be lost, as the heads of the Gallo-Bavarian columns were already appearing near Steinheim. At midnight Marlborough ordered his brother, General Churchill, who had already crossed the Danube, to advance and join Eugene, and within two hours the whole of the main army was in motion, crossing the river at different points: but it was ten o'clock at night before the junction with Eugene was completed. Then the combined armies encamped with the Danube on their left and the Kessel in their front, beyond which rivulet General Rowe and some of the English guards were posted. At the dawn of day (the 12th) Marlborough's baggage and artillery came up. At the same moment the English guards moved in the direction of Schweningen, Marlborough and Eugene being with them to survey the ground. Presently these two generals, having ascended the tower of a church, discovered the quarter-masters of the Gallo-Bavarian army marking out a camp between Blenheim and Lutzingen, and instantly they resolved to give battle, and begin the attack before the confusion, inseparable from a change of camps, should be over. Some officers, acquainted with the superiority of the enemy's forces, and the strength of their position, ventured to remonstrate. "I know the danger," said Marlborough, "but a battle is absolutely necessary, and I rely on the bravery and discipline of the troops, which will make amends for our disadvantages." During the night, while the French and Bavarians were moving to the new camp they had selected, and extending their lines along the elevated ground which stretches from Blenheim to Lutzingen, Marlborough concerted with Prince Eugene the arrangements for a general battle. And as early as two o'clock in the morning of Sunday, the memorable 13th of August, these two generals broke up their camp, and by three crossed the Kessel with an aggregate force of 52,000 men and fifty-two pieces of artillery. Tallard watched their movement with joy, anticipating nothing less than cutting them off from their communications with the places Marlborough had taken in Bavaria, and sliding between them and the Danube. Meanwhile the confederates continued to advance over difficult ground, intersected with rivulets and ditches, Eugene leading the right wing and Marlborough the left. The water-courses, the woods, and the hills behind Blenheim, were scanned with a careful eye; nearer at hand every inch of ground was examined; and from a certain point Marlborough and Eugene rode forward to observe the positions of the enemy. At seven o'clock the out-posts and pickets of the Gallo-Bavarians were running back from all points, and the columns were seen forming in the encampment in order of battle. In all they amounted to 56,000 or 57,000 men, or to 4000 or 5000 more than the confederates; and they had an immense advantage over the confederates in their ground. But in case of a defeat their situation must be hopeless; and Tallard and the elector had committed a great fault in forming in two separate bodies at a considerable distance from each other, with hardly any infantry between them as a centre.[1]

---

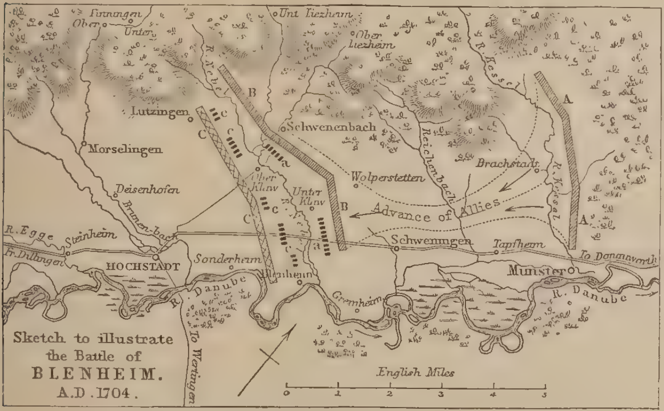
[1] The Duke of Shrewsbury, in a congratulatory letter from Rome, where he was still residing, says: "I will not suspend your time with politic reflections, which you can make much better than I, but must tell you that in this holy ignorant city they have an idea of you as of a Tamerlane; and had I a picture of old Colonel Birch with his whiskers, I could put it off for yours, and change it for one done by Raphael."

The united troops of the elector and General Marsin occupied the left, at Lutzingen; Tallard stood on the right, by Blenheim. A brigade of dismounted dragoons was posted behind a barricade of waggons between the village of Blenheim and the Danube, and three brigades occupied the village, and communicated with the dismounted dragoons. There were palisades, barricades, and gates, and the open spaces in the village between the houses and the gardens were blocked up with carts, felled trees, and boards, all having behind them well covered musketeers. There was also a small old castle by the village, and this and the church tower were garnished with muskets; while a battalion of artillery was distributed on various points in and about Blenheim, under the command of the French General Clérambault, who was instructed to maintain the village to the last extremity. It was to this formidable point, having the little river Nebel flowing before it, that Marlborough, after a short cannonade on both sides, during which he was nearly struck by a French ball, led his left wing, while Prince Eugene moved with the right to fall upon the elector and Marsin. Marlborough sent the brave Lord Cutts to begin the attack on the village of Blenheim, he himself moving down the Nebel under a heavy fire of grape-shot, in order to seize an opportunity of throwing himself between the two divisions of the Gallo-Bavarians, whose communications were now maintained apparently by nothing but horse. Cutts, under another fire of grape, threw fascines into the bed of the Nebel, got across that stream, and deliberately advanced towards the palisades and inclosures. The French there held their fire till he was within thirty paces, and then gave such a volley as laid prostrate a vast number of officers and men. But General Rowe, at the head of the leading brigade of English, walked on, and stuck his sword into the palisades before he gave the word to fire. The French were covered, and the English uncovered; the palisades were strong; Rowe was mortally wounded by a musket-ball; his lieutenant-colonel and major were killed in attempting to remove his body; and the leading brigade, after losing one-third of its numbers, was driven back and broken, and charged by three squadrons of gens d'armes. But a body of Hessians moved forward to support the English, and drove the French horse back to their lines. Lord Cutts then got up five squadrons of cavalry, who experienced great difficulty in clearing the swamp, and who would have been driven back across the Nebel but for the steadiness of the Hessian infantry. After several sanguinary attacks and sallies on the part of the French, the brigades of Ferguson and Hudson crossed the stream at another point, forced the enemy to withdraw some artillery with which they had swept the fords, and advanced right in front of the village. The old national animosity and rivalry blazed out in a fury; the French and English officers crossed swords through the palisades, and fought hand to hand: and the English soldiery, here and there, losing patience for the operations of loading and priming, thrust at the French through the openings in their defences with the points of their bayonets, or beat them on the head over the barricades with the butt-ends of their muskets. But Lord Cutts, who appears to have had not a single cannon with him, saw that there was no hope of forcing the village without artillery, and he was compelled to order back his thinned ranks to the cover of some rising ground. But in the meantime, Marlborough, with his eye on the wide gap that interposed between Tallard and Blenheim, and the elector and Marsin, pushed part of his infantry over some little bridges, and then, by means of fascines and planks, sent his cavalry after them. Both horse and foot were enfiladed on their passage by a portion of Clérambault's artillery; nevertheless, they formed on the opposite bank of the rivulet, threw back the charges of the French and Bavarian cavalry, and kept their ground, waiting for the Prince of Holstein-Beck and his artillery—

---

[1] "I have often heard," says Voltaire, "from the mouth of Marshal Villars, that this disposition of the army was inexcusable."

an arm which seems to have been badly disposed of during the early part of this battle, for the prince had been cannonading the enemy from a point whence his balls could scarcely reach them, while Cutts and others had been hammered to death, without a cannon to reply. Holstein-Beck had scarcely got half his column across the stream when he was charged by the Irish brigade in the pay of Louis XIV., who fought most desperately, and by other fresh troops; his highness was mortally wounded, and made prisoner; his men, that were not driven back into the rivulet, were cut to pieces. It was at this critical moment that Marlborough in person galloped up to the spot, and led a brigade across the stream, ordering at the same time some artillery to be brought up, and extending some Danish and Hanoverian horse along the banks. He compelled the French horse to fall back in an instant, and by one or two simple movements, he established a connection with the troops fighting under Eugene, and masked his own intended movement (with his entire centre) upon Tallard, who had committed a series of blunders, and who was now about to be entirely cut off from his ally, the elector, having vainly trusted that the cavalry placed in the gap and his moving batteries would prevent any advance in that direction. By five in the afternoon the English general had formed his cavalry in two strong lines, and posted his infantry in their rear; and then, amidst a tremendous fire of cannon and musketry, he moved rapidly forward up a steep hill, upon which the French horse were now concentrated with a part of Tallard's infantry brought out from Blenheim. The summit of the hill was gained; but there Marlborough was brought to a pause by the firm array of the enemy, and even thrown back some hundred paces; but he repeated his attack with artillery and small arms, gradually overpowered the fire of the enemy, and then, with a charge, broke the French horse, and cut to pieces or made prisoners some regiments of infantry. Abandoned by the flight of their cavalry, Tallard now sent an officer to order the infantry to evacuate Blenheim, and another to press the elector either to support him with a reinforcement, or to make a diversion in his favour by a dashing offensive movement in the opposite direction. But the elector could do neither; the imperial cavalry and other masses of the confederate army now occupied the gap which the French horse had held before; and Prince Eugene, after sustaining several repulses, had driven the elector's troops beyond Lutzingen, had turned his flank, and posted himself on the edge of a ravine where he could scarcely be attacked with any effect. Thus left to himself, and apparently before he could bring up or put in order the troops which had been stationed in the village of Blenheim, Tallard was charged with the overwhelming force of the allied horse; and, broken and dismayed, he fled with part of his cavalry to Sonderheim while the rest fled towards Hochstadt. Marlborough followed Tallard with the sword in his loins, drove a vast number of his men down a declivity into the Danube, and took still more prisoners. At Sonderheim, with the Danube on one side and victorious enemies on all other sides, Tallard, who had seen his son killed and was himself wounded, surrendered with many officers of distinction. Nor had those who fled towards Hochstadt a better fate: they got entangled in a morass; were cut off by dragoons, and, in the end, they were nearly all killed, made prisoners, or drowned in the Danube, except the famous brigade of Grignan and some of the gens d'armes, who fell back to some heights beyond Hochstadt. In one or two instances whole battalions laid down their arms, and cried for mercy. Prince Eugene witnessed part of the operations which ended in the flight of Tallard from the verge of the ravine above Lutzingen, where he had posted himself; and shortly after, observing Marsin's horse and the



Sketch to illustrate the Battle of BLENHEIM. A.D. 1704.

A A. Camp of allies before the battle.
B B. Disposition of allied army at the commencement of the engagement.
C C. Disposition of the French at the commencement of the engagement.
a a. Batteries of the allies. c c. Batteries of the French.

Bavarian infantry pouring along the Lutzingen road in great disorder, he judged that the elector was about to retreat from that point. Although his way lay across the ravine and through woods, and although he had only two squadrons of horse with him, Eugene advanced to intercept this retreat, and emerging into the plain, he did some mischief, and then awaited the arrival of the confederate cavalry, who were pressing hard on the fleeing Bavarian horse. Marlborough, who had now nothing to do on his side, saw the flames arising from Lutzingen, which the retreating forces had fired, and, being made aware of the advance of Eugene, he detached a mass of cavalry to co-operate with that prince. But night was now falling, and the smoke from the burning town, with that from the burned gunpowder, prevented Hompesch, who led this mass of cavalry, from seeing distinctly. Eugene's force was mistaken for the Gallo-Bavarian army, and Hompesch drew rein and wheeled about, when a joint attack and pursuit must have destroyed all the forces that remained with the elector and Marsin. As it was, the elector fell back in tolerably good order upon Dillingen. But still the village of Blenheim was held by 12,000 men, who either had not time to obey the evacuating order sent by Tallard, or who had fallen back into the village as the safest place in the headlong retreat. Clérambault, who had commanded there, was missing—it was afterwards found that he was drowned in the Danube—but the French troops made a most resolute resistance. When they saw that Marlborough was surrounding the village with troops and artillery, they attempted to rush out and gain a road which led to Sonderheim, but here they were checked by the Scots Greys; and, when they tried in another direction, their way was barred by the cavalry of General Ross. Still, however, they sheltered themselves behind their barricades and the walls and houses of Blenheim, and kept up a sharp fire. At length, however, fire was set to the houses; batteries were planted all round within musket-shot; and every road, every path, was blocked up. Then a parley took place, and the French proposed a capitulation; but General Churchill rode to the spot, and insisted on an unconditional surrender; and to these hard terms they were forced to come at last, twenty-four battalions and twelve squadrons laying down their arms to the conqueror. The total loss of the Gallo-Bavarians on this decisive day, in prisoners, killed, and drowned, exceeded rather than fell short of 35,000 men. The army, which was to have overturned the empire, and to impose the will of Louis XIV. on the whole of Europe, was annihilated. Marlborough and his allies on their side lost above 12,000 men.[1]

We have entered into far more details respecting this brilliant and decisive campaign than we can attempt to do in any of the succeeding parts of this war, being anxious to present something like a competent notion of the prowess and ability of one who is always ranked among the greatest of English captains. The plan of the campaign, the mode in which it was conducted, and the result of it, may, after every possible deduction, justify the laurels which have been put upon the head of the hero of Blenheim.

Before Marlborough returned home, he received from the Emperor Leopold, a letter addressed "TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS PRINCE OF US, AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH," &c., announcing in form his elevation to a place among the princes of the empire, &c. In the month of November the English general, who was at least as able in negotiations and court proceedings as he was in war, made a journey to Berlin to engage the King of Prussia to suspend certain claims he had upon the Dutch, to enter into the confederacy still more earnestly, and to furnish still more troops. His Prussian majesty promised 8000 men for the speedy relief of the Duke of Savoy; and then Marlborough travelled, in miserably cold weather, to Hanover, where he met with a cordial reception from "The Protestant Succession"—the family which only waited for the death of Anne to ascend the throne of England. From Hanover he went to the Hague, and thence set out for England. He arrived at the palace of St. James's in the middle of December, carrying with him Marshal Tallard and the rest of his more distinguished prisoners, together with the standards he had taken and the other trophies of his great victory. His reception was in every way flattering, and all classes seemed in an ecstasy except the ultra-Tories, who threatened nothing less than an impeachment for what, even after its success, they chose to style his *rash* march to the Danube.

While Marlborough had been fighting on the Danube, another English force under the command of the Duke of Schomberg, and then of the Earl of Galway, had been engaged on the Tagus, the Douro, and the frontiers of Spain. The Archduke Charles, or, as he was now called, King Charles of Spain, had been conveyed to Portugal by our English fleet; and 6000 English and Dutch troops were sent to assist him in his bold enterprise of invading Spain and dethroning Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV. Great preparations had been counted upon on the part of the King of Portugal, now a member of the confederacy; but when the English and Dutch arrived in this country they found that he had prepared nothing, and that they must distribute themselves among the garrisons on his frontiers, which were menaced by the Duke of Berwick, the natural son of James II. (by Arabella Churchill, the sister of Marlborough), but now a Spanish grandee, and in the service of the French King of Spain. And, in effect, Portugal, instead of invading, was invaded. Berwick entered at one point, and took the town of Segura, while Villadarias entered at another. King Philip soon joined Berwick in person, and then Portalegre was invested, and the garrison, including an English regiment of foot, compelled to surrender. Philip or Berwick then moved to Castel Davide, and that place also surrendered at discretion. On the other hand, the allies, to make a diversion, sent Das Minas into Spain with 15,000 men; and this general took one or two places in Castile, and defeated a body of French and Spanish troops.

---

[1] *Marlborough Despatches*, as lately published by General Sir George Murray; Coxe, *Life of Marlborough;* Hare's *Journal;* Coxe, *Marlborough MSS.*, as existing in copies in the British Museum; *Life and Reign of Queen Anne; Roger Coke;* Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

In the meanwhile the ROCK OF GIBRALTAR had been taken by the English, rather by accident than by any matured design. Sir George Rooke, after landing King Charles at Lisbon, proceeded to the Mediterranean. He failed in an attempt upon Barcelona; and upon hearing that the Count de Toulouse (a natural son of Louis XIV.) was coming into the Mediterranean with the Brest fleet, in order to join the Toulon fleet, he slipped down towards the straits, and, going through them, formed a junction with a good squadron under Sir Cloudesley Shovel. Nothing more was heard of the Count de Toulouse, who had passed Rooke while on his way downward from Toulon, without being seen by any of our fleet. On the 17th of July, when Rooke and Shovel were a little to the eastward of Tetuan, a council of war was held on board the *Royal Catherine*, wherein it was represented that the most important place of arms, Gibraltar, was at that moment weakly garrisoned, and resolved thereupon that an attempt should be made to carry the place by a sudden assault. On the 21st the whole fleet came to anchor in Gibraltar Bay. The marines, amounting to about 2000 men, were put under the command of the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, and landed on that narrow, short, sandy isthmus which connects the all but isolated rock with the main, and which is now known by the name of the "Neutral Ground." Having thus cut off his communications with the country, Hesse summoned the Spanish governor, who, weak as he was, declared that he would defend the place to the utmost. On the following day, Rooke ordered Rear-admiral Byng and Rear-admiral Vanderdussen to range their ships in a line and batter the works. On the morrow (the 23d), soon after day-break, the ships lay with their broadsides to the works: Rooke gave the signal, and the cannonading was commenced with tremendous effect. Fifteen thousand shots were discharged within five or six hours. The south molehead was demolished, and the Spaniards at nearly all points were beaten from their guns. Captain Whittaker was ordered to take all the boats, filled with marines and sailors, and to possess himself of the south molehead. The boats were soon ready, and Captain Jumper and Captain Hicks, being the foremost in their pinnaces, landed on the mole sword in hand, being followed by their men and others from other boats. But their footing was insecure—they were treading upon a mine, which the Spaniards now sprung. The explosion was terrific, and when the smoke cleared away two English officers and about 100 men were found killed or wounded. The rest of the assailants, however, kept their ground; others followed them, the sailors climbing up the face of the rock as nimbly as the monkeys which are native to it. Captain Whittaker joined Jumper and Hicks on a platform, and then led the seamen up to a redoubt between the mole and the town. The Prince of Hesse, in the meanwhile, was doing what he could with the marines on the side of the isthmus

THE ROCK OF GIBRALTAR, from the Neutral Ground.—From a view by D. Roberts, R.A.

—which, from the nature of the ground, was very little—and other bodies of sailors effected a landing between Europa Point and the town. Captain Whittaker's party soon carried the redoubt, and thereupon the Spanish governor capitulated, and threw open the gates which led to the isthmus, for the entrance of the Prince of Hesse and the marines. Thus was carried in three days the famous old rock, which has since sustained sieges of many months' duration, baffling more than once the united power of France and Spain—a place so strong by nature, and so fortified by modern science, by successive excavations and other works, that it can scarcely be taken from us so long as England remains sufficiently strong at sea to keep it supplied with provisions and ammunition. Admiral Rooke, leaving the Prince of Hesse and the marines to garrison the valuable conquest, sailed again up the Mediterranean. On the 9th of August he came in sight of the united Brest and Toulon fleets, all clean out of harbour and in excellent condition; whereas the English and Dutch ships were foul and thinly manned, having been long from home, and weakened by casualties, drafts, and the recent abstraction of nearly all their marines. Rooke, however, determined to engage, and on Sunday, the 13th of August, he came up with the French, under the supreme command of the Count de Toulouse, off Malaga. The count had fifty-two ships, many of which were first-rates, and twenty-four galleys: Rooke, between English and Dutch, had fifty-three ships, but scarcely any first-rates among them, and a few frigates that were ordered to check the French galleys. The allies bore down upon the French, who were formed in line; and the battle began at ten o'clock. In the course of an hour or two some of Rooke's ships were obliged to quit the line for want of gunpowder! At about two in the afternoon the van of the French gave way; but the fight was maintained at longer shots till night set in, when Toulouse bore away to leeward under a light breeze. On the following morning the wind shifted, and gave the French the advantage of the weather-gauge; but though they were close within sight, they made no use of this advantage; and on the 15th Toulouse slided off for Toulon, followed closely by Rooke, who would have renewed the combat had he been able. As it ended, the affair off Malaga was little better than a drawn battle; not a ship on either side was taken or destroyed; but the loss of human life was great, and here the French suffered most.[1] Nor was the Count de Toulouse left in a state to take the sea again this summer. In fact, the French did not venture another great engagement at sea during the whole war.

Every exploit was now weighed in England in the balances of party and faction. The Whigs had their favourite hero, the Tories theirs; and each of these classes laboured to underrate the services of their opponents. In the House of Lords, where the Whigs prevailed, and where Marlborough was considered as a convert to the party, nothing was spoken of but the glory of our arms upon the Danube and the great battle of Blenheim; not so much as an allusion being made to Rooke's valuable capture of Gibraltar, or to his hard-fought battle off Malaga: in the commons, where the Tories still prevailed, and where Rooke was considered as a pillar of the party, they made as much of that admiral's skill and courage as of Marlborough's; and coupled in one sentence the battles of Blenheim and Malaga.

The occasional conformity bill, though twice rejected, was again brought forward, to the great disgust of Godolphin, who, after many vain attempts to moderate that party, abandoned the Tories altogether, and began to put himself in a hostile attitude towards them. The bill, still further mitigated, but still oppressive, was carried through the commons, where Bromley, the mover, declared that the Church of England was in as much danger from dissenters as it was in from Papists when the test was enacted; but it was again thrown out in the lords by a considerable majority, Godolphin, who had formerly voted for it to conciliate the queen, now directly opposing it. Godolphin at this trying moment derived strength from the growing greatness of his near ally, Marlborough; and he and other statesmen seemed at last to have made up their minds to effect the union of England and Scotland.

A.D. 1705. On the 17th of February, Anne informed the House of Commons that she purposed to convey to the Duke of Marlborough and his heirs, the interest of the crown in the manor and honour of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootton, and requested supplies to enable her to clear off the encumbrances on that princely domain. A bill was forthwith passed by both houses, and received the royal assent early in March. And Anne accompanied the grant with an order to the board of works to erect, at the expense of the crown, a splendid palace, to bear the name of Blenheim. Sir George Rooke, on the other hand, nearly got an impeachment instead of a palace and princely manor. The Whigs in the House of Lords commenced an inquiry into various mismanagements, alleged to have taken place in the navy and admiralty departments, which were chiefly under the direction of Rooke, whom the commons spared because he was a Tory. Some doubt may be entertained whether the admiral was guilty to any serious extent; but the Whigs had now a firm hold on Marlborough, and, through him and his wife, upon the queen; and Rooke was dismissed when their lordships presented their elaborate representation, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel was appointed to the command of the fleet. This was a season of utter depression to the Tory party.

---

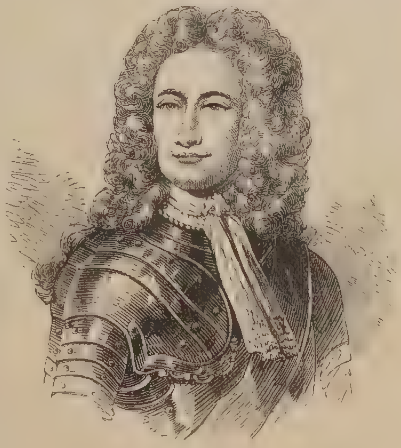
[1] The loss of the English and Dutch in killed and wounded was computed at nearly 3000 men; but as the French lost 200 officers, it was assumed that, in proportion, some 4000 of their men must have been killed or wounded. Both sides most indisputably fought with great bravery while the battle lasted.

Blenheim House, Woodstock.—From a drawing in the King's Collection, British Museum.

On the 14th of March, Anne put an end to the session by prorogation; and, on the 5th of April following, she dissolved this high Tory House of Commons by proclamation. "It was no small blessing," says the Whig Bishop Burnet, "to the queen and to the nation that they had got well out of such hands." According to the Tories, "the Whigs had leaped into the saddle again" by the practice of base arts and manœuvres, had thrown open the flood-gates of Presbyterianism, of universal dissent and republicanism, and had exposed both church and state to inevitable destruction. The Whigs certainly showed a disposition to get everything into their own hands; new promotions of men of their party were made in the church, in the navy, in the army; and there were sweeping alterations in the lord-lieutenancies of counties.

In the month of April Marlborough went to the wars, hoping to be able to act with 90,000 men upon the Moselle. But he encountered innumerable difficulties on the part of the states-general, the empire, and other members of the confederacy, and the campaign of 1705 closed ingloriously for the allies. In the course of the summer the Emperor Leopold died, and was succeeded by his son Joseph, both in his hereditary and elective dignities.

Prince Eugene was now in Italy with a weak army, and a dispirited colleague in the Duke of Savoy. The campaign in Portugal opened advantageously for the allies, and more might have been done there had it not been for the jealousies and dissensions of the Earl of Galway, who commanded the English, Fagel, who commanded the Dutch, and Das Minas, who commanded the Portuguese. Spain was invaded by sea by a small English army, under the command of the most daring and most brilliant soldier of the day, who only wanted a few sober qualities to be a rival to the fortunate Marlborough. This was the witty, eccentric, and unscrupulous Lord Mordaunt, now (by the death of his uncle, in 1697) Earl of Peterborough, who sailed from Portsmouth in the month of June with about 5000 men, embarked in a fleet commanded by Sir Cloudesley Shovel. At Lisbon they took on board the Austrian claimant Charles. At the Rock some more troops were embarked; and then Peterborough, with Charles and the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, set sail for the coast of Valencia. Peterborough landed, took the small fort of Denia, circulated proclamations in the name of Charles III., and finding the dispositions of the Spaniards in those parts to be very favourable, and that insurrections against the French claimant Philip had broken out in other quarters, he, with his characteristic daring, proposed making a forced march inland, and setting the Austrian on the throne at Madrid, which capital he was confident he could carry by a *coup de main.* But those who were acting with Peterborough


Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough.
After Sir G. Kneller.

had none of his romantic boldness; his project was overruled, and he was constrained to go and undertake the siege of Barcelona. It may be doubted whether it would not have been easier to march and take Madrid. There were 5000 brave men within the walls of Barcelona; the Spaniards in all ages have been famous for their resistance in such places, and the fortifications had recently undergone considerable repairs. Yet Peterborough landed, sat down before the place in the end of August, with little more than 6000 effective men, drove on the siege with a daring contempt for all rules and precedents, and made himself master of Barcelona on the 4th of September. Immediately after this remarkable achievement, the whole of Catalonia and every fortified place in it, with the exception of Rosas, submitted to Charles. But Peterborough was not the man to sleep under his laurels; he flew in search of fresh exploits, and led his troops over the ground as fast as Spanish cabinet couriers travelled. St. Matteo, which had declared for the Austrian, was invested by an army which served King Philip; the place was thirty leagues distant from Barcelona, and the roads were like what Spanish roads have always been and still are; but Peterborough was there in a week; St. Matteo was relieved; and thence, continuing his meteor-like course, and never stopping till he reached the city of Valencia, he saw the whole of that province reduced to obedience, or confirmed in its submission to Charles, with the exception of the seaport of Alicante, which held out for Philip. The whole of this campaign is like a piece of romance, and by it Peterborough indisputably gave to the military history of his country one of its most sparkling episodes.

During these brilliant operations there was a party-war at home, which was prosecuted without any chivalry or romance, but with infinite cunning, and still more animosity. The high Tories made a kind of death-struggle; but the court-ground, their best position, sunk beneath their feet; and Anne, after a long struggle with herself, wholly deprived the party of the light of her countenance. When the new parliament met, in the month of October, it was found that the Whigs had the majority, and that the Tories, in spite of their abstract doctrines, had resolved to show as little respect to the court as oppositions generally do. The queen's opening speech was the production of the new Whig Lord-keeper Cowper, and the whole thing bore the impress of Whig feeling. In it Anne announced, more strongly than before, her intention of continuing the war till the Bourbon prince was driven from Spain, and the Austrian fully established upon that throne. The lords, in their address, not only concurred with her majesty, but desired and besought her to prosecute and punish with the utmost rigour of the law all those who should suggest that the church was in danger; such men being the most spiteful and dangerous enemies to both church and state. The commons also, in their address, expressed their indignation at the high-church cry, which was now raised with a louder note than ever, and stigmatized those who raised it and kept it up as incendiaries. The first effort the Tories made in opposition was in the upper house, on the 15th of November. Lord Haversham proposed that, for the security of the Protestant succession, the church, &c., an address should be presented to her majesty, praying her to invite over the presumptive heir to the crown to reside here; that is to say, the Electress Sophia, who was, in religion, not an Anglican, but a Lutheran, and who was many years older than the queen. Haversham, who made this singular proposal, had been a Whig; but disappointment had made him join the Tories, who had now made up their minds to go beyond the Whigs themselves in their zeal for the House of Hanover. By this course they seemed to have promised themselves many advantages, either direct or indirect: by expressing an anxiety for this Protestant succession, they fell in with the prevailing popular feeling, and so might escape in part the old imputations of Jacobitism, or a leaning to the pretender after Anne's death; if the Electress Sophia came over, her son, Prince George, would be a resident or a frequent visitor, and then there would be two courts and two court parties, and the consequent dissensions and intrigues might lift them into the places from which the Whigs had made them descend—might derange the whole scheme of the succession, and leave them the power of making a new one, with a large margin for their personal interests and advancements. Many of the party most undoubtedly looked to the enthronement of the pretender; but a still greater number had no very decided partiality either for the house of Stuart or the house of Hanover, except such as arose out of their interests and hopes of re-establishing themselves in place. Others there were that were actuated merely by spite against the queen for her recent abandonment of them; and these men well knew that the name of Hanover was odious to her ears—that Anne could never hear mention of the electress or of her son (who had once rejected her as a bride) without irritation and extreme uneasiness. Princes, too, generally hate those who are to succeed them, even when they are of their own flesh and blood; but in the present case the feeling was the more bitter on account of remoteness of connection, difference in language, in manners, and in everything, and by reason of the slight which the unforgiving Anne had received in her youth. None knew this better than the Duke of Buckingham, her own uncle the Earl of Rochester, and her former counsellor the Earl of Nottingham, who all three supported Lord Haversham's motion. Buckingham, whose wrongs—as he considered his dismissal—were most recent, throwing aside all delicacy, all decency, put the case of the queen's falling into a state of dotage, and so becoming the tool of others; and he and his friends further urged, that, having sworn to maintain the Protestant succession, they were bound to take the step they now proposed; that the best way of securing that succession was to have the successor on the spot, ready to assert his rights; that if the Archduke Charles had been resident in Spain at the demise of the late king, the present war of succession would, in all probability, never have existed. Anne, though probably unseen, was present at this debate; she was shocked at what she termed "malice and insolence;" and her partial and temporary conversion to Whiggism was perhaps more forwarded by this debate, than even by the earnest advocacy of her Grace of Marlborough. But while the queen raved under the infliction, the Tories, whose party motto was a delicate regard to, and a *quasi* adoration of royalty, fancied they had put the Whigs between the sharp horns of a dilemma; for, if they opposed the motion, they must run a risk of losing their popularity at home, and incensing the house of Hanover abroad; and, if they acquiesced, they would be sure to lose their hold upon the queen, who would as soon have seen Lucifer himself at the court of St. James's, as the Electress Sophia or her blunt son George. But the Whigs extricated themselves with address and eloquence.

The Earl of Wharton proposed that the Hanoverian succession should be strengthened by bringing in a bill establishing an eventual council of regency, which should be empowered to act on the demise of the queen, till the successor should arrive and take actual possession. Haversham's motion was lost, and this bill was brought in and passed. By it the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord-chancellor or keeper, the lord-president, the lord-treasurer, the lord privy-seal, the lord high-admiral, and the lord chief-justice of England, for the time being, were to form and constitute this brief regency, whenever the event of her majesty's death should happen. And, as the Whigs knew that this unavoidable rub would cause unpleasant feelings in Hanover, they made haste to pass a bill of naturalization, extending to all the descendants of Princess Sophia, wheresoever or whensoever born, and to send over the courteous and accomplished Earl of Halifax with the order of the Garter for the electoral Prince George. Besides this bit of ribbon, Halifax carried with him letters from Lord Somers, Cowper, and others of the Whig leaders, who were all anxious to explain their conduct in regard to Lord Haversham's motion, and to secure the good-will of that illustrious house. The result was, that the electress and her son were "charmed," and the Guelphs then commenced that close alliance with the Whig party which did not end, and was scarcely interrupted, until some years after the accession of George III.

Pursuing their great success, the Whigs resolved to take the cry of "the church in danger" out of the mouths of their opponents, by bringing the matter to a direct vote. Halifax moved that a day might be appointed to inquire into this alleged danger. The challenge was accepted; and on the 6th of December a vehement debate was begun. Lord Wharton again enlivened the subject with his wit:—"In all," said he, "that I have read and heard, I can find but one fact, and that is, that the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Rochester, the Earl of Nottingham, and other Tories, are *out of place*." In the end it was resolved "that the Church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the extremest danger by King William III., of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever goes about to suggest and insinuate that the church is in danger under her majesty's administration, is an enemy to the queen, the church, and the kingdom." The resolution was carried by a majority of sixty-one to thirty; the queen was present at the debate. The commons adopted their lordships' resolution by a majority of 212 to 160; and then the two houses addressed her majesty, expressing their indignation against such wicked people as should again raise the alarm-cry, and begging her to cause their joint resolution to be universally known, in order to deter men from spreading such reports. Anne ordered a proclamation to be issued accordingly.

A.D. 1706. Still further to curb the high-church party, the Whigs induced Anne to put an end to the vehement disputes which agitated the convocation of the clergy, by commanding the archbishop to prorogue the meeting forthwith. A few days after this, or on the 19th of March, Anne, with a very gracious speech, prorogued parliament also.

In April, Marlborough left England for the wars. The presumptuous and incompetent Villeroy, at the head of 80,000 men, resolving to risk a battle, and to efface the disgrace which France had sustained at Blenheim, broke up from his strong positions behind the Dyle, crossed that river, and advanced to the Mehaigne, on the bank of which he encamped on the morning of Whitsunday, May 23 (N. S.) He posted himself most imprudently, and yet felt assured of victory. "You are lost," cried M. de Gassion, one of his lieutenant-generals, "if you do not change your order of battle. If you lose a moment there is no longer any resource." The obstinate marshal remained as he was, and was soon and most thoroughly defeated. Almost all the cannon and the whole of his baggage fell into the hands of the victors. Lord Orkney, with some squadrons of light horse, continued the pursuit to the vicinity of Louvain, nearly seven leagues from the field of battle; nor did Villeroy consider himself safe until he reached the walls of Brussels. He had lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, upwards of 13,000 men, with eighty colours and standards; while Marlborough only acknowledged 1000 killed and 2000 wounded. By the battle of Blenheim, Marlborough had gained Bavaria and Cologne; by the battle of Ramillies, the French lost the whole of the Spanish Netherlands. In a very short time Louvain, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, and other towns, submitted without resistance, and acknowledged the Austrian Charles; Ostend, Dendermonde, Ath, and Ménin made a show of resistance, but in sieges of from four days' to three months' duration, they were all reduced.

Louis XIV. tried to derive some consolation from the hope that his reverses and losses in Flanders might be balanced by the capture of Turin, the Duke of Savoy's capital. The Duke de la Feuillade was before that city with 100 battalions, forty-six squadrons, 140 pieces of cannon, and 21,000 bombs, while the Prince Eugene, the sole buckler and defence of the falling state, was beyond the Adige, and to all appearance kept in check by a long chain of entrenchments. But in spite of the Duke of Orleans (afterwards the regent infamous by that name), who had succeeded Vendome in the supreme command of the army of Italy, Eugene, by an admirable combination of military science, courage, and perseverance, came up to Turin, attacked the French in their lines of circumvallation, defeated them with the loss of their cannon, baggage, and 9000 slain or prisoners, and drove Orleans and De la Feuillade out of Italy to the borders of Dauphiné.[1]

In Spain the French had been much less successful. Peterborough and Galway both proposed marching upon Madrid, the one to advance from the shores of the Mediterranean, the other from the frontiers of Portugal; but early in the spring King Philip put himself at the head of a united Spanish and French army, in the hope of recovering Barcelona. He invested that city by land, while the Count de Toulouse bombarded it by sea; King Charles was cooped up in the town, and implored Peterborough to come to his relief. The eccentric English general flew from Valencia with a small force, which must have failed if the timely appearance of an English fleet, under Vice-admiral Leake, had not put to flight the Count de Toulouse. Upon the hasty retreat of the French admiral, who did not stay to exchange a single shot with the English, Philip, who had taken the castle, raised the siege of the town and retreated. At this crisis the French claimant again called to his assistance the Duke of Berwick, who had been dismissed only because the young queen did not like his dark countenance and his dry manners, and who now gathered what forces he could to cover the capital. But when Philip arrived there from Barcelona, discomfited and dispirited, all idea was given up of defending Madrid, and Berwick and Philip retreated together. Lord Galway, who in the meantime had been moving from the Portuguese frontier, took possession of Madrid, without resistance, on the 24th of June. But Philip and Berwick rallied upon the frontier, and, receiving reinforcements from France, they returned back upon the capital, which Galway abandoned without a blow, marching away upon Aragon, where he hoped to form a junction with Lord Peterborough and King Charles. If that junction had been effected in time, Philip must have been again driven from Madrid, and a permanent occupation effected there by the allies. But the French prince was saved by the caution and cowardliness of his Austrian rival, who hesitated to venture so far into the interior of the country, who did not join Galway at Guadalaxara till the 6th of August, and who then seemed determined to remain there till doomsday. Peterborough, who had the disadvantage of a bad, or at least a very fiery and impatient temper, prayed, remonstrated, stormed, and swore; and finding all was in vain he threw up the cards he was not allowed to play,[1] and, with some very uncourteous expressions about Charles, he went back to the coast of the Mediterranean, embarked in a new English squadron, and sailed away to relieve the Duke of Savoy (not yet made victorious by Eugene), and to conquer the island of Minorca. Upon his departure Lord Galway, the Portuguese general, and the leaders of the Spanish party in the interest of Austria, quarrelled among themselves, and united together in one general quarrel with the Austrian ministers, and in an unanimous complaint of the tardiness of King Charles. They were without money, without magazines, and almost without any kind of provisions. Berwick was near them with a superior force. Nothing was left but to retreat by the only roads which remained open to them; and about the middle of August they struck off, by hasty marches, towards Valencia and the mountains of New Castile. They suffered great hardships;[2] but by the 29th of September they reached Requena, the last town in New Castile, where they considered themselves safe and went into quarters. King Charles went on to the city of Valencia. Peterborough, in the meanwhile, had been brought back to the Spanish coast, as the squadron in which he had embarked received orders from England to hasten to the West Indies, and as intelligence was received from Turin of Prince Eugene's great victory. His lordship remained a short time to press the siege of Alicante, which was taken by the allies; and then he embarked in a single ship for Genoa to endeavour to borrow money from that republic, and to act as a sort of loan-maker-general for the confederacy. It appears that there were great faults committed besides those which are attributable to King Charles and his generals in the field. There can, indeed, be no doubt whatever that there were a thousand conflicting jealousies and interests, and that the whole of the campaign was miserably managed; but, with our knowledge of what passed in this war of succession, and of the struggles which have repeatedly happened in that country since then, we may very reasonably doubt whether the greatest efforts of which England and her allies were capable, and the most perfect military and political skill united, could have speedily terminated a war in a country where wars ever have been obstinate and protracted, or could have succeeded in the end in imposing upon the Spanish people a king they did not choose, or in dethroning the king to whom the vast majority of the nation had indisputably pledged their honour and affection.

---

[1] Speaking of this time, De Sismondi says:—

"If it was the Spaniards that saw the allies make most conquests at their expense, it was the French that found the war most costly in men, and whose military resources of every kind were most exhausted by it. Never before had such numerous armies been raised, and never had the mortality been so frightful, whether in battles, in camps, or in hospitals. Three French armies had been almost destroyed at Blenheim, at Ramillies, at Turin; and, at the same time that recruiting encountered infinite difficulties, the arsenals were emptied of arms of all sorts, of munitions of war, and army carriages. It must have required enormous sums to replace at once all these annihilated means; but what was most of all wanting in France was money. The growing distress of the country had long been complained of in France. We have seen, that as early as in 1675 a philosophic traveller had remarked the impoverishment of the provinces. This decline had been much augmented by thirty years of wars and internal persecutions; and, in fact, the letters of Mme. de Maintenon often give us glimpses of the desolation of the provinces, the suffering, the hunger that were felt, not only by the artisans and the peasantry, but even by the gentry in their little chateaux, and by nuns in their convents. Other writers of that time, while inexhaustible on the subject of the details of battles and court intrigues, hardly allow us to have a view of the people at all.

"It was, nevertheless, from this ruined people that there had to be levied the ever-new contributions required to meet the ever-increasing expenses. The *taille*, the *gabelles*, the *aides*, the five great farms, the poll-tax, and the tenth, were always the most important of the ordinary imposts; and those that had been pushed as far as possible hardly varied at all. Every year, indeed, some new taxes were added. We see mentioned tobacco, wigs, a half-penny per pound on fowls and game, the 'control' on the publication of the bans of marriage; but all these imposts, vexatious enough in the collecting of them, and burdensome enough to those who paid them, brought in very little." M. Sismondi goes on to state that the sale of simple life-annuities proving insufficient, the minister tried to seduce capitalists by exposing annually to sale an infinite number of new public offices. "Nevertheless, all these new functionaries, whose odd titles astonish us in running over them, and whose functions were vexatious to individuals and thwarted trade, on comparing the price of their offices with the emoluments attached to them, laid out their money at about 8 per cent."

"Yet this was not the most ruinous of the expedients to which the distress of the treasury compelled M. de Chamillart to have recourse. There is one of frequent recurrence during the last years of Louis XIV.'s reign, and which is, at the same time, so oppressive to the whole body of the public, and so little advantageous to the treasury, that it is not easy to conceive how men of sense could attempt it. This was the remelting of the coin. . . . Louis d'ors were to fall, in the course of the year, from 14 livres to 12 livres 15 sous, and the crowns from 4 livres to 3 livres 7 sous; but the depreciation was gradual, from three months to three months. Capitalists were thus wearied out and disgusted with the coins of which they were the bearers. Then a remelting was announced; and the new louis, of the same weight and denomination as the old, were to pass for twenty sous more, and the same in proportion with the crowns. Private parties, consequently, took to the mint nominally 321,000,000 coins, on which the king made a nominal profit of 29,000,000, but foreigners hastened to compete with him by purchasing the old pieces and coverting them into new coin, on which they drew the profit. The same operation, called *billonnage*, was repeated in 1704, when the difference between the old and the new coin of the same weight and denomination was carried to one-sixth; and this time there were only 115,000,000 carried to the mint. The more the remeltings were multiplied, the more did the profits on billonnage pass to foreigners. Meanwhile, the common measure of values was so altered that commerce had become a game of chance, and nobody knew exactly what he possessed."—*Histoire des Français*, chap. xl.

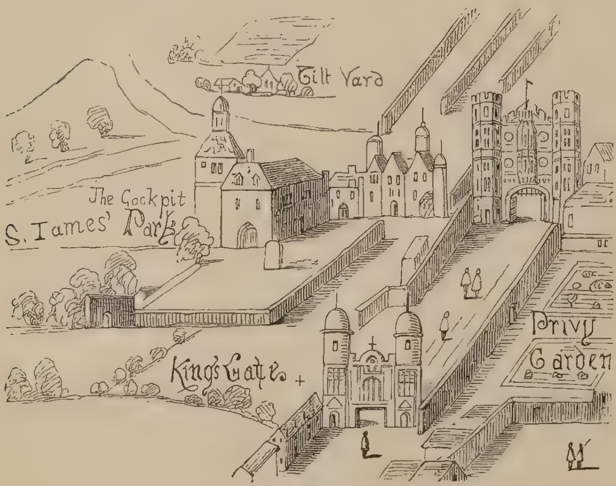
But we return to our own island, where a much more important object for us, and one which had long seemed an impossibility, was carried and all but perfected in the course of this eventful year. The English commissioners appointed by the queen to treat about the union with Scotland had been engaged very laboriously, having for their secretary that great writer Daniel Defoe, who has left us the completest account of that greatest of all our political transactions.[3] On the 3d of October, when the aversion between the two kingdoms seemed at its greatest height, the Duke of Queensberry—who had acted throughout, with wonderful prudence and circumspection, and who, with Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, had contrived to remove many of the difficulties on the

---

[1] In the *Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick*, the hasty departure of Peterborough is attributed to his jealousy of Galway, who insisted upon retaining the superior command.

[2] According to Berwick the other army suffered just as much, and were equally ill supplied with provisions. So poor and bare was that great kingdom!

[3] *The History of the Union between England and Scotland*, with an Appendix of Original Papers, by Daniel Defoe.



The Cock-pit, St. James's.[1]—From Aggas' Map of London.

part of the Scots—opened, as lord-commissioner for Queen Anne, the last parliament that ever sat at Edinburgh. He read the queen's letter, which served instead of her opening speech: it informed the estates of Scotland that the articles of the treaty of union had been agreed upon in London by the joint commissioners appointed for that purpose, and it recommended the immediate adoption of that treaty "as the only effectual way to secure their present and future happiness." The queen assured them that Scotland should have its full share of all the advantages to be derived from this union of the two kingdoms; and after reading her letter, Queensberry informed them that the treaty which had been happily agreed on was in the lord-register's hands, ready to be laid before them. His grace proceeded to declare that the Scottish commissioners had been diligent and zealous in watching over the interests and honour of their country, and in concerting just and reasonable terms; and that her majesty had most graciously received and approved of the treaty. He then spoke of that most delicate and difficult of all matters—*the kirk.* "The lords-commissioners for both kingdoms," said he, "are limiting the matter of church government: for the security of Presbyterian government in this church you have the laws already made for its establishment, the queen's repeated assurances to preserve it, and I am empowered to consent to what may be further necessary after the union." The Earl of Seafield, the chancellor, said, "We can never expect a more favourable juncture for completing this union than at present, when her majesty has not only recommended it, but declared that she will esteem it the greatest glory of her reign to have it perfected; and when the parliament of England have shown their inclination for it by removing all those obstacles that lay in the way of the treaty; and it must also be acknowledged, that the lords-commissioners for England did testify their good disposition all along in this affair: and the great and glorious successes wherewith God has blessed her majesty's arms, give us the hope of a near and advantageous peace, whereby we will be put in possession, and attain to the full enjoyment of all the liberties and privileges of trade now offered by the treaty." The treaty, as it was drawn up and signed, was then read, and after a loose and short debate, it was ordered to be printed, and copies to be delivered to all the members of parliament. Till this was done everything had gone on well; but no sooner were the articles printed and put into the hands of the people, than a tremendous storm arose. The elements of this tempest were many, but the popular arguments which most excited the Scots were these:—that the treaty was dishonourable to Scotland, as it surrendered her separate sovereignty and constitution, and subjected her to her ancient and implacable enemy—that it destroyed the dignity of a kingdom which had defended her liberty against England with such gallantry for so many hundred years—that it would make slaves of her brave sons, who must now be represented at Westminster by a handful of members, who would never be able to carry a question, or make any weight there, but just for form's sake sit in the English house, and be laughed at—that Scotland would not be like an ancient kingdom, but like a province of England. In a frenzy of indignation the people began to cry out that they were Scotsmen, and would be Scotsmen still—that their commissioners and ministers were traitors—and that there should be "no union." They insulted to their faces and threatened all the men in office, and all that expressed opinions favourable to the treaty.

---

[1] The chief scene of the labours of the commissioners was the council chamber in the Cock-pit, St. James's. "On the right hand (of Whitehall gate, says Stow) be divers faire tennis courts, bowling alleyes, and a cocke-pit, all built by King Henry the Eight; and then one other arched gate, with a way over it thwarting the street, frō the king's gardens to the said (St. James's) parke."

According to Defoe, who was on the spot, and a most careful observer of all that was passing, the religious feeling was even stronger than the merely national one. To keep it alive, it was artfully represented by those inimical to the union that the establishment of the kirk would be subjected to the votes of the British or united parliament, where the Scottish members would be few and powerless, and where the English prelates would have a voice against them—that, if these bishops should please to vote Episcopacy into Scotland, they might get a majority, and the thing would be done, the curse would be completed! The most that the kirk could expect would be a precarious and uncertain toleration, for which she must go a-begging to the lawn-sleeved legislators of England. And then there came a universal cry that such a union would be a plain breach of the National Covenant and Solemn League, by which the nation had bound themselves by oath to Almighty God to endeavour the pulling down the Episcopal hierarchy, *and to reform to the utmost of their power the Church of England also.* "All these things," says Defoe, "were not only brought as arguments, but pushed with so much heat, so much want of charity and courtesy, that really it began to break all good neighbourhood; it soured all societies, and the national quarrel broke into families, who were ever jangling, divided, and opposite one among another." The heat was still further kept up by Mr. Hodges, a political writer, who had formerly been in the pay of the Scottish parliament, and who now produced a big book against an incorporate union with England, which he described as a faithless, wicked, treacherous, and abominable nation, that would entail God's judgment upon Scotland by her national sins, and overthrow the Scottish kirk by the predominance of her parliament. From the 3d of October to the 1st of November, the ferment continued on the increase, and the whole kingdom seemed resolute to risk a war rather than submit to the proposed incorporation with England. The whole of the party, or combination of heterogeneous parties, that opposed the treaty, exerted themselves to the utmost in parliament; several of them taking the oaths to Anne for the first time, in order to be able to vote against the union. But as these gentlemen were visibly in the minority, a cry was raised out of doors that the members of parliament had no right to alter the constitution without the particular and direct consent of their constituents; and that, therefore, the session ought to be adjourned for some time, in order that the members might go down to the country and know the minds of their respective constituencies. But finding that this was not much regarded by the members, and that precedents were against them, they resorted to public addresses and harangues at market-crosses; and they easily produced mobs, tumults, insulting of magistrates, flight of gentlemen from their houses, and all kinds of popular disorders. The enemies of the union hoped great things—in the way of riot, insurrection, and downright rebellion—from a public fast and day of prayer; but the day came and passed off quietly, for "the Presbyterian preachers generally, as well those who were against the union as those that were for it, applied themselves only summarily to the substance, namely, that all the determinations of the estates of parliament, with respect to a union with England, might be influenced and directed by Divine wisdom, the glory of God, the good of religion, and particularly of the Church of Scotland."[1] If the preachers had been less calm and circumspect the union would have been baptized in blood. Yet, as it was, not a few lives were threatened by the rabble of Edinburgh and Leith; the Duke of Queensberry was obliged to call out the troops and keep them constantly under arms; and the union, the pledge and assurance of peace, tranquillity, and prosperity, was carried under cover of arms. The first article, namely, whether there should be a union with England in the sense of the present treaty, or not, was carried in the affirmative on the 4th of November, the birth-day of the late King William, and the anniversary of his happy arrival at Torbay. Every article, every clause, was disputed word by word, and every possible objection was started and hotly maintained by the anti-unionists.

The Duke of Hamilton, who had protested against the primary article, against the vote that sufficient security was given to the kirk, and against the resolution to go on with the treaty without adjournments or delays, was, at the very moment engaged actively in a correspondence with the court of St. Germain and the Jacobite agents. Of a sudden, however, the heat of his opposition seemed to cool; and few, or none, at that day knew or suspected the reason of his change. "At that critical juncture," says his grandson, "the Duke of Hamilton received a letter from Lord Middleton, secretary of state to the court of St. Germain, wherein, after acquainting him with recent engagements his master (the pretender) had just taken with Queen Anne's ministers, in order to procure a peace with the French king, to whom he stood so much indebted, he proceeds with telling him that he beseeched his grace, in the behalf of his master, to forbear giving any further opposition to the union, as he (the pretender) had extremely at heart to give to his sister this proof of his ready compliance with her wishes; not doubting but he would one day have it in his power to restore to Scotland its ancient weight and independence." Middleton recommended Hamilton to keep the business "a profound secret," as he must be sensible that a discovery might materially prejudice their interests both in Scotland and in England. According to his somewhat partial descendant, Hamilton was thunderstruck at this unexpected request, wounded to the quick at not having had some previous notice of the secret negotiations, and reduced by anxiety of mind to the brink of the grave, and to a condition in which he was unable to exert himself.[1] It is said that the commissioners for the treaty were further assisted at this time by the remittance from England of £20,000, which was distributed so judiciously among the *patriots*, that the voice of opposition became as soft as that of the turtle-dove. It appears, also, that most liberal promises were made of places, and honours, and court distinctions, and of remuneration to those who had lost the most in the unhappy Darien scheme. Whatever were the influences exercised, directly or indirectly—we do not pretend to have indicated or alluded to one-half of them—the treaty of union was approved of by a majority of 110; and on the 25th of March in the following year (1707) the last of the parliaments of Scotland rose never to meet again. The chief provisions of the union thus finally effected were:—1. That the two kingdoms should upon the first day of May next ensuing, and for ever after, be united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain. 2 That the succession to the monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, after her most sacred majesty, in default of issue of her body, should be and continue in the most excellent Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess-dowager of Hanover, and the heirs of her body being Protestants. 3. That the United Kingdom of Great Britain should be represented by one and the same parliament, to be styled the Parliament of Great Britain. 4. That all the subjects of the United Kingdom should, from and after the union, have full freedom and intercourse of trade and navigation, to and from any port or place within the United Kingdom, and the dominions and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there should be a communication of all other rights, privileges, and advantages, which did or might belong to the subjects of either kingdom, except where it was otherwise expressly agreed in the articles. 5. That all ships or vessels belonging to the subjects of Scotland, though foreign built, should be deemed and passed as the ships of Great Britain, &c. 6. That all parts of the United Kingdom should have the same commercial allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, and be under the same prohibitions, restrictions, and regulations of trade, and liable to the same customs and duties on import and export, as were settled in England at the time of the union.

---

[1] *Defoe.*

A.D. 1707. The English parliament, which had assembled on the 3d of December, was informed by the queen on the 28th of January, that the articles of union had been adopted by act of parliament in Scotland, "with some alterations and additions;" and that the treaty as agreed upon by the commissioners of both kingdoms should be laid before them. The mention of money to be paid to Scotland as an equivalent for the share she was to take in the debts of England, clouded the countenances of many of the English commons; and when the treaty came under discussion other financial reasons were laid hold of, and joined with religious intolerance, and with old but insane jealousies, to obstruct or defeat the great political measure of that age. The commons said that they were absolutely against an incorporating union, because it was like marrying a woman against her consent—that this treaty had been carried in Scotland by corruption and bribery, fraud, and open violence; and that the Scottish parliament, by giving up their separate and independent constitution, had basely betrayed their native country. The zealots of the high-church faction pointed out what they called the irreconcilable contradictions in the union, by which, among other things, the queen was obliged by oath to maintain the Church of England, and bound likewise by oath to maintain and defend the Kirk of Scotland in one and the same united kingdom. They represented that the Church of England looked upon its establishment as *jure divino*, and the Scots pretended their kirk was *jure divino* too; that two nations that clashed in so essential a point could scarcely unite; and that, at the least, on such a critical point, involving the religion by law established, the convocation of the English clergy ought to be consulted. The opposition, however, remained a thin minority in either house, and could do nothing but protest. When the bill ratifying the union was passed in the upper house, Nottingham and seven other peers entered another protest, without assigning any reason; and the Duke of Buckingham and five lords protested because, as they stated, they considered that the excellent constitution of England would be endangered by the alterations made by this union, some of which were of such a nature as to show their inconvenience and danger so obviously, that they thought it proper and decent to avoid entering further into the particulars. On the 4th of March, when Anne gave the royal assent to the bill, she expressed her satisfaction in the warmest terms. She said—"I consider this union as a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength, and safety of the whole island, and, at the same time, as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now all attempts which have been made towards it, in the course of above a hundred years, have proved ineffectual; and, therefore, I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoke of hereafter to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to such a happy conclusion." On the 11th of March both houses waited on her majesty with an address, congratulating her upon the conclusion of "a work that, after so many fruitless endeavours, seemed designed by Providence to add new lustre to the glories of her majesty's reign."

---

[1] *Transactions during the Reign of Queen Anne*, from the Union to the Death of that Princess, by Charles Hamilton, Esquire. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1790.

CHAPTER IX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1707—1709.

ANNE.

New appointment of ministers—Victories of Charles XII. of Sweden—Interview between him and the Duke of Marlborough—Proceedings in Spain—The English and Spaniards defeated at Almanza—War of the Spanish succession continued—Toulon bombarded—The kingdom of Naples conquered for the emperor—War on the Rhine renewed—Intrigues in behalf of the pretender in Scotland—Opening of the first parliament of Great Britain—Privy council of Scotland abolished—Parliamentary resolutions on the Spanish war—Introduction of Abigail Hill (Mrs. Masham) to the queen—Mrs. Masham becomes the royal favourite—Alarm of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough—Intrigues of the Tories to win the queen to their cause—Depression of the Whigs—Rebellion of the queen against the Duchess of Marlborough—Harley in danger—He and Mrs. Masham retain the queen's favour—Changes in the cabinet—Rumours of an invasion of the pretender—The habeas corpus act suspended—A French armament with the pretender on board arrives on the Scottish coast—It is dispersed by Admiral Byng—Bloodless suppression of the rebellion—The queen's inclination for the succession of her brother's family—Insurrection attempted in Ireland for the pretender—State of Ireland and the Irish—The design of insurrection abandoned—Marlborough resumes military operations—He is joined by Prince Eugene—They completely defeat the French at Oudenarde—They capture Lisle—Other towns taken—Marlborough's successful campaign—Events of the war in Spain—Port-Mahon and Minorca taken by the British—Naval successes of Admiral Leake—Capture of a fleet of Spanish galleons by Commodore Wager—Death of Prince George of Denmark—Bickerings between the queen and the Duchess of Marlborough—The peace of Europe influenced by their quarrels—The queen terrified by the Tories about the Hanoverian succession—Meeting of a new parliament—The queen's dislike of their congratulations on Marlborough's victories—Assimilation of the treason bill in England and Scotland—Fresh conspiracy in Scotland in favour of the pretender—Its failure—The Duke of Marlborough's stay in the Low Countries after the close of the campaign—Miserable condition of France—Louis XIV. applies for peace—He refuses to submit to the conditions—The negotiation continued—The ultimatum of the combined powers—It is rejected by the French king—The war renewed—Victory of Marlborough and Eugene at Malplaquet.

BOTH Houses of Parliament spoke of securing the old monarchy of Spain to the Austrian king, Charles, as the only condition and ground of a peace with France; and not a word was said of the negotiations which had been carried on with Louis XIV. This session, which lasted from the 3d of December, 1706, to the 24th of April, 1707, was the last sitting of a separate English parliament, the next being the parliament of Great Britain, and including the Scottish members. But during this session, and before its commencement, the cabinet had been partially remodelled, and rendered still more a Whig cabinet. Somewhat against the inclination of Marlborough himself, who disliked or feared his own son-in-law, and sorely against the inclination of the queen, the Earl of Sunderland, the husband of Lady Anne Churchill, was admitted into the government as one of the secretaries of state in lieu of Sir Charles Hedges; and this, in spite of the daring intrigues and skilful manœuvres of Mr. Secretary Harley, who was now the only Tory of any note suffered to retain office. After Hedges was dismissed, a few more changes were made. Sir James Montague, brother of Lord Halifax, was appointed solicitor-general; and the three Tory commissioners of the board of trade—among whom was Matthew Prior, the poet—were removed to make room for three Whigs; Sir George Rooke, and the two or three Tories that still held seats in the privy council, though they seldom appeared, had their names erased; and now Harley was left absolutely alone, apparently without support and without hope.

Confident in the support of this Whig cabinet, Marlborough went over to Flanders, and, having looked to the army, hastened to pay his respects to the "Protestant succession" in Hanover, whose advent to the throne of Great Britain was made surer than ever by the union. At this moment the conquering Charles XII. of Sweden was encamped at Alt Ranstadt, only a few marches from the Hanoverian court. The extraordinary achievements of the Swedish hero, who, with a small army, had defeated the Czar Peter, dethroned Augustus, King of Poland, and set up King Stanislaus in his place, had for some time fixed the attention of Europe. He was now laying Saxony, the hereditary dominion of the elective King of Poland he had dethroned, under contribution; and the emperor himself was standing in awe of his arms, and in an utter incapacity of understanding how to treat with so eccentric a sovereign. Louis XIV. saw more clearly the use that might be made of the Swede, and he sent to solicit an alliance with him. This design was penetrated by the allies; and Marlborough now went from Hanover to the camp in Saxony to defeat it. The two heroes met on the 28th of April. On the whole the assurances of Charles were satisfactory; and, what was more, his visitor saw or ascertained, by less direct means, that the Swede was thinking more of Russia and of his rival Peter than of anything else, and that he had no design upon that part of Europe where the allies were engaged. The Swedish courtiers who followed their king were miserably poor. To secure an influence among them, good round English pensions were offered to Count Piper, Charles's chief favourite, to Hermelion and Cierderholm. Marlborough's diplomacy indeed was this year much more remarkable than his military operations. The Duke of Vendome, acting on the defensive, marched and countermarched in the Netherlands: through a variety of causes the allies were never able to attack him; and the campaign closed without a single battle. But blood enough was shed in other quarters. By a strange and selfish treaty the emperor had consented to the undisturbed retreat of a considerable French army shut up in the Milanese; and these veteran troops the French king had sent to reinforce his grandson in Spain, while on our side little was done to strengthen Charles. The Spanish war, therefore, was neglected. At the same time Charles and his Austrian generals and ministers continued to disagree with the English commanders, and the English to differ and quarrel with the Portuguese. Lord Peterborough, after visiting Italy, and fleeing over more than half of Europe, with great profit to his own geographical knowledge, but without any great success as a loan-negotiator, had returned to Spain, the scene of his short but most brilliant glory, to serve as a volunteer. But, as he could no longer command, he took a pleasure in thwarting those who did; in uttering witticisms at the expense of the Austrian claimant, and in saying that men were great fools to fight for two such blockheads as Charles and Philip. It had been resolved in the preceding winter that the allies should unite all their forces and march again to Madrid by the way of Aragon; but Charles was deterred by the intelligence of the great reinforcements that had joined or were to join Philip; and he marched away with some detachments into Catalonia, which seemed really and steadily attached to his cause, in order to defend that province against an attack which the French threatened from the side of Roussillon. But Galway and Das Minas were tempted, by the easy prey of some of the enemy's magazines, to march to the frontiers of Castile. Then they turned and laid siege to the town of Villena, in Valencia. Before they made a breach they were warned of the approach, by forced marches, of the Duke of Berwick. Galway and Das Minas raised the siege of Villena, and boldly advanced to meet Berwick. They met on the plain of Almanza, on Easter Monday, the 24th of April (N. S.),

ALMANZA, from the Field of Battle.[1]—Locker's Spanish Scenery.

---

[1] Almanza is a town in Murcia, thirty-seven miles east from Albacete. The obelisk in the foreground of the view was erected to commemorate the Duke of Berwick's victory. The castle on the height is an old Moorish structure.

and one of the hardest-fought battles of this war was the consequence. But in the end victory remained with Berwick: Galway and Das Minas were both wounded, 5000 of their men were killed; and, in the course of that and the following day, nearly all the rest of their little army, to escape starvation, surrendered. The victory of Almanza was, indeed, complete. Without any force to oppose him, and with fresh reinforcements brought up by the Duke of Orleans, Berwick entered Valencia and took a number of towns, while the Duke of Orleans went to lay siege to Saragossa, which city, after a strange exhibition of superstition, surrendered to his royal highness without firing a shot. From Valencia, Berwick advanced towards the Ebro, suffering greatly, like the enemy he had recently defeated, from want of provisions. It was the 4th of June before Berwick crossed the Ebro at Caspe. Clouds of Spanish partizans and the wrecks of some English and Portuguese regiments had kept fleeing before him; and some of them now threw themselves into Lerida, a strong fortress before which the great Condé himself had been foiled. Berwick resolved to besiege Lerida, but he was badly supplied with artillery and ammunition. From the middle of June to the middle of August he was unable to undertake anything; and on the 18th of August a cabinet courier from Paris brought him orders to repair in person with all possible speed into Provence, to assist, with his good generalship, the Duke of Burgundy, who was marching to the relief of Toulon, besieged by the Duke of Savoy, who had again carried the war into the "Grand Monarque's" own country. Berwick, travelling post, got to Toulouse, and, on approaching Beziers, learned that the siege of Toulon was raised without his assistance.

That project had been concerted between the courts of St. James's and Turin, between Marlborough and Prince Eugene; and when the latter general, with the Duke of Savoy and an army of 30,000 men, crossed the Alps by the Col di Tende, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with a combined fleet of English and Dutch, was off the coast of Provence to co-operate. The fleet did its part with great spirit and intelligence; but the Duke of Savoy, who controlled the genius of the great Eugene, was slow and undecided, and the French poured down a strong army, which occupied an entrenched camp in advance of Toulon. The assailants were first repulsed, and then assailed in their own camp. A retreat was then resolved upon; but, in retaliation for the ruin, by the French, of his capital city, Turin, the Duke of Savoy gave directions for bombarding Toulon both by sea and land; and he and Prince Eugene viewed from one of the neighbouring heights, "the dreadful blaze, which was some consolation to them under this disappointment." The bombardment from the side of the sea was, indeed, terrible; a great part of the city was ruined by it, the arsenal greatly injured, and the English and Dutch sailors destroyed two batteries, and eight ships of the line, which were lying in the harbour.

But, while the army of the Duke of Savoy was encountering disappointment in France, an army of the emperor was conquering a kingdom in Italy. Count Daun, with only 5000 foot and 3000 horse, possessed himself, in the course of a few weeks, of all the Neapolitan dominion, being favoured and materially assisted by the people, who had, for many generations, been cruelly oppressed by their Spanish viceroys.

By very remarkable exertions, the French were enabled to renew the war on the Rhine, and even to cross that river once more. Marshal Villars took Rastadt, penetrated to the Danube, and had some hope of recovering Bavaria. At this moment the command-in-chief of the Imperialists was conferred on the elector of Hanover, afterwards our George I., a brave and steady soldier, but no great general; a prince with many solid, but with no brilliant qualities. George, however, was not put to the test in this campaign; for the fiery and daring old Villars, being obliged to detach a considerable part of his army to protect the south of France against the Duke of Savoy, fell back upon Strasburg, and re-crossed the Rhine.

The Duke of Berwick had rapidly returned into Spain; and before the close of the year, the troops directed by him and the Duke of Orleans had reduced Lerida and Morella. Orleans—afterwards infamous as regent—who had displayed bravery, activity, and great ability, returned to Paris; Berwick remained in Spain, as King Philip could not consider himself safe without him. But, early in the ensuing spring, Berwick received secret orders from the French court to hasten back to France, where his services were highly prized and much wanted.

During the whole of this year Scotland was agitated by intrigues, plots, and conspiracies. The more remote consequences of the union are blessings which we all, whether Scots or Englishmen, know and feel; but in its immediate effects the measure was far, indeed, from being productive of that peace and good-will, and identification of interests, which the wisest of the statesmen of both kingdoms had looked for. There were faults and jealousies on both sides the Tweed. English members of parliament had insulted the Scots in their debates, and English ministers had been slow in paying the money they had agreed to pay. While the difficult questions of trade were settling, the whole commerce of the Scots was brought to a dead lock. In all directions communications were opened with the Chevalier St. George (the pretender), whose birth-day was publicly celebrated in many parts of the kingdom. The boy-pensioner of France could do nothing without the assistance of Louis XIV.; but that old king, beset on all sides, and sinking, grasped eagerly at the hope of making a grand diversion by exciting a civil war in Great Britain; and he and his minister, M. de Chamillart, again employed secret agents in Scotland, and eagerly received the reports and memorials of Colonel Hooke, an agent of the Jacobite party, who went and came between Versailles, St. Germain, and various parts of Scotland. This dark correspondence, which has since been brought to light, strongly shows how general was the discontent, and how numerous and desperate the plotters in all the northern part of our island.[1] At first the conspirators asked for nothing more from France than a ship loaded with gunpowder, and a promise that the pretender would go and put himself at the head of his friends in Scotland; and they promised and vowed that they would march into England with an army of 30,000 men. Colonel Hooke was especially favoured by the Duke of Hamilton, and by the Earl of Errol, hereditary lord high-constable. Soon, however, the lords and lairds told Hooke that nothing could be undertaken unless the French king sent over a good body of foreign troops, and a round sum of money. Hooke alluded to the romantic exploits of Dundee; but fortunately for Scotland and for England, there was no Dundee among his auditors. M. de Chamillart continued to hesitate, and nothing at all was done for some months, which were months of agony to the few Scottish lords and gentlemen who had fairly and decidedly committed themselves. The house of Hanover, jealous of everything that threatened its succession, obtained, by some unknown means, a glimpse of these intrigues, which perhaps were still better known to Godolphin, to Harley, and to Queen Anne herself.

The first parliament of Great Britain met on the 23d of October (1707). It had been proposed that the English parliament, sitting when the union was completed, should be dissolved, so that the Scottish members that were to make up the parliament of Great Britain should be associated with a new house; but the Whig ministers, who had a stanch majority, were of course unwilling to run the chances of a new election, more particularly at a moment when the nation was in an ill humour at our failures this year both by land and sea, and they overruled the proposition. The House of Commons chose the same speaker (Mr. Smith) over again, and all the usual forms in the first beginning of a new parliament were observed. The queen's speech was not so confident as it had been the year before—"the year of wonders;" but still it was far from being desponding. It would be necessary, she said, to augment the supplies. The commons, in their address, thankfully acknowledged the Divine goodness, in making her majesty the glorious instrument of uniting the two kingdoms, adding that they would embrace all opportunities of improving this happy union, so as to make this island of Great Britain a terror to her enemies; and they assured her that the ill success of her arms the last campaign, should not discourage them from making their utmost efforts for recovering *the whole Spanish monarchy.* But the lords were in a very different humour. They dwelt upon our failures at sea, which, they said, were owing to the mismanagement of the admiralty, at the head of which the queen's husband had been so long slumbering. It is said that Lord Somers and Lord Wharton encouraged these heats, in order to remove the Prince of Denmark from the admiralty, and to drive Harley and St. John from office; while Rochester and Buckingham voted for the inquiry, in order to ruin Marlborough, Godolphin, and their Whig allies or dependants in the cabinet. The commons, meanwhile, voted liberal supplies, and adopted various resolutions for removing jealousies, religious and political, between the two kingdoms, and for supporting the union by endearing it to both the contracting parties. Among these resolutions was one, apparently suggested by Somers, that there should be but one privy council, or, in other words, that the privy council in Scotland, which had been but too often little better than a Star Chamber, should be put down. As the Scots, or too many of them, were now clinging to curses as well as to blessings, provided only that they were old and Scottish, and had been a part of their separate political status, they complained of this, notwithstanding the notoriety of the fact that they had been tyrannized over, imprisoned, tortured by this privy council, as Jews and Moors and heretics were in Spain by the Inquisition. A bill, however, was brought in and passed, and that old tyranny, after a noble speech by Somers, was abolished. The upper house took up the question of the war in Spain, and the shameful failure which had there followed the brilliant achievements of Peterborough.

---

[1] *Memorials and Letters presented to the Court of France*, by Colonel Hooke, in 1707. Published at Edinburgh, 1765. This Colonel Hooke is said to have been a brother of Nathaniel Hooke, the author of the well-known *Roman History*, and also the person employed by the Duchess of Marlborough in assisting her to draw up the account of her life, for which service she gave him £5000. Before Hooke's expedition one Mr. Scott had been busily employed in examining the state of Scotland, and making reports to the Earl of Middleton, who, it appears, laid them before the Marquis de Torcy.—Macpherson, *Stuart Papers.*

Many of the Tories did not hesitate to say that Peterborough was a greater general than Marlborough; both parties applauded his conduct; but a motion for giving that earl the thanks of the house was resolutely opposed by the Whigs, and by all the present friends of the hero of Blenheim. It was represented by the old Tory, Nottingham, and others, that Spain was now abandoned to the enemy; but their opponents replied that measures were already concerted for sending powerful succours to King Charles. On the 23d of December, the lords joined the commons in an address, wherein it was stated again that the reducing the whole Spanish monarchy to the obedience of the house of Austria was the only proper ground for a peace; and that no peace could be honourable or safe, if Spain, the West Indies, or any part whatsoever of the Spanish monarchy, were suffered to remain under the power of the house of Bourbon.

A.D. 1708. Though Harley had worked in the dark, and though Bolingbroke had practised a duplicity rarely excelled by any scoundrel of genius, they were by this time suspected and hated, or dreaded by their Whig colleagues. With all their art, Harley and St. John would have failed in making any impression upon the queen, but for a false step of the Duchess of Marlborough. Some few years before this the duchess, who was rich enough to have served her in another way, brought into court a poor cousin, Abigail Hill,[1] whose father, Mr. Hill, once a merchant in the city, was nearly related to Mr. Secretary Harley. The duchess got this Abigail appointed bed-chamber woman to Anne, then only Princess of Denmark, and her younger sister settled as the Duke of Gloucester's laundress, "which," says the duchess, "was a good enough provision for her." The two young ladies had two brothers; the elder of these was put into a snug place in the custom-house, and the younger, after being clothed and put to school at St. Alban's by his great relative, was made page to the Prince of Denmark, groom of the bed-chamber to the Duke of Gloucester, aide-de-camp to Marlborough, and colonel of a regiment. Everything went on smoothly till the summer of 1707, when the duchess, who always treated her with great *hauteur*, learned that her cousin Abigail was privately married to Mr. Masham, and was in the habit of being closeted with the queen without her grace's consent. Convinced that there was "some mystery," the duchess set herself "to inquire as particularly" as she could into it. "And," says her grace, "in less than a week's time I discovered that my cousin was become *an absolute favourite;* that the queen herself had been present at her marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings, at which time her majesty had called for a round sum out of the privy purse; that Mrs. Masham came often to the queen when the prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her: and I likewise then discovered, beyond all dispute, *Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at court by means of this woman.*"[2] The duchess says she was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude. No doubt she might have added that she was struck also with dismay. The duchess hastened to communicate these great discoveries to her husband; and the lord-general left off looking after the French, in order to warn his wife to look well after Mrs. Masham and the dangerous Mr. Harley. "If you are sure," says Marlborough, "that Mrs. Masham speaks of business to the queen, I should think you might, with some caution, tell her of it, which would do good; for she certainly must be grateful, and will mind what you say." These words surprise us in such a man! Marlborough ought to have remembered how very slight the tie of gratitude had been upon himself, and how generally unknown such a homely virtue was at the court. He ought also to have been aware that it was his own wife's speaking of business to the queen, that had moulded the government to his wishes, that had done everything for him, and that if any other lady once got the same influence over Anne,

SARAH JENNINGS, Duchess of Marlborough.
After Sir G. Kneller.

---

[1] *Account of the Conduct of the Dowager-duchess of Marlborough, &c.*

[2] *Account of the Conduct of the Dowager-duchess of Marlborough, &c.*

the game of the Marlboroughs was up. The Lord-treasurer Godolphin was as much alarmed as the lord-general, and, being upon the spot, he had almost daily consultations with the duchess, who appears to have conceived a momentary hope of brow-beating the weak and timid, though obstinate queen, and of throwing Mrs. Masham back into the dirt, from which she boasted she had raised her. At first Anne flinched, and, both in conversation and writing, solemnly denied the charges against Mrs. Masham; and she continued to style herself Mrs. Freeman's (*i.e.*, the duchess's) "poor, unfortunate, but ever faithful Mrs. Morley." But, by degrees, the queen's new infatuation for Abigail, and the assurances she received in secret from Mr. Harley, who told her that he would take her out of the chains and thraldom of the Marlboroughs, and make her a queen indeed, infused a little more firmness into this singularly weak, and essentially vulgar royal mind; her civilities became mockeries and masks, her expressions of friendship, and devotion, and submission, mere sarcasms or *doubles entendres.* The Tories, who well knew that the high-church feeling of Anne still continued an absolute passion, threw two high-church parsons in her way by means of Harley; and this widened the breach, and set Marlborough and Godolphin to coerce the queen on the point where, even in their greatest favour, they had found her difficult to manage.

The queen secretly gave to Sir William Dawes, an aspiring man, who aimed at becoming a head of the Tory party, the vacant see of Chester. Nearly at the same time Dr. Blackhall, who was as much a high Tory as Dawes, obtained the see of Exeter. The Whig divines, who had expected these promotions, and who had, indeed, made sure of them under a Whig cabinet, did not bear their disappointment either with philosophical calmness or Christian moderation; and the whole Whig party were astonished and incensed. The lord-general wrote repeatedly to his wife and to the queen. He also wrote to Godolphin, expressing his alarm at seeing that "Mrs. Morley's (the queen's) prejudice to some people was unalterable—that she would be disposing of preferments to such as would tear to pieces her friends and servants." The clerical nature of the dispute seems to have affected the great general's style, for in this letter he talks unctuously about reconciling himself to God, and withdrawing from court as well as camp as soon as may be. Hopelessly weakened and crippled by the Duchess of Marlborough's loss of her ascendency over the queen,[1] disparaged in the eyes of the public, who saw that they could no longer appoint in the church the men of their choice, the Whig members of the cabinet were still further prostrated by divisions and jealousies among themselves. All these embarrassments had tended to hamper and to distract the attention of the duke during the whole of last year's campaign, and they grew rather than decreased after his return to England and the opening of this present session of parliament. It is made most evident by his own letters that Marlborough at one moment thought seriously of abandoning all his Whig colleagues together, and of making common cause with that hated Harley, who was rising with his cousin Abigail. He advised his wife to be cautious and circumspect, mild and gentle, and to endeavour to recover the queen's good graces by respectful and submissive behaviour; but the fiery and proud Sarah was by nature incapable of following this advice, and, moreover, she deemed that it would be useless if put in practice. She entertained a most profound contempt of her sovereign; after a close and familiar acquaintance, which had lasted forty years, or from the childhood of both of them, she fancied that she knew Anne better than any one else, and that hers was a mind rather to be subdued and terrified by the boldness of a superior intellect, than to be won back by submission and tears. Anne, we believe, was really what the duchess took her for; but there was one little quality which her grace had underrated, and the mighty strength of which she did not discover till it was too late. This was obstinacy; a dogged, sullen obstinacy, which the queen had inherited from her father (perhaps also from her mother, for the Hydes, or at least their great maker, Chancellor Clarendon, were not deficient in obstinacy), and which in her, as in him, sometimes took the aspect of firmness and decision. More fortunate than her sire, Anne's obstinacy did certainly at times keep her right, or at least out of danger.

---

[1] In *The Other Side of the Question* the duchess is taunted with over-estimating her weight and importance. "One of the few French noblemen whose curiosity leads them to visit Great Britain thought himself obliged, among the remarkables of the island, to pay a visit to your grace; on which occasion, to be exceedingly polite, he kept up the spirit of the conversation with a florid detail of the wonders performed by the Duke of Marlborough; to which your grace seemed to listen at first with a very sensible pleasure; but apprehending, as he went on, that his eloquence was like to be confined to the duke only, the spirit which had ever possessed you could not help bursting out —— 'All this is true, sir: but you forget that all this, and much more, is owing to *me.*'" Yet, if the proud, and then old duchess really said this, she said not a word more than what was true: we may be confirmed in our opinion of her arrogance, but we cannot doubt her veracity. It *was* owing to her that the queen was a queen at all (as, but for her agency, Anne, in all probability, would, in the critical moment of the Revolution, have adhered to her father)—it *was* owing to her that Marlborough had been intrusted with the supreme command of the armies, and that the Whig cabinet which enabled him to do such great things had an existence—it *was* owing to her that the lord-general in the field was better supplied than ever English general had been before, and that the resources and the diplomacy of the country were put almost exclusively into his hands. Besides, in all things except in plans of campaigns and battles, the intellect of the duchess was superior to that of the duke, who never did anything without consulting with her, and who evidently thought she could do everything, except, perhaps, charge at the head of a regiment. Nay, even Godolphin, the most adroit of politicians—the most experienced statesman or man of business of the day—hardly ever took a step without previously deliberating with Sarah. The duchess was, in fact, a wonderful woman. None of the admiration which has been recently lavished upon her great abilities is ungrounded, except her genius as a letter-writer

While Anne was studying how she might best free herself from the imperious duchess, and from Marlborough and his Whig colleagues, the plotting Harley almost got his neck into a noose. One William Greg, a clerk in his office, was detected in a traitorous correspondence with Chamillart, the French minister: a letter of his writing was intercepted and thrown in his face; he was committed, arraigned, pleaded guilty, and was hanged for high treason. While Whig writers, both at the time and afterwards, assert that Harley, the secretary, was as guilty as his poor clerk, the Tories boldly and broadly maintained that it was Harley himself who detected Greg in his machinations—that it was he that hurried on the trial and conviction—and that the Whigs and his enemies in the cabinet (the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, the Sunderlands) *practised* upon poor Greg in prison, and promised to bring him off unscathed if he would only accuse his principal, the obnoxious Harley. It seemed to calm and candid minds, that, at the very least, Harley must be indolent and incapable, and that great dangers must spring from having a secretary of state that could give employment and confidence to such clerks. According to Burnet, Greg told the lords appointed to examine him, that he had but newly begun the business of betraying secrets to the enemy for money—"that all the papers of state lay so carelessly about the office, that every one belonging to it, even the door-keepers, might have read them all"—and that "Harley's custom was to come to the office late on post nights, and after he had given his orders, and wrote his letters, he usually went away and left all to be copied out when he was gone."

Harley attempted to save himself by coalescing with Somers and Cowper, who, notwithstanding their determined Whiggism, were much respected by the queen, and were still acceptable to her; but those two lords were too honourable to betray their colleagues, and much too honest and far-seeing to unite their political fortunes with so dissembling but so incompetent a statesman as Harley. Still, however, that secretary and Mrs. Masham had a firm hold on the queen, who could hardly be induced to give him his *congé*. Both Marlborough and Godolphin told her repeatedly, that it was impossible for them to serve her while Mr. Harley was in her confidence. Still the obstinacy of Anne held out. Marlborough and Godolphin then made good their threat, and absented themselves from the privy council. When the council next met in the queen's presence, every member of it was reserved and confused, except Harley, who, with a show of confidence, proposed immediately proceeding to business. But the proud and stiff Duke of Somerset said he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the general nor treasurer was present; and thereupon the council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the queen, that Mr. Harley was dismissed, and a fresh assurance of entire friendship and confidence given to Marlborough and Godolphin. Anne, who, with the family obstinacy, had a considerable portion of the duplicity of the Stuarts, seems, for a moment, to have persuaded the Whigs that she bore no animosity, no rancour, when in reality her resentments were condensed into an enduring and most implacable hatred. Under Harley, but greater than he—far greater both in ability and in boldness—was the famous Mr. St. John, secretary-at-war, who was turned out and succeeded by *Mr. Robert Walpole*. This was the beginning of a fierce jealousy and hatred between these two politicians; and ever afterwards it was sufficient that Walpole advocated a measure for St. John to be against it. Harcourt, the attorney-general, another ally or dependant of Harley, went out also. The successor of Harley himself, as secretary of state, was Mr. Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer, who was succeeded in that post by Mr. Smith, the speaker. And presently an event occurred which seemed likely to strengthen the Whig cabinet.

For some time past the Jacobites in Scotland had been assured that their king was really coming;[1] the English cabinet had been receiving warnings of great preparations for invasion making on the French coast; and, in the month of March, Anne announced in a speech to parliament that the pretender was about to invade her dominions. With almost as little ceremony as attended the most common order of council, the Whigs brought in and carried through a bill for suspending the habeas corpus act, by empowering her majesty to secure and detain all persons suspected of conspiring against her person or government. As usual in all seasons of consternation, the Catholics were denounced.[1] The Duke of Hamilton, who was strongly and justly suspected, and twenty-one other Scottish lords and gentlemen, were arrested forthwith. Troops were marched off to Scotland, and Sir George Byng was sent with such ships as were ready to watch Dunkirk, the port in which the French expedition had been prepared. It consisted of five French ships of the line, and twenty frigates, commanded by Forbin, the best naval officer of Louis, and having on board 5000 land troops. The pretender, styled by the English Jacobites James III., and by the Scotch James VIII., embarked in royal state: Byng was driven off the port by bad weather; and the French fleet got to sea. But the storm which had sent Byng back to the English coast soon forced Forbin to put back to Dunkirk; and there he and the pretender lay for several days. During this time Byng collected many more ships, and stretched along the coast from the mouth of the Thames to the head of the Frith of Forth. At the same time a strong squadron was detached, under the command of Admiral Baker, to convoy to Leith the English troops that were at Ostend—it being perfectly well known that the pretender intended to make for Edinburgh. Forbin had positive instructions to take the greatest possible care of his ships; and therefore, when he got to sea again, and had run northward to the coast of Fife, he was deterred from entering into the frith by the sight of Byng's far superior force. On the night of the 13th of March (o. s.), after having just given the pretender a glimpse of the hills of old Scotland, the Frenchman tacked about, and stood away under a press of sail. Byng gave chase, but succeeded in capturing only one of his ships, which happened to be the *Salisbury*, a man-of-war the French had taken from us. On board were found the Lord Griffin, a very imbecile old Jacobite, two sons of Lord Middleton, a French lieutenant-general, with some other French and *Irish* officers, and five companies of French soldiers. The two sons of Middleton, the pretender's secretary, and the man that knew all the secrets of the court of St. Germain, were, after some time, released by order of the queen—an order which is supposed to have been owing to their father's possessing the power of proving to the world the long and traitorous correspondence of Marlborough and Godolphin.[2] Old Griffin was kept close in the Tower, and, as he had been already outlawed for high treason, execution was awarded against him by the Court of Queen's Bench: but her majesty was pleased to reprieve him from time to time, and in the end he died of old age in his not hard nor cruel prison. All this was, indeed, a signal triumph for the Whigs, who are much applauded for not shedding one drop of blood upon the scaffold. There were great and good men among them in advance of the age, yet the bloodless suppression of this revolution must be mainly attributed to other causes than their humanity or the increasing mildness of the national character. Anne, though she had been one of the very first to question the pregnancy of Maria d'Este and the legitimacy of the child born at St. James's, and though she had joined in the recent opprobrium that designated him as "the pretended son of a pretended mother," seems still to have felt not only that James was her brother, but that he might be, after all, her successor; while at the same time —to say nothing of the Tories, whom Mrs. Masham still let up by the back-stairs — her prime directors, Godolphin and Marlborough, were haunted by the genius of the house of Stuart, and were, equally with her, in doubt whether fortune would not bring the exiled prince to the throne. Five years later, and thirty years after that, when we might have expected some advancement in the civilization and humanity of the country, blood was shed in torrents upon the scaffold after butcheries in the field! And neither the rebellion of 1715 nor that of 1745 was half so dangerous as this would have been if the pretender had effected a landing. Shortly after his return to France the pretender went with the French army into Flanders to serve against the English and their allies.

---

[1] Macpherson publishes a set of instructions which was sent over by the pretender, in the month of February, being brought by Charles Fleming, brother to the Earl of Wigton. The friends addressed were to assure the people that their king was coming with all possible diligence to assert his right and to protect his ancient subjects—that he would put them in possession of their liberties, religion, trade, &c.—and that his brother, the most Christian king, would restore to the Scots their ancient privileges in France, and use his best endeavours to have them included in all treaties of peace. These friends were to select a number of the nobility and gentry; to seize all *suspected* persons, with their horses, arms, &c.

The abstinence from blood had been so perfect that not even one Irish Papist was executed, though plenty of them were taken prisoners, and many more known to have been in the expedition. These circumstances, however, did not prevent a new attempt at insurrection in Ireland. Immediately after the failure of the Scottish expedition, Father Ambrose O'Connor, provincial of the Irish Dominicans, was sent over by the court of St. Germain to inform himself exactly of the state of affairs in that kingdom. The French king sent this monk in one of his frigates from Brest to Ireland, where he arrived early in the month of May. The frigate was seen landing him, and the monk was hotly pursued up the country; but he got to a safe hiding-place, and the frigate returned unmolested to France. As soon as his alarm abated, Father O'Connor commenced his inquiries. He learned that all the Catholic lords, clergy, and gentlemen, had been seized, and that all their horses and arms had been carried off immediately after the pretender's unfortunate voyage to Scotland. The monk waited upon those to whom he brought letters from St. Germain, and he found them all exasperated by the harsh treatment of the Protestant government—all loyal to the Stuart and anxious to strike a blow for him—but *all* penniless and helpless, without horses, without arms, without ammunition, and, as usual, without any concert among themselves. Like the Scots, the first and the last thing they asked for was money—money! Notwithstanding his profession, the monk ventured among the Presbyterian heretics in the north of Ireland; and, according to his own account, he found those descendants of Scottish colonists "generally well affected to the party of the king." Travelling from place to place, Father O'Connor was delighted to see how naked the land was of soldiers, how weak and ill defended and unsuspecting were the garrisons. "There were not," he says, "six thousand regular troops in Ireland—as for Galway and other important places, they might be surprised by a handful of men."[1] The Catholics assured him that in five counties only they could presently raise 20,000 men—but then, as a *sine quâ non*, they told him they must have "a considerable sum of money in hand," and a good supply of arms and ammunition from France, together with a certain number of French troops. The monk, however, inadvertently, lets out the important secret, that they were dispirited and timid in the extreme. And these Irish nobles, instead of hazarding a deputation, thought it would be more proper for Father O'Connor to return to France and inform his majesty of everything. These monks were wonderfully adventurous, and must have been exceedingly adroit: O'Connor, before going to France, came over to London, and—more than this—he even ventured into the Tower, and there held conferences with the Scottish lords who had been arrested at the time of the threatened invasion. After these deliberations in the Tower of London, Father O'Connor got safely back to St. Germain, but nothing came of his secret mission and new plans—probably owing to the circumstances of Louis XIV. being again threatened on his own frontier, and being himself so miserably poor as not to be able to find money to pay his half-starving troops.

---

[1] *Life and Reign of Queen Anne.*

[2] Hamilton's *Transactions.*

In the meanwhile parliament had been prorogued—on the 1st of April—and the Duke of Marlborough had gone to the Hague, where he was met by Prince Eugene, the grand-pensionary, and the deputies of the states-general. Having concerted together the plan for this year's campaign, Eugene went to Vienna to bring up reinforcements, and Marlborough took the field. On the other side were the Duke of Burgundy (the grandson of Louis), the Duke of Vendome, Marshal Boufflers, and the Duke of Berwick, whom the French cabinet, by something very like a trick, had removed from Spain to serve in Flanders. Eugene did not keep Marlborough waiting long; but when they had joined they had scarcely more than 80,000 men, while the French counted 100,000. Emboldened by their numerical superiority, the French began on the offensive; and, favoured by the Flemings, who disliked the English heretics and hated the Dutch, they took Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and invested Oudenarde. But here their momentary success ended: they were presently obliged to raise that siege and to retire across the Scheldt. Marlborough and Eugene, with one will, one notion, followed them; and on the 11th of July they fell upon the French army between the Lys and the Scheldt, opposite Oudenarde—while the Dukes of Burgundy, Vendome, and Berwick were quarrelling about what ought to be done—and gave them the bitterest and most complete defeat they had as yet sustained in this long war. Fifteen thousand men, and above a hundred standards and colours, were lost; and the confusion of the French army was such, that the troops were neither sensible whither they fled nor by whom they were commanded.[2] But for the coming on of night, Vendome, the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Berwick, pretender, and all might have been taken prisoners—for the pretender was there. Vendome and Berwick managed the retreat with some skill, but they could never again face Marlborough and Eugene, who, after recovering several important fortresses, laid siege to Lille, which was considered as the key to Paris and one-half of France. The town capitulated on the 22d of October, but the citadel held out till the 10th of December. The garrison, under Marshal Boufflers, was numerous and brave; the works had been recently improved by the great Vauban; and such were the difficulties encountered, that the allies are said to have lost from 12,000 to 15,000 men before they made themselves masters of Lille. But, even at that price, the important place, the loss of which struck a panic in France, seemed cheaply purchased. Ghent surrendered after a few shots. Bruges and other places were abandoned; and the French, with a drooping flag, retired into their own country, having, according to Berwick, committed absurdity upon absurdity in the course of this campaign. The unnationalized Englishman tells us that the Duke of Marlborough (his maternal uncle), during the siege of Lille, sent him a private letter, signifying that the present occasion was a very favourable one to set on foot a negotiation for peace; and that, if the proposals were properly made by France to the field-deputies of Holland, to Prince Eugene, and to himself, he would do all in his power to get them accepted. As these circumstances rest upon the single authority of Berwick's memoirs they have been doubted. It appears, however, that there really was some talk of negotiating; but Lord Hardwicke asserts that the overture came from the Duke of Berwick, through whose hands the French court offered the Duke of Marlborough a large sum if he would procure a peace for them.[1] The Tories exercised great ingenuity in misrepresenting the whole of this brilliant campaign; in trying to show that Marlborough had several times got into situations of extreme peril, and that he had been liberated from them rather by good luck than by his own genius. At the beginning of the campaign they revelled in the successes obtained by the French, and predicted that the English general would lose in one summer what it had cost so many years to gain. Marlborough disconcerted these prophets by his brilliant and decisive victory at Oudenarde; but when he sat down before Lille they recommenced their sinister predictions, and exaggerated the losses inevitable in such a siege. Lille fell, and Ghent after it; but at the latter place they got up a new panic, and the surrender of Ghent was held up as another piece of sheer luck.

---

[1] Memorial to the Court of St. Germain, in Hooke's *Negotiations*.

[2] *Marlborough Despatches*, edited by Gen. Sir George Murray.

In Spain the campaign had been very unsuccessful to the allies, who had been hard pressed in Catalonia, and had lost Tortosa; also Denia and Alicante in Valencia. There were, however, advantages in the Mediterranean to be set off against these losses. At the end of the preceding and very disastrous campaign, Lord Galway and Das Minas had been carried by an English fleet back to Portugal, whose frontiers were not considered safe. Galway was succeeded by General Stanhope, who was equally accomplished in oratory, diplomacy, and war; and who had the advantage derived from a long residence in the country in former times as ambassador, of being perfectly well acquainted with the character and habits of the Spanish people: at the same time the emperor sent Count Staremberg, a general of high reputation, to serve in Catalonia; and, between Stanhope and the count, the remainder of that province was saved. But the English general did more than act on the defensive; he joined Admiral Sir John Leake, who had just made the conquest of the island of Sardinia, and with him laid siege to St. Philip, the chief fortress of Port-Mahon. In a very few days a breach was made and a redoubt carried by storm; and then, on the 30th of September, St. Philip capitulated, and the glorious harbour of Port-Mahon, together with the whole island of Minorca, fell quietly into the hands of the English. Leaving a good garrison behind him, Stanhope returned to Catalonia. Besides contributing to this conquest, and taking by himself the island of Sardinia, Leake, in the course of this pleasant Mediterranean cruise, performed other exploits, which certainly had the effect of increasing the respect due to the arms of his country. Remembering probably the threat of Oliver Cromwell—that he could make the cannon of his ships be heard in the Eternal City and within the walls of the Vatican—he appeared off the mouth of the Tiber, and threatened to bombard the pope's town and port of Civita-Vecchia, in revenge for the assistance or countenance which the pontiff had publicly afforded the pretender on his late expedition to Scotland. But, fortunately for his holiness, he had at last consented to recognize the Archduke Charles as King of Spain; and the intermediation of Austrian diplomatists saved the court of Rome from this humiliation and loss. On a wider and a rougher sea the English seamen had achieved a far more brilliant victory. In the month of May Commodore Wager, with only four English men-of-war, attacked seventeen Spanish galleons as they were creeping along shore from Carthagena to Portobello, in South America. For a long time his men had hoped for such an opportunity of capturing a plate-fleet; and now they fought, according to the Spaniards, more like devils than men. The battle began at sunset, and soon after it was dark the Spanish admiral blew up with a tremendous explosion, and with a cargo and precious metals valued at 3,000,000 of pieces of eight, about £450,000 sterling. The rear-admiral struck about two in the morning; the vice-admiral escaped in a shattered condition, and some others of the galleons saved themselves by running behind a dangerous shoal off Carthagena. It appears that more property was destroyed than taken; yet Prior says that Commodore Wager's share of the prize-money amounted to £100,000.

In the month of October died Anne's husband, the Prince of Denmark, and nominal head of the British navy, to none of whose exploits he can be said to have contributed even indirectly. Immediately on his demise the Earl of Pembroke, resigning the presidency of the council and the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, was made lord high-admiral. Lord Somers became president of the council, and Lord Wharton lord-lieutenant. Pembroke, finding, as was said, the business of the admiralty too laborious for him, soon consented that it should be put into commission, with the mercenary Russell, Earl of Orford, for first commissioner. But, from the rapidity of these changes, it is believed that there had been all along a bargain of this kind among the Whig leaders. The post of warden of the Cinque-ports and constable of Dover Castle was, however, separated from that of lord high-admiral, and conferred upon Lord Dorset.

---

[1] Note on *Burnet*.

The administration, therefore, was once more constituted entirely of Whigs; but the appearances of success were deceptive, and the court-ground on which the party stood was completely undermined by intrigues and by the growing antipathies of the queen. In former times, before she took Mrs. Masham to her heart, and cast off the duchess, Anne's vanity had been gratified by seeing herself associated with the victorious Marlborough, and hearing poets celebrating her praise as another Bellona, or describing her like Jove lending his thunderbolts to the god of war; but now all those things grated on her senses, and she wished every little candle put out that was lit by way of illumination and public rejoicing. The "bedchamber broils," as the answerer to the Duchess of Marlborough calls them, had kept growing louder and louder, and the queen was so provoked as to insult her grace in church, where they had met to return thanks to Almighty God for the great victory at Oudenarde. There is a bathos in the business, of which the greatest master in the art of sinking might have been proud. The duchess wanted the queen to wear her jewels at this thanksgiving, and, as part of her duty, had put the jewels out "in a way which she thought her majesty would like;" but her majesty went to church without any jewels, and her grace immediately suspecting the cause, told the queen that none but Mrs. Masham could have made her refuse to wear them, in so unkind a manner. "I must needs observe," said this imperious, irritated woman in a letter, "that your majesty chose a very wrong day to mortify me, when you were just going to return thanks for a victory obtained by my Lord Marlborough." Anne told her in return, that after the *commands* her grace had given her on the thanksgiving-day not to answer her, she should not think of replying to this letter. The duchess wrote again to explain that her majesty had mistaken what she had said to her in church. Anne left this letter unanswered. The duchess assures us that through the whole summer Harley continued in close and familiar communication with the queen. In consequence of these closetings Anne raised difficulties and objections to almost everything proposed to her by ministers; and, according to the duchess, when Harley and his associates had compassed their designs and got into power, they would often boast, "both in their cups and out of them," how they were frequently at court, in secret, and giving their advice, when Godolphin and the Whigs were fast asleep. The lord-treasurer found himself obliged to represent to her majesty that nothing could go well if she continued to discourage and perplex the cabinet; the lord-general wrote to the same effect from the camp; and his wife once more wrote a long letter "with her usual plainness and zeal." This only incensed the queen without producing any answer. Equally irritated, the duchess waited upon her, and desired to know what crime she had committed to produce so great an alteration in her majesty. Anne, in reply, told her grace that she was inveterate against poor Mrs. Masham, and had nothing so much at heart as the ruin of her cousin; that, as to any misunderstandings between her majesty and her grace, they were only owing to this, that she could not see with the duchess's eyes, and hear with her ears—that it was impossible for her to return to her former kindness; but that she should always behave towards her as the Duke of Marlborough's wife and the groom of the stole.

If we leave these wretched *tracasseries* of three women, upon which, however, the fate of one of the greatest European wars may be said to have depended, we shall hardly get to the contemplation of more honourable or pleasanter matter. The Tories had resolved to terrify Anne again with the house of Hanover; and they sent privately to acquaint her with a discovery they pretended to have made, of "a terrible design" formed by the Whigs to bring over the electoral Prince George, whether her majesty would or no. To preserve the decency and unity of this proceeding, the person they appointed to be their secret messenger to Anne was that very Lord Haversham who, not two years before, had been the mover of the address for inviting and bringing over the Electress Sophia![1] Anne, in a fury, wrote to the Duke of Marlborough to tell him that, if this matter should be brought before parliament, whoever proposed it, whether Whig or Tory, she would look upon them as her enemies, nor would she ever make any invitation to the young man (Prince George), or his father, or his grandmother. The project was, of course, denied by the Whigs; but the queen continued to be haunted by apparitions of the "German boor."

The first British parliament, prorogued on the 1st of April of the present year (1708), had been dissolved by proclamation shortly after, and a new one summoned to meet in the autumn. The houses met on the 16th of November. In the commons the Whigs elected for speaker Sir Richard Onslow, without opposition, as the Tories declined the contest, which would have exposed their weakness. The great subject of the union was alluded to with just pride, as the greatest of all the great successes of this reign; and Cowper told the lords and commons that her majesty was anxious that they should prepare such bills as should be thought conducive to the confirming and improving this union, and particularly to make the laws of both parts of Great Britain agree as near as might be, for the common interest of both nations, and more especially those laws which related to criminal cases and proceedings. The lords sent up an address by the Earl of Dorset in a private manner, Anne having intimated that this would be most agreeable to her feelings in her state of widowhood and mourning. The commons also sent up their address in a private manner by Mr. Secretary Boyle. They went beyond the lords in applauding this year's campaign, which, they said, showed that no difficulties were insuperable to her great commander, and that no force of the enemy could stop the progress of her victories. All this was gall and wormwood to the queen; but the mourning she wore for her husband helped to conceal the gloom which now overshadowed her brow whenever the name of Marlborough was mentioned, or whenever his successes were alluded to. While, in the eyes of the world, she appeared overwhelmed with grief for the loss of her consort, shunning the conversation of her nearest friends, and almost the light of day, she was plotting with Harley and Mrs. Masham against her ministers. Although decidedly in a minority in parliament, the Tories made fresh efforts to discredit the Whigs, by taxing them with rapacity and corruption, with an indifference to the Church of England, and a leaning to the Presbyterians and all manner of nonconformists. They even endeavoured to show that the Whigs had favoured the enterprise of the pretender in Scotland. The Tories were out-voted in both houses; but the effect of their oratory upon the public mind was very considerable, and contributed to the ruin of their political rivals.

---

[1] The duchess calls Lord Haversham "the mouth of the party for any extraordinary alarm."

A.D. 1709. As Anne was now a widow, she ordered the prayers to be left out for making her a happy mother of children, that were used in all churches on the anniversary of her accession.[1] Upon this both houses presented a humble address to her majesty, praying that she would not indulge her just grief so much as to decline the thoughts of a second marriage, upon which they professed all their hopes of future happiness did consist. Anne, like an inconsolable mourner for her late husband, sent an answer thanking them for their frequent marks of duty and affection. She alluded to the provision already made for the succession in the person of a Protestant prince; and then delicately said, that the subject of their address was of such a nature, that she was persuaded they did not expect a particular answer to it.

A bill was brought in and carried, altering the law of treason, and assimilating it in England and Scotland. Though contrary to the letter of the law in Scotland as well as in England, horrible tortures had been practised at the command of the Scottish privy council; and from the time of the restoration of Charles II., down to the revolution of 1689, these atrocities appear to have been far more frequent in Scotland than at any former time. The present treason bill had the merit of absolutely prohibiting the use of torture. It also empowered the queen to grant commissions of oyer and terminer, as in England, for trying treasons. After the treason bill for Scotland was carried, to obviate the suspicions of harsh designs and severities, an act of grace was passed, by which all treasons committed before the signing the act, on the 19th of April, 1709, were pardoned, those only excepted that were done upon the sea, an exception meant to include all those who had embarked the preceding year for Scotland with the pretender.[2]

But, notwithstanding the act of amnesty on the one side, and the equalization of the laws of treason on the other, the Scots continued their plots and intrigues; and men of the greatest ability among them made a woful abuse of their ingenuity in suggesting to the French court a fresh expedition, and in demonstrating that nothing was so likely to end the war in favour of King Louis as an invasion. In a "new scheme in relation to Scotland" which was presented to the court of Versailles this year, it was shown how his most Christian majesty had been able to carry on the war with advantage against the united force of the whole house of Austria, the Dutch, and all the princes of Germany, so long as Charles II. and the late King James had sat peaceably upon the English throne. The astonishing change that had since taken place, and all the French king's ill successes, were attributed wholly and solely to the Prince of Orange (the late King William), and to England's entering upon the war with such vigour. England had not only contributed immense sums of money—"as much as all the other countries put together"—but had given a new turn to the war by employing in it her own native and excellent troops. So long as the late Prince of Orange had been obliged to employ the English troops to reduce

---

[1] Anne was not a sterile queen—she had plenty of children, but they were all born sickly, and with the germs of mortal diseases. Of three daughters and two sons, whose names are recorded, only one (the Duke of Gloucester) lived to be eleven years old. Of fourteen others many were still-born, and the rest died in their infancy.

[2] The Tories said that this amnesty was contrived and procured by Godolphin and Marlborough, who wanted for themselves and for their own personal security "the potent shield of an act of grace pointedly and especially pardoning all correspondence with the court of St. Germain."

Ireland, France had maintained her wonted superiority; but had not the scale of victory turned as soon as the Irish wars were finished, and the English troops sent into Flanders? "It is, therefore, evident," says the scheme, "that, of all the expedients that can be proposed to re-establish the affairs of France, the most effectual would be to make a powerful diversion in Great Britain."[1] The writers of this scheme assured the French court that Highlanders and Lowlanders, that nearly every man and woman in Scotland longed for the return of their legitimate prince; that the Irish were all ready to take up arms, if they could have them, and that nothing was wanting but arms, ammunition, some French troops, and French gold. But as King Louis could not afford the money and the other means required of him, this new scheme fell to the ground like so many old ones.

The parliament this session was not less liberal than heretofore. Six millions and a half were voted as supplies; £220,000 of which was appropriated to the augmentation of the army in Flanders. It was found necessary to contract with the Bank of England for a loan of £400,000; and the Bank was compensated by the renewal of its charter for twenty-one years, with permission to double its capital by subscription. People complained of poverty, and timid minds were palsied at the spectacle of the fast increasing national debt; but nevertheless both money and confidence were so plentiful in the city of London, that the subscription book of the bank was filled up in one morning. The session closed on the 21st of April.

The queen appointed a third secretary of state, whose province was to be the kingdom of Scotland; and his Grace of Queensberry, who had done so much for the union, received the appointment.

The Duke of Marlborough had not returned to England, as usual, in the autumn. After his great successes at Lille and Ghent, he was seriously occupied by some bold movements of the Elector of Bavaria, who besieged and well nigh took the city of Brussels. But when all the troops had gone into quarters, Marlborough still lingered in the Low Countries, where, indeed, he spent all the winter. As his presence seemed highly necessary in England, as all were aware that he was fully informed of the disgrace of his wife, and of the dangerous ascendency of Mrs. Masham, his absence seemed strange and unaccountable. It has since been accounted for by ascribing to him very disreputable motives: it has been said that ever since the victory at Ramillies, his conquest in Flanders had yielded him a considerable revenue; and that he stayed to get his money together, and to make the most of his market while it lasted.[2] It is fair, however, to observe that Marlborough had other strong motives for remaining on the Continent: from the Hague he could keep a better eye upon France, whose condition seemed every day growing more desperate; and, besides, he was aware of overtures and negotiations, *private* as well as public, that were going on between French agents and Dutch deputies, two classes of men whom he disliked and distrusted for many reasons. His confederate, Prince Eugene, was at Vienna; and there is some probability that it had been arranged between them that Marlborough should remain at the Hague, to counterwork the manœuvres of the French diplomatists. On all hands the condition of France is represented as most calamitous. The government was in the hands of a set of mean, jealous, and incapable intriguers; the people were in the talons of disease and famine. Many thousands died of hunger; and everywhere the peasantry were reduced to scanty supplies of bad food. Money had made itself invisible. Louis's treasury was empty, his debt great and increasing. M. Bernard, the principal of his bankers, with many more of his brethren, broke, and a vast number of persons, before in flourishing circumstances, who had lodged money in their hands, were reduced to a state of beggary. The system of finance, always defective, had been rendered worse than ever under the pressure of difficulties, and the sudden exigencies of the state, caused by the defeat and destruction of successive armies. Nearly all the resources of the state were farmed out to those notorious precursors of the greatest of modern revolutions, *les fermiers généraux*. It was time to ask what had been the fruits of the "Grand Monarque's" insatiable ambition? One of his grandchildren, the Duke of Burgundy, the pupil of Fenelon, is said to have put the question to the old king himself, and to have asked why the Spanish succession should be preferred to the welfare of France—why his brother (King Philip) should be preferred to himself, to all his family and countrymen? The proud old man at last became a supplicant for peace; and he began with the Dutch, whom in his early days he had treated with so much contempt. He despatched M. de Rouillé, president of the council, to pray for a truce in Flanders. At the Hague this agent was met by Buys and Vanderdussen, who remarked, that, as the allies were stronger in Flanders, as were the French stronger in Spain, that if Louis would consent to a cessation of arms in Spain, they would also agree to a cessation in Flanders, *provided the French king would first of all put some cautionary towns into their hands.* Rouillé could not consent to this demand; the Dutch would not yield; and the afflicted president of the council informed Louis that no truce could be hoped for upon his conditions. When his despatch was read in the French council, it carried despair to every heart. "A scene so sad," says a person principally concerned, "would be difficult to describe, even were it permitted to reveal the secret of what was most touching in it. The king then felt that the condition of a monarch, the absolute master of a great kingdom, is not always the happiest or the most to be desired."[1] This Frenchman of the old *régime* adds, in courtly guise, that Louis bore his reverses with the firmness of a hero and the submission of a Christian; that he acquiesced in the dispensations of Providence, and that, consenting to new sacrifices, he instructed Rouillé to recommence the conferences at the Hague with larger promises on his part. But it appears from better authority, that the "Grand Monarque" wept like a whipped school-boy, and yet was unwilling, in his pride, to concede anything.

---

[1] Hooke's *Negotiations.*

[2] Hamilton, *Transactions.*

GENERAL VIEW OF THE HAGUE AT THE PERIOD.—From a print by P. Schenck.

An offer, however, was made to purchase back Lille, the last conquest of Marlborough, by yielding up Tournai, or by demolishing the fortifications which Louis had erected at Dunkirk. Louis was willing to leave Sicily to the allies, but he still claimed the kingdom of Naples, which had now been for two years in the undisputed possession of Austria, in lieu of the whole of Spain and the Indies, which his grandson Philip was to resign; he was willing to submit to a congress the interest of his faithful allies, the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, who had been ruined by their fidelity to him; and, continuing this species of vicarious sacrifice, Louis engaged to send the pretender out of France, upon condition that his security and subsistence should be provided for and secured by treaty. But time pressed: it was the end of the month of April before this despatch was ready, and the opening of the campaign was delayed only by the unusual severity of the season. If there was the slightest delay the war would begin on the French frontier before the negotiations at the Hague could come to anything—nay, if any difficulty occurred, there would scarcely be time for Rouillé to send a courier from Paris. In short, every moment was of value; and at this crisis the Marquis de Torcy, secretary of state and minister for foreign affairs, volunteered to go to the Hague in person, and take the entire negotiation into his own hands. Louis, after some hesitation, consented to send him; and De Torcy, with a courier's passport, not without fear of being seized by the enemy's troops, or denied access by the Dutch ministers, travelled with speed to the Hague with a despatch signed by the king himself. He was near being discovered and arrested at Brussels; but aided and guided by a Dutch banker, who had connections with France, he reached the quiet door of the Pensionary Heinsius, at the Hague, on the 6th of May, late in the evening. After the minister of the proudest monarch in Europe had waited some time in an ante-chamber, the pensionary appeared and admitted him to a close conference. A few years before, when Heinsius went to Versailles on a mission from William III., Louvois, the insolent prime minister there, had threatened to throw him into the Bastille; now the court of France was at his feet. The Dutch statesman, however, was too high-minded to show any triumph. De Torcy attempted to demonstrate that Holland and England, and all the nations in the confederacy, had blindly engaged themselves to bear the weight of a war which must be useless, or useful only to the house of Austria. Heinsius reminded him of the treaty to which the grand alliance owed its existence, and assured him that it would be impossible to consent to the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy, or to the cession of the kingdom of Naples or even of the island of Sicily. The Frenchman hereupon said that he had nothing to do but to return to Paris. Heinsius told him that the states-general, without whom he could engage for nothing, would meet in a day or two. To this De Torcy replied that to submit the question to the states would only produce a long-spun negotiation, for which he had no time, his post as secretary of state not permitting him to engage formally in the trade of a negotiator — that the king, his master, had commanded him to address himself directly and solely to him (the pensionary) in order either to finish the work of peace, or to inform himself clearly of the intentions of the states-general. Heinsius then proposed calling in Buys and Vanderdussen, who had been authorized by the states to treat with Rouillé. This De Torcy also declined, repeating the order he had received from his master to address himself only to the pensionary. After some diplomatic *ruses*, the Frenchman consented to confer on the morrow with Buys and Vanderdussen. He found them quite as high in their pretensions as Heinsius. "But," says De Torcy, in writing to Louis, "I believe, after all, that they are really interested only about their own barrier." Notwithstanding his haste, the French minister was detained nearly a month at the Hague. Finding he could do nothing separately with Holland, he agreed to meet the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Marlborough, who had made a hasty journey to England, returned accompanied by Lord Townshend, an experienced negotiator, and who was believed to be well disposed to a peace: the Prince Eugene came accompanied by the imperial minister Zinzendorf. De Torcy, on his side, was assisted by Rouillé, who had begun the negotiation by demanding a truce in Flanders. As soon as Marlborough arrived, De Torcy saw that the negotiation would end in words; but he thought that an immense moral advantage would be obtained if he could make the world believe —and his own suffering countrymen in particular —that the heart of Louis was bleeding for suffering humanity; that the great king was ready to purchase peace at any sacrifice short of the independence and honour of his country. And in France he succeeded in producing this impression, although at the Hague he absolutely refused any security for the accomplishment of the evacuation of Spain, and for the other sacrifices that were offered.[1] De Torcy said that his king's good inclination, his great age, and the situation of his affairs, were in themselves a sufficient security for all that was promised. During these discourses the eyes of the French minister were frequently flooded with tears. These may have been forced from him by the miseries of his country; but they they were certainly not calculated to make the allies cede any of their resolutions. The ambassadors of every court represented there had heard, in the days of his prosperity, little else than insult and bravado from Louis at Versailles; and the inference now to be drawn was, that his fortunes must be low indeed, and his spirit gone, when one of his cabinet ministers could weep before an assembly of Dutchmen, Englishmen, and Austrians. At the end of May the confederates gave De Torcy their ultimatum in forty preliminary articles. Their chief demands were—1. That the French king should acknowledge the succession of King Charles III. to all the rights and dominions of the crown of Spain. 2. That the Duke of Anjou (King Philip), then in possession of the greater part of Spain, should, within the term of two months, depart out of that kingdom with his whole family; that the French king, within that time, should cause Sicily to be delivered to King Charles; and that, if the Duke of Anjou should not assent, then the French king should unite with the confederates in reducing him to obedience, "so that all Europe might enjoy a perfect tranquillity." De Torcy, instructed by a special despatch from Louis, attempted to procure better conditions by bribing the Duke of Marlborough, whose love of money, increasing with his years, was notorious to all Europe.[2] When De Torcy made these tempting offers, Marlborough blushed, and changed the conversation. It is stated, on the authority of manuscript letters and of a conversation of Rouillé, that Harley had his spies upon the duke; and that the offer of the bribe was discovered and communicated through Mrs. Masham to the queen.[3] De Torcy, upon the rejection of the millions of livres, intimated to the duke that he was in the secret of his old intrigues with the court of St. Germain: and here he says that Marlborough blushed again, yet still refused to become a mediator for King Louis. The Frenchman then pretended that his master would make a virtue of necessity, and submit to these hard conditions in order to prevent further misery and bloodshed; and he set off for Paris with the preliminaries in his portfolio. He had kept off hostilities till the 1st of June, and he hoped, at least, to gain a few more weeks. When De Torcy reached Paris, Rouillé was recalled from the Hague; Prince Eugene was informed that his most Christian majesty could never accept the terms proposed by the allies. The confederates, on their part, declared that, unless he accepted the articles as now proposed by the 15th of June, they would never again offer him such good terms. By the advice of De Torcy, the "Grand Monarque" condescended to write circular letters to the local authorities throughout all the provinces of France, declaring that he had tried all methods in order to restore peace; that he had spared himself no sacrifice; but that he had been opposed and disappointed by the insatiableness of his enemies, by men who delighted in war for the sake of their own private interests. He also declared in his council, that, if he must make war, he would rather make it against his enemies than his own family. That susceptible people were warmed and excited, and, half-starving as they were, they applauded the patriotism of their aged king, and exerted themselves to their utmost to support him. His letters and speeches, and the representations of his skilful emissaries, produced an impression in other countries, until it became an article of belief with many, even at London and Vienna, that the allies had exacted far too much, and that they might and ought to grant peace upon milder conditions. The article in the preliminaries most generally criticized was that wherein the confederates would have bound Louis to make war upon his own grandson King Philip. But it was as positively affirmed by others that the French king had procured the conference at the Hague, and proposed the treaty of peace, only with a design to avoid the pressing danger and to gain time—that he never for a single moment seriously intended to give up Spain, or to agree to any other important sacrifice. Prince Eugene declared that the only proper place to treat with the French was a field of battle; and by the 21st of June he and Marlborough took the field, crossed the frontiers of France, and drew up in a large plain not far from Lille. Villars occupied a well entrenched camp in their front, covered on each side by impassable morasses. The confederates, not daring either to attack him there or to march upon Paris and leave him where he was, struck off by night, on the 27th of June, for Tournai, a strong place, but insufficiently garrisoned. Villars vainly attempted to throw into it a reinforcement of 7000 men; the besiegers broke ground before it on the 7th of July; but Tournai did not surrender to Prince Eugene until the 30th, and then it was only the town that capitulated, the citadel not being reduced until the 3d of September. On the same day, leaving a force under the Earl of Albemarle to level the works, Marlborough and Eugene marched into Hainault to lay siege to Mons. Villars, having quitted his entrenched camp, manœuvred with the view of guarding the approaches to Mons, and cutting off the confederates' van, which was commanded by the Prince of Hesse. Marshal Boufflers joined him at this critical moment, and shared the command with him. On the 9th of September the outposts of the two armies were slightly engaged; but the French fell back to an encampment near the town of Malplaquet, and passed the night in fortifying their front. Marlborough and Eugene were waiting for their rearguard; and for the two following days the hostile forces stood opposite to each other. On the evening of the 11th, when the forces they expected had come up, Marlborough and Eugene, in spite of the objections of the Dutch field-deputies, resolved to give battle on the morrow. And accordingly, on the 12th of September, they fought and won the battle of Malplaquet — a battle more terrible than either Ramillies or Blenheim. After fighting from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon, the French retreated upon Maubeuge, Valenciennes, and Condé; leaving the field of battle strewed with 30,000 dead. The forest of Ardennes served to protect the French from pursuit, and to enable them to carry off most of their artillery and standards. A vast number of officers were killed and wounded, but Marlborough escaped unhurt. The conquerors proceeded to Mons; but that place detained them till the 23d of October, when it was deemed too late a season to undertake anything else. The bloody tragedy of Malplaquet, however, reduced Louis to sue again for peace. But we pass to a new species of war—

---

[1] *Mémoires de M. de Torcy,* pour servir à l'Histoire des Négotiations depuis le Traité de Riswick jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht.

---

[1] The security demanded by the allies was, that some cautionary towns should be put into their hands till Philip had delivered up the whole of Spain to Charles.

[2] *Mémoires de Torcy.*

[3] Hamilton, *Transactions.*

"For Sacheverell of Southwark a sermon has preach'd,
For which he must stand by the commons impeached."[1]

---

[1] *Whig and Tory; or, Wit on Both Sides.* London, 1712.

CHAPTER X.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1709—1712.

ANNE.

Vote of supplies for the war—Cry of "the church in danger" raised by Dr. Sacheverell—His sermon for that purpose—Its publication—He is impeached for it before parliament—His cause adopted by the high-church party—The commotion raised throughout the kingdom—The queen favourable to the cause of the preacher—Trial of Sacheverell in Westminster Hall—Popular excitement during the trial—Meeting-houses of the Dissenters plundered and destroyed by the mob—The military called out—Sacheverell on trial found guilty—His mild sentence regarded by his party as a victory—The doctor's triumphal progress through the country—The commotion subsides—The queen turns to the Tories—Dismission of Whig ministers—They are replaced by a Tory ministry—Overtures of Louis XIV. for peace—He refuses the principal condition of the allies—Marlborough and Eugene resume their military operations—Marlborough's wonted success forsakes him—Victories of the Anglo-Spanish army in Spain—Reverses succeed—Meeting of a new parliament—Cold reception of Marlborough at his return—Bill for qualifying members for the House of Commons—Attempt to assassinate Harley at the council—The assassin mortally wounded—Popularity of Harley through this attempt—He is made Earl of Oxford—Marlborough repairs for the last time to the war—Discouragements raised against his progress—His masterly conduct in surmounting them—Private negotiations for peace—Their progress—Prior sent to France as negotiator—His proceedings as a diplomatist—Unfortunate campaign of the British in Quebec—Opening of parliament—The queen's speech in favour of peace—Marlborough's defence against her reflections—He is accused of peculation—He is dismissed from all his employments—New peers created to swamp the Whig interest—Proceedings of parliament against Marlborough and Walpole—Walpole sentenced to dismission and imprisonment—Prince Eugene's arrival in England—His fruitless attempts to have Marlborough replaced and the war continued—The treaty for peace continues—Congress appointed at Utrecht for its settlement—The French armies rally—Their successes—The English commander receives secret instructions to remain on the defensive—Discussions in parliament in consequence of these instructions—The Whig party protests against them—Concessions of Louis XIV. to obtain peace—The promised peace welcomed in the House of Commons and condemned by the lords—The English troops withdrawn from Prince Eugene—The English commander circumvented in the treaty of peace—Eugene unsuccessfully attempts to continue the war.

ON the 15th of November Anne had opened the session of parliament in person. She declared that the common enemy of Europe had been using all his artifices to amuse with false appearances and deceitful insinuations of a desire for peace, in the hope of creating divisions or jealousies among the allies. The lords, in their address, fully approved of her majesty's rejecting the proposals of Louis. The commons soon proceeded to vote an increase of the army, and £6,200,000 as supplies. They also waited upon the Duke of Marlborough, on his return to England, to thank him for his eminent services: but on the side of the court Marlborough saw nothing but clouds.

For some time past the Tory leaders had been at work with the more combustible portion of the high-church preachers, and the pulpits of the kingdom had been resounding with new cries of the church in danger. There was one Dr. Henry Sacheverell, an obscure divine of little moral character and still less ability—a fellow that had been a furious Whig, but, getting no promotion, had suddenly turned Tory, heaped abuse upon the party he deserted, and talked his way to the living of St. Saviour's, Southwark. His impudence was measureless; and he had a very loud voice. There was nothing original in his proceedings, for there were several models to follow. One Francis Higgins, for example, a debauched Irish Protestant clergyman, had recently performed before the people, and made loud and lamentable outcries about the dangerous state of the church, the hardness of the times, the wickedness of the ministry, the lord-general, and all men in place. But though Sacheverell followed, he had the fortune to surpass this model. At an assize sermon preached at Derby on the 15th of August, he had made a terrible onslaught upon the government; and on the 5th of November, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, he had preached before the lord-mayor and corporation of London, in St. Paul's Cathedral, upon the words of St. Paul—"Perils from false brethren." In the latter sermon he excelled himself in abuse and scurrility; he held up Godolphin, the lord-treasurer, by the name of Volpone, to the detestation of all good Christians; and he inveighed against some of the bishops as perfidious prelates and false sons of the church, because they approved of toleration and were against persecuting the dissenters. He asserted in the broadest terms the exploded doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, and spoke of the Revolution as an unrighteous change and an unpardonable offence. With foaming lips and with fists thundering, he proclaimed that the Church of England, the Church of Christ, was assaulted by deadly enemies, and only faintly defended by professed friends; that it was necessary—now or never—to put on the whole armour of God, and to stand up in defence. The magistrates and common councilmen, who, it is said, did not attentively observe his words (probably they were thinking more of the good dinner which always followed the Fifth of November sermon), gave thanks to the preacher as a matter of course; but Sir Peter King, who was one of them, "and the quickest of them all," complained that the sermon contained many things which were false, injurious, impious, and tending to sedition and schism in the church. Another alderman, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, was of the same opinion; and insisted that Sacheverell ought to be called to account. Nevertheless the doctor proceeded to print his inflammatory discourse with a flaming dedication to the lord-mayor. The Tories, and all that opposed the ministry, cried the sermon up to the skies, and took so much pains about it that it was calculated above 40,000 copies were printed and distributed throughout the kingdom. The ministers were irritated, and the queen herself pretended to be much displeased. The matter was laid before the council. The solicitor-general and others thought that the best way of dealing with Sacheverell was to burn his sermon and keep him in prison during the session; but the great Marlborough was for more violent proceedings, saying that such preachers might preach them all out of the kingdom: Godolphin, also, who had been described in the sermon in a manner that was next to naming him, proposed severe measures; and the whole council agreed that the offender should be prosecuted. But still there remained a question among them as to the court in which he should be tried. Some were for leaving him to the ordinary judges in courts of law; some for calling him before themselves; but others were of opinion that he ought to be impeached before parliament. Sunderland was for the impeachment; Somers was against it. But Somers was overruled by the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Sunderland, and their friends; and an impeachment was resolved upon. Some opposition was made in the lower house, but the motion for impeaching Sacheverell was carried by a great majority. The proceedings, however, were so slow that the high-church party, and the intriguing politicians in league with them, had abundance of time to agitate and prepare the people, who, among other things, must certainly have been moved by unpleasant traditions of the starchness and tyranny of the mass of the dissenters when they had the upper hand. It was given out boldly, and in all places, that the dissenters, the Puritans, and the Presbyterians were about to recover their old ascendency; that a design was formed by the Whigs to pull down the church; that the prosecution of Sacheverell was only to try their strength; and that, upon their success in it, they would proceed to their object openly and fearlessly. It was observed that the trumpeters of alarm, the spreaders of these reports, were well supplied with money; and that a zeal for the Establishment was kept warm and glowing by copious libations of strong ale. The common clergy generally espoused Sacheverell as their champion, who had stood in the breach, and they reckoned his cause their own. Hence the batteries of the pulpit were all on one side.

A.D. 1710.

Moreover, the Duke of Marlborough played into the hands of his enemies by causing fresh delays and interruptions. The commons had voted the sermons of Sacheverell to be malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels, highly reflecting on her majesty and her government, the late glorious Revolution, and the Protestant succession, as early as the 13th of December; and they had impeached him, and taken him into the custody of their serjeant on the 15th, but the articles were not carried up to the lords till the 13th of January, 1710, and then, through Marlborough, who made many pretences to excuse himself from coming to parliament, saying that he was busy in preparing for the war, and that his duty called him over to Holland, the trial was not commenced before the 27th of February. There were also several significant little circumstances which tended to convince the people of the truth of the assertions of the preachers and trumpeters, that the heart of the queen was wholly with the doctor, and that the honest and noble men in parliament would see the error of their ways, and prevent cruel extremities. For example, when Sacheverell was brought before the commons he was attended by Dr. Lancaster, vice-chancellor of Oxford, and by above 100 of the most eminent clergymen in town, *among whom were several of her majesty's chaplains.* And though the commons refused to admit the doctor to bail, and kept him in the custody of their serjeant, the lords admitted him to bail as soon as the commons gave him over to the black rod. In the meantime, the clergy flocked together, and traversed both town and country, so that many places were full of riot, and little was heard in the land except the old war-cry of the church in danger. The lowest in condition were the loudest in their outcry. In the city of London, butchers' boys, chimney-sweepers, scavengers, costermongers, prostitutes, formed the most conspicuous part of the church chorus, and of the defenders of the doctor. It seems certain that the veteran Marlborough was more afraid of this kind of war than of stern contests in the field, like those at Blenheim and Malplaquet. *Perhaps* he had still some faint hope of recovering ground with the queen by falling in with her well-known prejudices, or at least by withdrawing from the contest with the doughty divine. His friends were offended at his lukewarmness, as they could not so well answer for the success of their proceedings in his absence. Many of the peers complained that he showed a disregard to his own honour in keeping away from parliament. And while his friends were thus uneasy, his enemies availed themselves of the opportunity of his going over to Holland to insinuate, through Mrs. Masham, that he was gone to procure a petition from the army for the immediate removal of the favourite from the queen. It appears that Anne had for some time past entertained a dread that some motion might be made in parliament against Mrs. Masham; and now she sent about, in much concern, to many persons, imploring them to stand by her, as if some great attack were really going to be made. She invited a number of peers to attend her, and earnestly pressed them, one by one, to be mindful of their duty to her, and to resist any petition of the army which the Duke of Marlborough might present to the parliament, and any attempt whatsoever to deprive her of the society and services of her present favourite.[1] Marlborough and his party denied that there had ever been any such project; but Cunningham asserts that some persons of distinction were reported to have proposed in secret conferences, held late at night, something tending to an address for removing Mrs. Masham, which was opposed by Somers, Cowper, and Godolphin, as too harsh, and not agreeable to the laws of the land, but hotly seconded by Sunderland, who was boiling with revenge. The lords ordered the trial of Sacheverell to be at the bar of their house; but it being moved that Westminster Hall would be a more proper place, they changed their resolution, and Westminster Hall was prepared accordingly, exactly in the form of the House of Lords; and the trial opened on the 27th of February, as appointed, with a wonderful deal of show and ceremony. A box was prepared near the throne for the queen, who attended in a private character. On the one side of the hall benches were erected for the commons of Great Britain; and accommodations were provided for noble ladies and gentlewomen. There was a kind of platform raised for the managers of the impeachment, and another for the doctor and his counsel. There were galleries erected at the end of the hall for the people, who flocked thither in such vast numbers as to excite a dread that the whole erection would come toppling down upon the heads of those beneath.[2]

Sacheverell came to the bar with great boldness and confidence, being attended by Dr. Smalridge and Dr. Atterbury, who stood by his side during nearly the whole time of his trial. The frog in the fable was nothing to the doctor! He was so swollen and inflated, so lifted up with the sense of his recently acquired importance, that men who knew him well could hardly recognize him in their old acquaintance, the minister of a poor church in the Borough. Besides Smalridge and Atterbury (both learned ecclesiastics), Sacheverell had the assistance of counsel learned in the law, at the head of whom were Sir Simon Harcourt and Mr. Constantine Phipps. The articles of impeachment, four in number, charged him generally with having aspersed the late Revolution as iniquitous and unjust, vilified the toleration granted to dissenters, and stirred up the people with false alarms of danger, and opprobious charges against her majesty's ministers.

Several of the managers for the commons spoke long and eloquently in support of the charges; but the speech of the rising Robert Walpole was much admired by the Whigs. "I hope," said Walpole, "that your lordships' just judgment will convince the world that every seditious, discontented, hot-headed, ungifted, unedifying preacher (the doctor will pardon me for borrowing one string of epithets from him, and for once using a little of his own language), who has no hope of distinguishing himself in the world but by a matchless indiscretion, may not advance with impunity doctrines destructive of the peace and quiet of her majesty's government and the Protestant succession, or prepare the minds of the people for an alteration, by giving them ill impressions of the present Establishment and its administration. . . . This doctrine of unlimited, unconditional passive obedience, was first invented to support arbitrary and despotic power, and was never promoted or countenanced by any government that had not designs, sometime or other, of making use of it. What, then, can be the design of preaching this doctrine now, unasked, unsought for, in her majesty's reign, when the *law* is the only ruling measure both of the power of the crown and of the obedience of the people?"[3] When Sacheverell left the hall on the first day of his trial, to return to his comfortable and well-stocked lodging in the Temple, the countless mob that had stood shouting during the proceedings in Palace-yard, followed him with tremendous huzzas up Whitehall and all along the Strand. His more immediate body-guard was a company of London butchers, who are said to have been hired for the occasion. His chairmen

---

[1] Cunningham, *Account of Conduct*, &c.

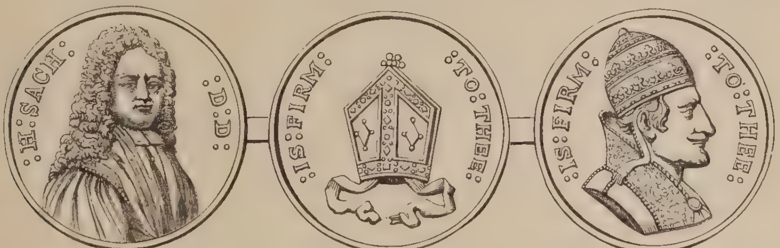
[2] *Cunningham.*

[3] *Coxe Papers*, Brit. Mus.; *State Trials*.

—for the doctor used a chair—walked erect and elate as if they were carrying a queen, or something higher. The streets were thronged; and people of both sexes, "better born than bred," saluted him with great ceremony and profound respect from the balconies and windows, while some of them even threw down presents for him. The doctor officiously returned these compliments from his chair, nodding and bowing like a Chinese idol. He expressed a sovereign contempt for his adversaries, and behaved as if he were the doctor of doctors. "This huzzaing," says Defoe, "made the doctor so popular, that the ladies began to talk of falling in love with him; but this was only a prelude to the high-church affair. An essay was to be made on the mob, and the huzzaing by the rabble was to be artfully improved. On the very next day, the 28th of February, the second day of the trial, those who had attended the doctor to Westminster Hall in the morning assembled about dusk in the evening, together with a gang of sweeps, link-boys, and people of similar condition, and forthwith began to plunder and burn the meeting-houses of the dissenters."[1] The first attack was made upon Mr. Burgess, minister of a dissenting congregation in a court near Lincoln's Inn Fields. They broke into his meeting-house, now called Gate Street Chapel, carried off cushions and Bibles, pulled down the pulpit and the pews, collected the benches, the curtains, the sconces, and everything that was combustible, carried them all into Lincoln's Inn Fields, and there made a bright bonfire, shouting as it burned, "High church and Sacheverell! Sacheverell and high church!' A similar destruction, with the same sort of bonfire, took place at the meeting-houses of Mr. Earl, in Long Acre; of Mr. Bradbury, in New Street, Shoe Lane; of Mr. Taylor, in Leather Lane; of Mr. Wright, in Blackfriars'; and of Mr. Hamilton, in Clerkenwell. When the mob came to Clerkenwell they destroyed the chapel belonging to St. John's parish—a chapel of the Establishment, but which, in their ignorance, they mistook for a meeting-house, as it had no steeple. In outward and visible matters, they could only distinguish between a steeple and no steeple; and if the conflicting creeds had been submitted to their examination, it may be doubted whether they would have known the one from the other. By this time the court was in a consternation; and presently information was received from the directors of the Bank of England that the rioters were moving in that direction. The queen and all about her were seized with a paleness and trembling; but the Earl of Sunderland sent for Captain Horsey, and commanded him to march immediately with a detachment of the guards into the city. Horsey asked whether he was to preach or to fight. Sunderland replied that he must use his judgment and discretion, and forbear to resort to violent means except in case of absolute necessity. But the skirmishers for the high church had not the least inclination to come to blows; and when George Purchas, one of their ringleaders, who had formerly been a life-guardsman, tried to make a stand with a few of the most resolute of them, crying out "High church and Doctor Sacheverell!" he soon found that he was left to cry alone, and that even his stanchest adherents were running away as fast as their legs would carry them, and thus circumstanced, the hero was obliged to make a hasty retreat likewise. There was a slight show of opposition near Fleet Ditch; but, after receiving a few sabre cuts, and losing some of their number as prisoners, the rabble rout there fled likewise, leaving the guards in peaceable possession of the streets of the city, where they patrolled all night. If the mob believed that the queen disapproved of their violence, they continued nevertheless to believe that her heart was with the doctor. On one of the days of the trial, as she was on her way to Westminster Hall, they gathered round her chair shouting, "God bless your majesty and the church! We hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." And, at the same time, they made several members of parliament, who were passing in a coach, take off their hats and shout "Sacheverell for ever!" Throughout the whole of this famous trial, which interested and agitated all ranks and conditions of people, and which was continued upwards of three weeks, the Duke of Buckingham declared plainly that he considered it merely as a trial of strength between the two parties. At last a question was separately put to each lord whether Sacheverell was guilty or not guilty; and he was found guilty of the high crimes and misdemeanours laid in the indictment by a majority of sixty-eight to fifty-two. Three days after this, on the 23d of March, the doctor was brought to the bar on his knees, and the lord-chancellor pronounced this judgment: —"You, Henry Sacheverell, doctor in divinity, shall be, and you are hereby enjoined not to preach during the term of three years next ensuing; and your two printed sermons shall be burned before the Royal Exchange, at one of the clock in the afternoon, by the common hangman, in the presence of the lord-mayor and sheriffs of London." This mild sentence was looked upon by the doctor's friends and admirers rather as an acquittal than a condemnation, and as an indubitable proof of the weakness of his enemies and the growing impotence of the Whig party. On that night, and for several nights following, there were illuminations in London and Westminster, with bonfires in the streets—made, however, of less valuable materials than dissenters' pulpits and pews. There was a deluge of ale and beer; and every one that passed by was compelled by the mob to drink to the health of the glorious Sacheverell. A few obstinate heads were broken; but, generally, these champions of the high-church party were peaceful and merry in their cups. As for the doctor, he was a greater doctor than ever. He returned from Westminster Hall in a grand ecclesiastical triumph: his chair was carried on high, and he was huzzaed by the mob like a victorious prize-fighter, or like a candidate for parliament coming successfully out of a contested and hard-drinking election. For several days he employed himself in going from house to house to thank those lords and gentlemen who had voted for him, or befriended him in other ways. Wherever he went he was followed by a prodigious train, much more remarkable for their enthusiasm than for their decency. They were butchers' boys, link-boys, and the like, who made the welkin ring. The university of Oxford gave way to paroxysms of sympathy and gratitude. But it should be mentioned that that *alma mater* underwent a similar castigation at the hands of parliament; for the famous Oxford decree was ordered to be burned at the same time and place with the doctor's sermons, and the whole university was held up by the Whigs as a nursing-place of slavery. On the other side, to keep his spirit up, presents were showered upon Sacheverell. Lord Weymouth gave £50, and some more, some less, according to their means and inclinations; and Dr. Sacheverell, presently making a progress through the kingdom, was looked upon "as another Hercules of the church militant." Wherever he went his emissaries were sent before him with his portrait, or engraved effigies, properly "done in brass." Pompous entertainments were made for him; and a mixed multitude of clergymen and sextons, country singers and fiddlers, a mob of all conditions, male and female, crowded together to meet and welcome him. When the reader understands that this progress was made after the dissolution of the Whig parliament which had prosecuted him, and during the turbulence of a new election, he will conceive the motives of the journey, and the successes and excesses with which it was attended. The doctor, in fact, represented not merely the high-church but the whole Tory party; and wherever he appeared the Whig candidates and canvassers were put to the rout. In many of the country towns he found open houses, entertainments, and feasts provided for him as if he had been the foremost man in the land, and the person most entitled to reverence and gratitude. In one respect, the fellow had a strong head, and his faculty of bearing an immoderate quantity of wine was of vast service to himself and to his party; for men still considered it essential in a Tory and high churchman to drink a great deal more than other people. But there were some towns that would never join in this carnival; and, after a few weeks, when sobriety began to return, the doctor's picture, instead of being received as ready money, was frequently torn in pieces or converted to the vilest uses, and in many places he was rudely treated and refused admittance. When he was going towards Ely, the people there were so provoked that they threatened to do him a mischief; and in other towns he was saluted with stones as well as curses. Being far from any ambition of the honours of martyrdom, the doctor made the best of his way back to London. There he was very earnest for permission to make a harangue to the Company of the Bank of England; but the directors gave orders to turn him out of their doors. Sacheverell, however, had done his work, and had, more than any other single cause, helped the Tories back to their places. Five years after this, Bolingbroke, and some others of that party, thought that he would be a useful man to help to bring in the Papistical pretender!

---

[1] *Review.*



MEDAL STRUCK ON THE OCCASION OF SACHEVERELL'S TRIAL.[1]—Drawn from a specimen in the British Museum, and of the actual size.

---

[1] To suit the opinions of the Roman Catholics as well as the high-church Episcopalians, this medal was struck with two different reverses, one of which bore a mitre, as emblematic of the Church of England, the other a head of the pope. The inscription, "H. SACH., D.D., IS FIRM TO THEE," was thus made applicable to whichever reverse accompanied it.

The session of parliament, which had been chiefly occupied by the doctor and his nonsense, was closed on the 5th of April. A few days after the rising of parliament, Anne gave an unequivocal proof of her intentions. The Duke of Shrewsbury, once the stanchest of Whigs, and one of the greatest promoters of the Revolution of 1689, returned with an Italian wife from a long residence at Rome, and joined the Tories in voting in favour of Sacheverell; and the queen now turned out the Marquis of Kent, and gave the office of lord-chamberlain to Shrewsbury, in spite of her premier, the Lord-treasurer Godolphin. By the month of June people began to talk publicly of the dismissal of Marlborough's son-in-law, the Earl of Sunderland, the worst-tempered, but probably (after Somers) the most honest man in that cabinet.

Though Marlborough disliked the political principles of his son-in-law, and had even, in the first instance, opposed his admission into the government, he now considered his remaining in it as essential to his own security; and both he and his duchess made the most strenuous exertions to induce the queen to alter her resolution in this respect. But Anne, as we have said, was at least as obstinate as her father had been before her; and she turned out Sunderland, and gave his office of secretary of state to Lord Dartmouth, whose Jacobitism was only exceeded by his love of jests and sarcasms. To soften the blow a retiring pension was offered; but Sunderland, who did not share in his father-in-law's passion for money, indignantly refused it. "If," said he, "I am not fit to serve my country, I am incapable of plundering it." The removal of Sunderland, who was so nearly allied to the Marlboroughs, spread alarm through all the courts of Europe, except that of France, where it was hailed with transports of joy, as a forerunner of the entire downfall of that able general who had so long been heaping defeat and disgrace upon their arms. Anne, however, instructed Secretary Boyle to write to the allied courts, in her name, to assure them that all their fears were groundless, and that she would continue the administration of her affairs in the hands of her present ministers, and continue to intrust her army to the duke. Yet, within a few weeks, the queen commanded Godolphin to break his staff of lord-treasurer, put that office in commission, and appointed Harley chancellor of the exchequer and prime minister. Harley made some attempts on the Whigs, and endeavoured, in particular, to effect a coalition with Chancellor Cowper and Robert Walpole; but his overtures were in all instances rejected. Thereupon Harley, knowing that he could do nothing with a Whig House of Commons, and knowing, also, that Sacheverell had done, and was actually doing great things for the Tories, boldly proposed an instant dissolution; and the queen, after some misgivings, made up her mind to follow this advice. Anne proceeded to sweep court and council clean of Whigs. Lord Somers was turned out, and the queen's maternal uncle (the boisterous, hard-drinking Rochester) was made president of the council in his stead; the Duke of Devonshire, lord-steward, gave place to the Duke of Buckingham; Secretary Boyle made room for St. John (Bolingbroke); the great seal, held by Cowper, was given to Sir Simon Harcourt; Lord Wharton was succeeded by the Duke of Ormond in the government of Ireland; Lord Orford was removed from the admiralty, and his office was put in commission; the Duke of Somerset had already thrown up his office of master of the horse, and entered into new measures with the Whigs, of whom, in a few days, not a vestige was to be seen anywhere in St. James's, except, indeed, in a few understrappers without name, character, or weight of any kind.[1]

---

[1] "The administration of Marlborough and Godolphin, in the reign of Queen Anne, shines forth with peculiar lustre in our annals. No preceding one perhaps, had ever comprised so many great men or achieved so many great actions. Besides its two eminent chiefs, it could boast of the mild yet lofty dignity of Somers, the matured intellect of Halifax, and the rising abilities of Walpole. At another time also the most subtle statesmen and the most accomplished speaker of their age, Harley and St. John, were numbered in its ranks. It had struck down the overgrown power of France. It had saved Germany and conquered Flanders. 'But at length,' says Bishop Fleetwood with admirable eloquence, 'God for our sins permitted the spirit of discord to go forth, and by troubling sore the camp, the city, and the country, (and oh that it had altogether spared the place sacred to his worship!) to spoil for a time this beautiful and pleasing prospect, and give us in its stead—I know not what. Our enemies will tell the rest with pleasure.' To our enemies, indeed, I would willingly leave the task of recording the disgraceful transactions of that period. Let them relate the bedchamber influence of Mrs. Masham with her sovereign, and the treacherous cabals of Harley against his colleagues—by what unworthy means the great administration of Godolphin was sapped and overthrown—how his successors surrendered the public interests to serve their own—how subserviency to France became our leading principle of policy—how the Dutch were forsaken and the Catalans betrayed—until at length this career of wickedness and weakness received its consummation in the shameful peace of Utrecht. It used to be observed, several centuries ago, that as the English always had the better of the French in battles, so the French always had the better of the English in treaties. But here it was a sin against light; not the ignorance which is deluded, but the falsehood which deludes. We may, perhaps, admit that it might be expedient to depart from the strict letter of the grand alliance—to consent to some slight dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy—to purchase the resignation of Philip, or allow an equivalent for the Elector of Bavaria by the cession of Sicily or Sardinia, or perhaps of Naples. So many hands had grasped at the royal mantle of Spain, that it could scarcely be otherwise than rent in the struggle. But how can the friends of Bolingbroke and Oxford possibly explain or excuse that they should offer far better terms at Utrecht in 1712, than the French had been willing to accept at Gertruydenberg in 1709? Or if the dismissal of the Duke of Marlborough had so far raised the spirits of our enemies and impaired the chances of the war, how is that dismissal itself to be defended?"—Lord Mahon's *History of England.*

The inevitable consequences of all these sudden changes were, doubt and discouragement on the part of the allies, indecision on the part of Marlborough, and an almost universal discontent in the English army serving abroad. Early in the year, before the Tories began to rise by clinging to the skirts of Sacheverell's black gown, Louis XIV. again made overtures for peace.[1] From his declining influence at home, Louis had hoped that Marlborough would be indifferent to the success of the war abroad, and even disposed to make a peace while the army was yet left in his hands; but the French negotiators saw, to their surprise, that Marlborough was as anxious about the war as ever.[2] To avert another campaign they offered to acknowledge the Archduke Charles as King of Spain—to withhold all aid from Philip—to give up four cautionary towns—to restore Strasburg and Brisac—to destroy all their fortifications on the Rhine from Basle to Philipsburg—to destroy the port and fortifications of Dunkirk—and to give up to the Dutch, Maubeuge, Condé, Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Tournai, and Lille. The allies had insisted that Louis should *compel* Philip to surrender the throne of Spain within two months, and join his arms with theirs to that effect, if judged necessary; and Louis and his diplomatists declared, that to enforce this condition was to outrage the ties of blood and family affection. It was upon this point that the conferences at Gertruydenberg actually, or at least ostensibly, broke up. While they were going on, Philip, who had wonderfully increased his army in Spain, applied to his grandfather for the services of the Duke of Vendome; and, before they broke off, Louis sent that duke into Spain to take the supreme command of the troops under Philip. It appears to us the height of absurdity to believe that there was ever any sincerity in the offer of withdrawing all French assistance from Philip, or in the declaration of Louis that he really intended that his grandson should evacuate that kingdom. But, again, Philip was by this time strong enough to defend himself if France would only keep closed the passes of the Pyrenees, and remain as a neutral but impenetrable body between him and the allies. The confederates knew this, and therefore it was they had asked for Louis's co-operation; and, in denying that co-operation, the French court gave what was equivalent to a positive refusal of the great *sine quâ non* of the allies, which, right or wrong, was, that Philip should cease to be King of Spain, and that the Archduke Charles should be put in his place.

In the meanwhile Marlborough and Eugene, at the head of 60,000 men, had invested Douai. Marshal Villars, after coming in sight, gave up his intention of attempting to raise the siege, and that important place capitulated in the month of June. The allies then moved upon the frontier town of Arras, but they found that place so well defended that they did not attempt a siege. Turning to easier prey, they captured Bethune, while Villars kept retreating, in order to avoid a battle and to bar their road into the interior of France. It was observed, both by friends and foes, that Marlborough was no longer the same man: his confidence of success and his cheerfulness seemed to have abandoned him; and several sinister accidents, such as had not been known before in any of his campaigns, embarrassed his movements and augmented his too apparent vexation. A great supply of powder and other stores, under the convoy of 1200 foot and 450 horse, was intercepted and destroyed. This was but the beginning to other misfortunes. At the same time his attention was constantly distracted by the thick-coming reports of changes at home. He gave up the notion, proposed by Godolphin, of attacking Boulogne and opening the road to Paris; and the campaign closed with the capture of two fourth-rate towns on the French frontier.

As if one of these wars could only be brilliant by the eclipse of the other, the campaign in Spain was this year active in the extreme. General Stanhope, the imperial General Count Staremberg, and King Charles, remained on the defensive till some reinforcements arrived from Italy. Then they marched into Aragon, where King Philip was at the head of an army of Spaniards. On the 27th of July, Stanhope, leading the van, brought Philip to action near Almanara, and routed him in half an hour. Philip retired with his foot—his horse was almost annihilated—under the cannon of Lerida; but want of provisions presently forced him to continue his march to Saragossa. On the 19th of August, Stanhope and Staremberg overtook him near the town of Saragossa, and defeated him a second time. Saragossa surrendered to the victors; and Philip, fleeing with a miserable wreck of an army, abandoned the whole of Aragon. On the 21st of September, Stanhope, still leading the van of the army, took quiet possession of Madrid, which seemed to be playing the part of a shuttlecock between the rival sovereigns. On the 28th King Charles made his triumphant entry, and paid his devotions, as became a Spanish king, to our Lady of Atocha. A detachment was sent forward to take possession of Toledo, and keep clear the passage of the Tagus, it being expected that a Portuguese army would again advance from that side to co-operate with the allies in the heart of Spain. But the Portuguese came not; and Philip, still supported by the loyalty and affection of the Castilians, was preparing to return in force. Nor were these the only misfortunes that attended the Austrian claimant: his communications were frequently cut off by fleeing bands of partizans—the peasantry carried on "a war to the knife," and fell upon all stragglers that wore his uniform; and, moreover, advice was received that the French were in motion on the side of Roussillon, as if they intended to invade Catalonia, the only part of the kingdom really attached to the Austrian cause. Provisions also began to grow scarce at Madrid. The whole of the army moved to Toledo: that place was soon as uncomfortable as the capital; and Charles, thinking he could be safe nowhere but in Catalonia, fled back thither with the best part of his cavalry. Stanhope and Staremberg, with half-starving troops, soon followed his footsteps, leaving King Philip to enter Madrid once more. On the 8th of December, Stanhope, when separated from Staremberg, who was moving in a parallel line, was surrounded at Brihuega by a Spanish army under the command of the Duke of Vendome; and, after making a gallant resistance, and burning nearly all his gunpowder, he was compelled to surrender with his 5000 English on the morrow. On the 10th of December, Vendome fell upon Staremberg at Villa-Viciosa, where a battle was fought in which both sides claimed the victory. It appears that Vendome suffered very severely, and that the Spaniards were completely beaten on their left wing; yet Staremberg was glad to continue his retreat into Catalonia.

---

[1] *Mémoires de Torcy.*

[2] De Torcy, however, takes credit to himself for more sagacity. He says that he foresaw that Marlborough would be more eager than ever for the war, since now he could be nothing in England. "We learned about this time that his duchess had been completely disgraced. The Duke of Marlborough himself sent this news to his nephew, the Duke of Berwick. That disgrace was the first effect of internal agitations in England, and the secret intrigues of that court."—*Mémoires.*

But the war of parties at home was now exciting a far deeper interest than our foreign wars. Indeed, independent of other circumstances, the latter had long since lost the charm of novelty; people were tired of long gazettes, rejoicings, and illuminations, and wanted a change of excitement. The new parliament met on the 25th of November. Bromley, member for the university of Oxford, and chief urger of the bill against occasional conformity, was elected without opposition in lieu of the late speaker, Onslow. The queen, in her opening speech, showed that she was in the hands of new advisers. She no longer condescended to use the word toleration; but, in mentioning her resolution to support and encourage the church, she spoke of *indulgence* to be allowed to "scrupulous consciences." This term of *indulgence* was the more observed because it was the pet word of Dr. Sacheverell. As for the doctor himself, he had been gratified with a new living, and with as ample a license of speech—out of the pulpit—as even he could desire.

A.D. 1711. When the Duke of Marlborough arrived from Flanders, during the Christmas holidays, he met with the coldest reception possible. Lord Peterborough, who had fondly hoped to eclipse his fame, and who was held by the Tories to be a far greater general than Marlborough, meanly joined in an outcry against him in the House of Lords, where a vote of censure was carried against the late Whig ministers for the ill successes of the war in Spain. The eccentric lord was rewarded by an embassy to Vienna, and Lord Galway, his rival in Spain, and the man he most hated, was disgraced and censured by parliament.

For some time the Tories had been complaining that far too many seats in the House of Commons fell to men of no hereditary rank, and of no landed property—that officers in the army, lawyers, merchants, and others living in towns and trading cities, were gradually assuming that superiority which naturally ought to belong to the lords of the soil. During this session a bill was brought in for securing the freedom of parliaments by further qualifying the members to sit in the House of Commons. Hitherto no such qualification had been thought of; but now it was enacted that no man should represent a county unless he had a real estate in land of £600 a-year, nor a borough unless he had a real estate in land worth £300 a-year. This qualification act, now so little regarded, was admitted by the Whigs with scarcely a show of opposition.

Harley, by this time, felt his position a very uneasy one, and it is supposed that he must have fallen through the intrigues of his colleague St. John, but for a lucky attempt which was made upon his life, and which rendered him for a short time popular with the nation. Although it had been so often proved that such money was thrown away, or worse, the different governments of England, whether Whig or Tory, continued to spend large sums on secret services. Germans, Italians, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Poles, all found encouragement; and the majority of these adventurers seem to have taken money from both sides, and to have betrayed the secrets (when they really knew any—which was not often) of both parties. Among the foreigners that fattened on this secret-service money was a Frenchman, who called himself the Marquis de Guiscard, and who got £500 a-year. It is said that he was indebted to St. John for this liberality, and that he had recommended himself to that accomplished and then dissipated scoundrel of genius by administering to and sharing in his pleasures. Harley, who had no taste for such revelries and excesses, thought £500 a-year too large a sum, and reduced the amount. Thereupon the Frenchman hired himself to the cabinet of Versailles, and began to supply the ministers of King Louis with secret intelligence. The correspondence was discovered, and he was arrested and brought before the English council. There he desired to speak in private with Secretary St. John: but the secretary assured him that this was a favour not to be granted to a man in his situation. Guiscard then advanced towards the table as if he would say something to Harley, and stabbed that minister in the breast with a penknife. Fortunately for Harley, the penknife, striking against a bone, broke about half an inch from the handle. Guiscard struck again and again, and Harley fell to the ground with blood flowing from his breast. Then St. John, crying out, "The villain has murdered Mr. Harley," drew his sword; and the rest of the ministers followed his example. As in all cases of this sudden and alarming kind, the scene is differently described even by the eye-witnesses and actors in it. Burnet declares that it was Guiscard's intention to assassinate St. John, who, however, was so placed as to be out of his reach, whereupon he struck at Harley, who was within his reach—"and wounded him as much as could be done with so small a tool." The bishop adds, that the other members of the council drew their swords and stabbed Guiscard in several places; and then, the attendants being called in, dragged out the all but murdered assassin. Whether wounded by the single sword of St. John, or by the swords of all the company, he had wounds that were deep and dangerous, and when he was carried to Newgate, he was considered by those who saw him as a dying man. Some of the members of the council visited him in Newgate, in order to examine him. Burnet says that his confession was kept secret; Lord Dartmouth, that he confessed nothing, as he could not expect a pardon. If Guiscard discovered anything, it was kept as under the seal of confession, and the unhappy man, whose intellect in all probability *was deranged*, died of his wounds in Newgate. "This accident," says Burnet, "was of great use to Harley; for the party formed against him was ashamed to push a man who was thus assassinated by one who was studying to recommend himself to the court of France, and who was believed to have formed a design against the queen's person. Her health was at this time much shaken. She had three fits of an ague, the last was a severe one: but the progress of the disease was stopped by the bark." Both Houses of Parliament hastened to address her majesty touching the late horrible and villainous attempt made upon the person of Mr. Harley by a French *Papist;* and they desired that she would cause all Papists to be removed from the cities of London and Westminster. And accordingly a proclamation went forth, and the English Catholics, who had no more to do with Guiscard than the Mufti had to do with the Church of Rome, were harassed and annoyed after the old fashion. If Harley had died they would have made a sort of saint and martyr of him; as it was, he was revered as one that had run extreme danger for the Protestant cause, and there was no longer any doubting of the patriotism, and orthodoxy, and anti-Jacobitism of one who had had a French knife in him.[1] When he first appeared in the House of Commons, the speaker made a very pompous and very absurd discourse on the past dangers of the great minister, who, a few weeks after, was made lord-treasurer, and elevated to the House of Lords with the high-sounding titles of Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. The death of Lord Rochester was considered as another signal piece of good fortune for Harley. But at this moment his colleague St. John was undermining his authority, and laying, among other plots, plans to monopolize the favour of Mrs. Masham, who continued to monopolize that of the queen. On the 12th of June, Anne prorogued this Tory parliament, which had voted with exemplary readiness upwards of £6,500,000, though they had assured the people that their very first

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford.—After Sir G. Kneller.

---

[1] Yet only a few months before Guiscard's attempt—that is, about the end of 1710—Harley had sent the Abbé Gaultier (of whom more will be heard in the sequel) to the Duke of Berwick, with authority to treat about the restoration of that duke's half-brother, the pretender. By this plan Anne was to continue to hold the crown till her death, and then the pretender, upon assurances and securities touching the national religion and liberties, was to be brought in upon the shoulders of the people.—*Memoirs of Berwick; Macpherson; Lockhart Papers.*

step would be to curtail the supplies, as passed by the improvident Whigs.

In the meanwhile Marlborough had gone to the wars—and this was for the last time. Earnestly summoned by Prince Eugene and most of the leaders of the allies, he went into Flanders and took the command; but he presently found that his authority was diminished and his force weakened—that many of his best regiments were drawn off for the now altogether hopeless war in Spain, or to be sacrificed in a paltry expedition to Quebec, under Mrs. Masham's brother, Jack Hill. On the other hand, the French had regained new spirits by the proceedings of the Tory cabinet at home, and by the assurances of their emissaries, that it was the main object of Lord Oxford to hurry on a peace—to secure a peace at any price, or at least without any nice attention to the treaties of the grand alliance, or to the great principle of dethroning King Philip. But Marlborough's masterly conduct disappointed alike the hopes of the French abroad, and of the Tories at home. Oxford and St. John, Dartmouth and the rest, had been confident that in going to Flanders this year, he was going to certain defeat and humiliation; and Marshal Villars, who had established lines which were deemed impregnable, and called Marlborough's *ne plus ultra*, all the way from Bouchain to Canchè, and who had directed movements to be made on the Upper Rhine, which compelled Prince Eugene to quit his friend to watch the French in that quarter, anticipated nothing less than full security for the whole summer, if Marlborough remained inactive, or a victory if he attempted to force those wonderful lines. Yet the result was altogether different; Marlborough, with admirable generalship, distracted the attention of Villars, forced his *impregnable* lines at Arleux without losing a single soldier, and then calmly proceeded to invest Bouchain under the eyes of Villars, who either could do nothing, or relied too much upon the prodigious strength of that frontier town. In twenty days Bouchain was in the possession of Marlborough, and Villars was covered with shame. These brilliant successes, however, only forwarded the secret negotiations between the Tories and the agents of King Louis. The Tories had pledged themselves to the queen to draw the country out of war, and to disentangle her from those alliances which William III. had made, and which Marlborough and the preceding Whig ministry had maintained and strengthened. The people, too, had had a surfeit of military glory, and were now thirsting for a peace, which, however, they hardly desired with more eagerness than they had at the beginning desired the war.

Ever since the beginning of the year, secret messengers had been going and coming between London and Paris—some employed and received by Lord Oxford, some by St. John, who, though equally determined on a peace, as the only means of keeping down Marlborough and Godolphin, were by no means agreed as to the manner of obtaining it. It appears proved beyond the reach of a doubt, that St. John wrote repeatedly to the pretender at this moment, while Oxford, less enthusiastic, or far more cautious, contented himself with sending word-of-mouth messages, unmeaning compliments, and vague hopes.

There was in England a certain Abbé Gaultier, an adept in gallantry and in intrigues, political as well as amorous, even above the degree common to a certain class of French priests before the revolution, who were little more than priests by name, or little better than profligates, panders, and *chevaliers d'industrie.* Oxford preferred him to others on account of his equivocal character, which would make it easy to deny and disavow his proceedings if they should fail of success and come to be discovered by the Whigs. The abbé, without papers, but fully instructed, repaired secretly to Paris, and easily obtained an audience of De Torcy. De Torcy was charmed at the facility of negotiating without committing himself. "This peace," says he, "was as absolutely necessary to us as it was unexpected by us." The English ministers asked from the king no sort of engagement—no, not so much as the shadow of an engagement; Gaultier had orders to be satisfied with a simple letter of compliment, by which it would be understood that the general proposition had been favourably received in France." By order of Louis, De Torcy wrote the note to Lord Jersey, and gave it to Gaultier, with *vivâ voce* instructions to assure the ministers of her Britannic majesty, that his master, justly irritated at the conduct of the states-general, would never again treat for a peace through them, but solely with England. The abbé travelled back to London, and shortly after was back again at Paris to inquire as to the advantages which Louis was disposed to offer to England as the price of her abandoning her allies, and recognizing his grandson as King of Spain. Encouraged by the defeat of the Archduke Charles, the surrender of General Stanhope, and the whole course of events in Spain, and not as yet alarmed by Marlborough's forcing Villars' boasted lines and capturing Bouchain, Louis was not disposed to offer very much; and all that he did offer was, that we should keep Gibraltar, and have a free trade with Spain and the Indies. The secret of these negotiations was not long kept—probably Gaultier himself sold it to the Dutch. When neither party could hope to deceive the other any longer, Lord Oxford and St. John explained themselves to the states-general; and then it was represented that both England and Holland would be happy to contribute to the conclusion of a general, a definitive, and a lasting treaty of peace.[1] At this point the business became heavy, and Oxford slower even than usual. If Marlborough had been well beaten by Villars, the lord-treasurer might have taken heart; but as the lord-general had gained, without loss of blood or loss of any material kind, advantages equivalent to a great victory, it seemed dangerous to run on too rapidly to make a treaty which could only have been justified by the annihilation of our army abroad and the defeat of our fleets. The people of England wished for peace, but were anxious that that peace should be an honourable one; if they should be irritated by any sudden and disgraceful treaty, their blessings upon the present pacific ministry were pretty sure to be converted into curses. Lord Raby, our ambassador at the Hague, represented that it was advisable and necessary to be open with the states-general, lest they should have reason to accuse us of taking our measures without them; and his lordship further said that all the letters from France agreed, that all the hope the French king had was to sow jealousies among the allies. But Mr. Secretary St. John soon prepared his excellency to entertain other sentiments, by opening to him a pleasant vista of advancement in the peerage and future employment.[2] And in such ways as this did the court overcome the scruples of the few Tories that had any, about rushing on to a disgraceful peace as the termination of a long and glorious war. Harley, Jersey, and Shrewsbury pressed the queen not only to send the Abbé Gaultier back to France, but to send him in company with one of her own subjects—"a man of wit and fidelity, in whom she might put confidence." As the proper person they proposed Matthew Prior, the poet, who was already well known in France, where he had passed some years as secretary of embassy to the Earls of Portland and Jersey. "Prior," says De Torcy, "was renowned in England for his wit and poetry; but his best quality at the present conjuncture, was a sincere desire for the peace and his attachment to the Lord-treasurer Oxford." Accordingly, in the month of July, Matthew Prior was despatched for France with the abbé. In his memoirs the French minister says that Prior had good intentions, but very limited powers; that he could only listen to the answers made to the propositions he brought. There was now one argument of which the French diplomatist could hardly make too much; by the death of his brother, the Emperor Joseph, which happened at Vienna in the month of April of the present year, the claimant, Charles, had been called to the empire and to the hereditary states of the house of Austria. If to these dominions this prince were allowed to join Spain, Naples, and Sicily, the Milanese, and the two Indies, his power must be excessive and dangerous to Europe. Were the allies anxious to see again the colossal might of the Emperor Charles V.? In beginning this war they had declared that their motive was fear of seeing the crowns of France and Spain, the Indies, &c., united on one head; but would that union be less dangerous which they now seemed aiming at? Charles had put forth no declaration that the Spanish inheritance should be held separate, by a prince of his house, from the Austrian inheritance and the empire; but Louis had bound himself, and was ready to repeat the pledge, that, though a Bourbon prince should reign in Spain, that crown should never be worn by the same person that wore the crown of France.

As Matthew Prior was so limited by his instructions, the French cabinet sent him back to London, accompanied by M. Ménager, a very expert diplomatist, and by the poet's old friend, the Abbé Gaultier. All these measures were concerted with great secrecy; and in some respects there was a double mystery, for neither Prior nor even Gaultier was made acquainted with the instructions with which the French cabinet furnished Ménager. These instructions were full and significant. Ménager was to demand an equivalent for the ruin of Dunkirk; he was to demand the restitution of some of the places which Louis had lost in Flanders, and particularly of Lille and Tournai. He was to offer some other places in exchange for these; but above all things, he was to be circumspect, and only to bid by degrees like a cautious man at an auction. The English poet, the French abbé, and the *homme de bureau* got safely and secretly into England; but at Canterbury they were discovered, and, having no regular passports, were seized by the master of the packet-boats, Mr. Mackie—the author of the well-known memoirs. If the Whigs had been in power, there were acts of parliament which would have justified stretching the poet's neck at Tyburn; but, under the Tories, who had employed him, he was safe; and, after a short detention, he was liberated by Lord-treasurer Oxford or by Secretary Bolingbroke.[3] One fine evening in August Prior was admitted into the queen's apartment; and on the same evening he waited on Ménager with her majesty's compliments, and her regrets that he had been obliged to come in so secret a manner. The poet also delivered courteous messages from Oxford, Jersey, Shrewsbury, and St. John, who had been appointed to open the conferences with the French agent. Anne, however, demanded in writing, a categorical answer to all the propositions which she had sent to Paris by Prior. Ménager was greatly embarrassed at this demand; but he drew up a paper full of double meanings and equivocations, and with this the English ministers were so far satisfied as to proceed to the first conference, which was held privately in the house of Lord Jersey on the 26th of August, when Marlborough was bombarding Bouchain. But, notwithstanding every precaution, the conferences were discovered, and a large part of the nation became convinced that the Tory ministry were resolved to conclude a peace upon any terms. By the beginning of November preliminary articles were signed between England and France, and communicated to the ambassadors of the emperor and Holland. The emperor's minister instantly made the articles public through a London newspaper, and was forbidden the court. The Dutch minister was equally dissatisfied with them; but, after some altercation and correspondence, they found themselves forced to consent to a congress, which was to treat for a general peace, and to meet on the 1st of January at Utrecht.

---

[1] *Mémoires de Torcy.*

[2] Prior's *Negotiations.*

[3] The account given of this odd transaction in the *Memoirs of the Secret Services of John Mackie, Esq.*, is very amusing.

In the meanwhile Marlborough, crowned with fresh, but worse than useless laurels, had returned to England to be insulted by the mob, to be baited by the ministers, and to witness the throwing in the dirt of most of the fruits of the most brilliant war in which England had been engaged in modern times. If he could derive satisfaction from the miserable failure of the new pet general of the Tories—Jack Hill, the brother of Mrs. Masham—there was certainly occasion for indulging in that feeling. While they were making their pacific overtures to France, in which they bargained for retaining every place in America which might be in their possession at the time of signing the definitive treaty of peace, Oxford or St. John despatched that precious brigadier-general to Quebec, to make the conquest of Canada, with 5000 land troops, and a fleet under the command of Sir Hovenden Walker. Hill, after various unnecessary delays and absurd manœuvres, entered the Gulf of St. Lawrence in the end of the month of August. He began to ascend the mighty river that pours itself into the gulf, but before he could reach Quebec he was overtaken by fog and tempest, and driven among sands and rocks. Some of the transports foundered in the river; others were stranded on its banks with their crews, troops, and stores. The poor soldiers and sailors thus cast away were tomahawked and scalped by the wild Indians, or were subjected to scarcely less horrible treatment at the hands of the French colonists. Yet still, when the storm abated, and the fog dispersed, a brave man might have seen his way clearly, for the English force was still considerable, and the French ill prepared to meet it. But Hill, who was not a brave man, and who had as little military skill as the Abigail that had procured him his appointment, hesitated and quailed, and then called a council of war, in which it was agreed to return home as fast as possible. Hill reached Portsmouth in the month of October; but the fatality which attended the expedition was not yet over—she had scarcely reached port, when the admiral's ship, a fine seventy-four, blew up with every soul on board. During the recess of parliament the Tory ministry had been engaged in strengthening their interest by the distribution of titles and promotions.

The session did not begin this year till the 7th of December. The queen delivered the opening speech in person. As long as the Duchess of Marlborough had enjoyed her good graces, Anne had, to all appearance, delighted in the war; and she had certainly, year after year, witnessed its continuance, and heard of the bloody battles and losses in the deadly breach without any visible emotion. Her weak and timid mind had even rejoiced in the fictions of the poets that made her a Bellona; but now the Tories were anxious to make her figure as a most tender-hearted sovereign, and as the proper type of the goddess of peace. They had represented that her majesty's heart was set upon putting a stop to that vast effusion of blood; that she had beheld with tenderness and grief the sufferings of her people, forced into the field, not to defend their native country—not to uphold the church and state, but to gratify the covetousness and ambition of her allies abroad, and of her *late* ministers at home—"to the eternal reproach of Christianity." Although these preludes had prepared parliament for what they might expect, they were somewhat startled by the bold and reproachful paragraph with which Anne began her speech. "I am glad," said she, "that I can now tell you, that, notwithstanding the arts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty of a general peace." Marlborough was in the house when he was thus ungraciously reflected upon. On proposing an address of thanks, ministers found themselves abandoned by Nottingham, who was jealous of Harley, and who had been in treaty with some of the Whigs. Nottingham rose and made a long and striking speech against the address, against the policy now pursued, against such a peace as was now proposed, against the occupancy of the throne of Spain by a Bourbon, and against everything that had been done or was doing by the ministry. This gave rise to a violent debate, in the course of which Marlborough spoke with unusual heat and at a great length. "I can declare," said he, "with a safe conscience, in the presence of her majesty, who knows me, and now hears me, of this illustrious assembly, and of Almighty God, who is infinitely above all the powers upon earth, and before whom, according to the ordinary course of nature, I must soon appear to give an account of my actions, that I ever was desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and far from any design of prolonging the war for my own private advantage, as my enemies have most falsely insinuated."

For some time matters remained in this state: the Tories carried what they chose in the commons, the Whigs in the lords. Several political mistakes were committed by the latter party. Nottingham soon proved himself an unsafe ally: he persuaded the Whigs that, if they would only allow the passing of a certain bill through the lords, he could bring over to them, from Oxford and St. John, many of the Tories and high churchmen; and the Whig lords, in their anxiety for place, foolishly and basely consented. The bill in question was none other than the old occasional conformity bill, which had been rejected three several times by the upper house; but which now, somewhat, yet not much shorn of its intolerance and fierceness, was carried through both houses with little or no opposition. The Whigs of course hereby lost the sympathy and support of the Dissenters, without gaining that accession of strength which Nottingham had promised them from his high churchmen.

The complaints and protestation of the Duke of Marlborough, who had hitherto borne his ill treatment with astonishing meekness, inflamed the queen, and his steadily adhering to their opponents in parliament, determined Oxford and St. John to complete his disgrace. Ministers matured their plans; and, on the 21st of December, Marlborough was charged in the House of Commons with having appropriated more than half a million of the public money, by taking and keeping 2½ per cent. out of the pay of the foreign troops maintained by England, and £63,000 from Sir Solomon de Medina and Antonio Alvarez Machado, the contractors for bread to the army.

It was also made to appear that his secretary, Cardonel, with his permission, had exacted from the contractors 500 gold ducats every time a new contract was signed. Marlborough pleaded established usage, and showed many precedents to justify these practices. He also maintained that his percentages and "perquisites" fell far short of the amount now stated, and were fully legalized by the queen's warrants. The truth appears to be, that the whole administration of the army was very defective; that enormous perquisites, as they were called, were and long had been left to the commander-in-chief; that Marlborough, in his appetite for money, had made the most of these sources of revenue, without, however, exceeding law, or rather usage and precedents; that it was not always easy to separate the expenditure of the army from diplomatic and political outlays; that the queen's warrant expressly authorized Marlborough to reserve 2½ per cent. out of all money payable to the foreign troops, "to defray such extraordinary contingent expenses as could not otherwise be provided for;" and that she approved and confirmed all such agreements as he might have cause to make hereafter respecting the said 2½ per cent.

A.D. 1712. Anne, however, after the Christmas recess, declared in council, that, as an information was laid against the Duke of Marlborough by the commissioners of public accounts, she thought fit to dismiss him from all his employments, that the matter might have an impartial examination. And then the queen herself, a stranger to all magnanimity, wrote him a letter announcing his disgrace, and attributing it to *ill-treatment which she had received personally.* Marlborough, whom Bishop Burnet compares to "Belisarius in Justinian's time," told her majesty that this was an ill reward for his long services, and that the inveteracy of his enemies had been more powerful with her than any other consideration.

But this was not the only work done during the Christmas holidays. Irritated and alarmed by the majority against them in the House of Lords, Anne and her ministers had endeavoured to "reconcile"—that is, to bribe and win over—some of the peers; and, finding their most strenuous endeavours unsuccessful, they had then resolved to turn the scale against the Whigs by making a new batch of peers. On the 1st of January the queen signed twelve new patents; and on the very next day twelve new lords, in a troop, took their seats in the upper house.[1] These matters were not regarded so slightly as they have since been. "At the sight of this new proof of the ruined rights of the peers," says Cunningham, "the Tory party was observed, by their mutual congratulations, to be highly elated; while all sober men of the Whig party looked down upon the ground, as if they had been invited to the funeral of the peerage, and could not tell what to say." The sarcastic and witty Wharton compared the twelve new lords to a jury, and asked one of them whether they did not intend to vote by their *foreman*. In the meantime the powerful Tory majority in the commons pressed on their measures. They voted that the 2½ per cent. deducted by the Duke of Marlborough was public money, which he ought to account for, and that proceedings should be instituted by the law officers of the crown; and they expelled Cardonel, the duke's secretary, from his seat in their house. They also attacked Robert Walpole, who had excited the animosity of the party by rejecting overtures made to engage his great abilities on their side. Walpole, it will be remembered, had been secretary-at-war; and it was resolved, upon the report of the commissioners of public accounts, that he, Robert Walpole, Esq., a member of the house, in receiving the sum of 500 guineas, and in taking a note for £500 more, on account of two contracts for forage for her majesty's troops quartered in North Britain, was guilty of a high breach of trust and notorious corruption; secondly, that for the said offence he should be committed prisoner to the Tower; and, thirdly, that he should be expelled the house.[1] Walpole justified his trifling "perquisites," as Marlborough had done his great ones, by quoting usage and the precedents of former secretaries-at-war; but this did not prevent all the Tories, and a few of the Whigs, from saying that expulsion and imprisonment were too slight a punishment—that he deserved to be hanged.

---

[1] Several of these new peers were very inconsiderable persons in all respects. Among them was Samuel Masham, of Oates, made Baron Masham. This Samuel Masham had no other merit than that of being husband to the favourite, Abigail Hill, Mrs. Masham, and now my lady. It appears that Anne had some scruples about this last promotion. Lord Dartmouth says, "The queen told me she never had any design to make a great lady of her, and should lose a useful servant about her person; for it would give offence to have a peeress lie upon the floor, and do several other inferior offices; but at last consented, upon condition she remained a dresser, and did as she used to do."

The House of Lords re-assembled on the 14th; and on the 17th of January the queen sent a message to both houses. After stating that she had not "recovered strength enough, since the return of her gout, to be present in person," Anne told them that her plenipotentiaries were now arrived at Utrecht, and had begun to concert the most proper ways of procuring a just satisfaction to all in alliance with her, according to their several treaties, and particularly with relation to Spain and the West Indies. By means of the new batch the address of the lords upon this message was harmonious, and the highest satisfaction was expressed at her majesty's declaration that there had not been the least colour given for "those false and scandalous reports about a separate peace."

In the month of January, a few days after the disgrace of Marlborough, the companion of his glory, Prince Eugene, came over to England, charged by the emperor with the most difficult of commissions. Eugene was to endeavour to replace Marlborough in his sovereign's good graces; to represent the fatal consequences which would attend the defection of England from the grand alliance; to urge on her majesty that she was bound, not merely by honour, but also by interest, to continue the war till France should submit to all the conditions laid down in 1706; and to propose a new plan for the future conduct of the war, in which the emperor engaged to take upon himself a larger proportion of the burden than had been required from his brother and predecessor, Joseph. The English people received their distinguished guest with enthusiastic acclamations. "That prince's character," says Burnet, "was so justly high, that all people for some weeks pressed about the places where he was to be seen to look on him." For a time both parties treated him with marked respect, and in a manner laid siege to him—the Tories to win him, the Whigs to retain him; but he destroyed the hopes of the former, and incensed the queen by passing the greater part of his time with the disgraced Marlborough; a circumstance which, however honourable to himself, was fatal to the objects of his mission. The Lord-treasurer Oxford, who, as Mr. Harley, had extolled the duke above all warriors, ancient and modern, one day attempted to make court to the prince, whom he was entertaining, by styling him the first general in Europe; but Eugene replied—"If I am, it is to your lordship that I am indebted for it"—alluding to the recent dismission of Marlborough, who was no longer a general. When the brave, accomplished, and modest prince took his leave (in the month of March), the queen gave him a fine sword, with some assurances that she would be steady to the interests of the grand alliance; but these insignificant things could not conceal from one of the most acute men of that or any other time, that he had completely failed in his mission. Secretary St. John had declared before his coming that the allies were leaning "on the broken reed of a routed faction," and that they could and should obtain nothing through Marlborough and the Whigs. During the prince's stay—on the 14th of February—the commons resolved that, in the treaty between her majesty and the states-general, for securing the Hanoverian succession to the crown of Great Britain, and for settling a barrier for the states-general against France, there were several articles destructive to the trade and interests of Great Britain, and highly dishonourable to her majesty; and, secondly, that it appeared the Lord Viscount Townshend, who negotiated and signed, and all those who advised the ratifying the said treaty, were enemies to the queen and kingdom. This was a proceeding the boldness of which must have been suggested by St. John—for the timid and vacillating Oxford was scarcely capable of it. Although rather too much was given or promised to the Dutch, the double object of the treaty was consecrated in the eyes of a very large portion of the nation: nothing seemed more fitting or desirable than to strengthen by diplomacy and treaty the cause of the Protestant succession, which was sure to be opposed by all the force and all the arts of France; and Holland, in contracting this obligation, had asked that England should guarantee her safety and integrity by procuring a chain of barrier fortresses along her frontiers to secure her from France—that is, the Dutch had only bargained for what the best and wisest of English statesmen had considered essential to the balance of power and to the safety of our own coasts and commerce.[1] Yet, although the treaty had been solemnly ratified by her, Anne, from a variety of motives, among which we may suspect an intention of weakening the claims and the means of the hated house of Hanover, was grateful to the Tory commons for branding the barrier treaty, and for reprobating so roundly the conduct of her displaced ministers. The states-general took the alarm, and remonstrated in forcible but courteous language. The commons, set on by Oxford and St. John, drew up "a representation of the state of the war." In this very long paper they represented that the Dutch and all the allies had pursued selfish measures, and had failed to contribute their proper quotas to the war, the great weight of which had fallen upon England, &c. Anne forthwith instructed her ambassador at the Hague to intimate these complaints to the states-general, and to tell them that unless they immediately increased their army in Flanders her majesty would decrease hers. The states, on their side, instructed their envoy-extraordinary to represent to the court of Great Britain that they could not admit the *suppositions* on which her majesty's declarations were grounded. The envoy also presented a memorial from the states, in which they insisted that by the letter of the grand alliance all the confederates were bound to employ all their strength by sea and land against the common enemy; that as England was more powerful than Holland, so it ought to bear a greater share of the burden of the war: that Holland had been exhausted by former wars with the French—wars that tended to the general security of Europe against the inordinate ambition of Louis XIV.—while England, no disinterested party in the struggle, as the conquest of Holland would be a great step gained to the conquest or invasion of her own land, had remained at peace; that England was now, and always had been as much interested in the struggle as Holland, seeing that the French had set up *a competitor for the British throne*, and had threatened the annihilation of her trade in both Indies, in the Mediterranean, and in the Levant; that the states had, in fact, maintained upwards of 100,000 men in the Netherlands, while the English troops had fallen below 70,000. Anne replied to the memorial of the states-general by a counter-memorial, which was written by St. John with his usual point and clear style. It was short and insolent, and ended with an epigrammatic sentence, stating that, according to the Dutch, England could never give enough, nor the United Provinces too little. This English memorial was dated on the 8th of May (1712).

---

[1] Mr. Robert Man, Walpole's-agent, refusing to deliver a copy of the promissory note for £500, the house ordered that he should be taken into custody of the serjeant-at-arms for having contemptuously refused to be further examined before the commissioners of accounts. The borough of Lynn, for which Walpole sat, presently re-elected him, and thereupon it was resolved by the house that he was incapable of serving in that parliament, and that the said election was void.

More than three months before this, or on the 29th of January, the congress at Utrecht had been opened with a devout exhortation from the Bishop of Bristol, lord privy-seal, whom the Tories had thought proper to employ as their principal diplomatist. In a *project* of peace delivered on the 11th of February, Louis agreed to recognize the title of the Queen of Great Britain, and the succession of the crown in the house of Hanover; to demolish Dunkirk, upon condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede the island of St. Christopher, Hudson's Bay, and all Newfoundland, except the town of Placentia, to England; and to strengthen the present Dutch barrier with the fortified towns of Furnes, Ypres, Menin, and Fort Kenoq. But at the same time Louis demanded for himself, as a proper barrier for France, that Aire, St. Venant, Bethune, and Douai, with their dependencies, should be delivered up; that his frontier on the side of the empire and of Italy should be the same as it was before the war; and he further required that the Spanish Low Countries should be given to the Elector of Bavaria, and that Lille and Tournai should be considered as the proper equivalent for Dunkirk. As for the Spanish succession, Louis only engaged that his grandson Philip should relinquish all pretensions to Naples, Sardinia, and Milan, in favour of the emperor.[1]

---

[1] By this "Barrier Treaty," which is less known than the famous treaty that goes by the same name and was signed in 1715, Anne, on the Protestant succession in England being guaranteed by the states-general, engaged to exercise her arms and policy in such a manner as to obtain for the Dutch the right of garrisoning certain fortified places in the Spanish Netherlands, which, moreover, should serve as the barrier to the United Provinces against France. The states-general charged themselves with the support of the said garrisons, and with the proper maintenance of the fortifications; but England engaged to furnish 10,000 men and twenty ships of war, in case the barrier fixed by this treaty should be attacked, and, in case of this aid proving insufficient, she further engaged to declare war against the aggressor. As early as 1701, when the grand alliance was formed under the auspices of King William, the Dutch had proposed these conditions, and had explained how essential such a barrier was to their existence; but the treaty was not concluded by Lord Townshend until 1709.

In the meantime Marshal Villars, drawn up behind his formidable lines, which he had strengthened since Marlborough broke through them the preceding campaign, covered Arras and Cambrai, disciplined his numerous recruits, and gathered reinforcements and materials of war from nearly every part of France. The truce which usually precedes or accompanies negotiations for peace was not bargained for on the present occasion; and the French had never been more active in their warlike preparations than they were now, while the congress was sitting at Utrecht. The English army were discontented and discouraged by the removal of the general who had led them so often to conquest and triumph, and never to defeat; and the Duke of Ormond, to whom Anne and the Tories had given Marlborough's military appointments, was distinguished more as a decided Jacobite than as a good soldier. Moreover, the Dutch having no confidence either in the sincerity of the queen or in the ability of her new general, refused to intrust their troops to Ormond, and appointed Prince Eugene to command them. There were thus two commanders-in-chief, and Eugene despised Ormond as much as he had revered Marlborough in the field. The states-general, however, not knowing but that they might be attacked by Villars, hastened to act on the offensive, and King William's old friend, the Dutch Earl of Albemarle, opened the campaign in the month of April, by burning and destroying some French magazines near Arras. In the month of May Prince Eugene and the Duke of Ormond assembled the allied army near Douai, and upon a review it was found to amount to upwards of 120,000 fighting men. Eugene proposed that with this imposing force they should attack Villars in his lines, or invest Quesnoy, if the lines were found too strong. Ormond gave his consent. On his arrival at the Hague, that nobleman had declared to the states-general that his mistress intended a cordial co-operation with her allies, and especially with the Dutch;[2] and from his own letters it should appear that he was duped, and that he really believed he was to fight. But in a few days, when he was preparing to move with Eugene, Ormond received secret and positive orders from Secretary St. John to avoid engaging in any siege or hazarding any battle. The secretary further told him, that he must disguise and conceal the receipt of this order, which had been communicated to the court of France; and that if Marshal Villars should take any private notice of it, Ormond was to answer him accordingly. And shortly after, Ormond received a very polite note from Villars, feliciting himself on their being no longer enemies. Ormond, though a Jacobite, a bad patriot, and a man of intrigue, was not without sentiments of honour, and he felt deeply the embarrassment of his situation. He represented to St. John the extreme difficulty of disguising the true reason of his conduct, having nothing to offer as an excuse for not marching upon the French with Prince Eugene: and, a little later, when he was harassed by the allies, who insisted upon knowing why he was ruining the hopes of the campaign by refusing to move, he again addressed the insidious secretary, stating "the extreme uneasiness of his situation"—that many of the allies "*scrupled not openly to say they were betrayed.*" On the 7th of June the Whigs took up the subject in the House of Lords, having been incited by letters from Prince Eugene; and Lord Halifax moved an address to the throne, requesting a copy of the secret orders transmitted to Ormond, and beseeching that that commander might be ordered to act in concert with the allies. The lord-treasurer declared that the orders asked for were not proper to be divulged; but he assured the house he could be positive in saying the duke would not decline joining the allies *in a siege.* The Duke of Marl-

THE TOWNHALL, UTRECHT.
From Prout's Sketches in Flanders and Germany.

---

[1] *Mémoires de Torcy;* Prior's *Negotiations; Du Clos; Voltaire.*

[2] But shortly before Ormond went to the Low Countries, Mr. Thomas Harley, a near relation of the lord-treasurer, arrived at Utrecht, accompanied by the Abbé Gaultier; and these two secret agents told the English plenipotentiaries that the English government was determined to be at peace, and not to take part in the campaign. They also communicated the scheme of a treaty, which was kept carefully concealed from the Dutch.

borough here rose and said that a siege of necessity implied the eventual risk of a battle, in case an attempt were made by the enemy to raise it.[1] To this military reasoning the very unwarlike lord-treasurer said not a word: but he thought it necessary to reply to accusations, now publicly made on all sides, that the queen intended to make a separate peace, and leave her allies in the lurch; and he solemnly declared that nothing of that nature was ever intended; that such a peace would be "so base, so knavish, and so villainous a thing, that every one who served the queen knew they must answer it with their heads to the nation." Upon Halifax's motion being put, it was negatived by a majority of sixty-eight to forty. The defeated Whigs thereupon drew up a protest, which was signed by twenty-five of them, and which declared the order sent to the Duke of Ormond to be derogatory to her majesty's honour, to public faith, and to that justice which was due to the allies. This protest was printed and sent to the Continent, translated into French and other languages. In the House of Commons the Whigs were equally indignant at Ormond's proceedings, and equally unsuccessful. While Mr. Thomas Harley and the Abbé Gaultier intrigued and corresponded with the French ministers and their agents in Holland, Secretary St. John kept up a close correspondence, begun several months before, with the Marquis de Torcy. In St. John's earlier letters he spoke about the absolute necessity of a renunciation by Philip of the French crown. The necessity, indeed, seemed imperative. By succeeding to the empire and the hereditary dominions of Austria, Charles had arrayed against his Spanish claims a host of politicians who had formerly preferred him to Philip; but death had been still busier in the house of Bourbon than in the house of Hapsburg: the dauphin, Louis XIV.'s son, had gone to the grave the preceding year, the dauphin's son, the Duke of Burgundy, had followed in the spring of the present year, and Burgundy again had been followed by his eldest son, a child of six years; so that there now remained nothing but a sickly child, two years old,[2] between Philip, King of Spain, and the throne of France. Hence the union of the two crowns—the hydra of Europe—seemed almost certain, and, if not prevented, a ten years' war had been useless. If it was dangerous to see the Spanish crown re-united with Austria as it had been in the time of Charles V., it was still more dangerous to the independence of Europe to see it joined with France, the neighbour country—the country in itself so square and compact, and so powerful as to have been able, even by itself, to face the whole might of the Emperor Charles V.! This was the reasoning of every statesman in Europe, not a Frenchman. In England, old national prejudices and jealousies were thrown into the same scale, and Anne's ministers were compelled to insist upon the renunciation, though they seem to have cared little about the fact that it was and would be considered of no effect by the French, and that, if the infant nephew of Philip should die—and there was every prospect of that—Philip would step into his place. Louis XIV. was so aged that it was scarcely safe to count upon his life for three months. St. John, therefore, pressed De Torcy, and the French court finally complied. On the 18th of May De Torcy assured the English secretary that the king, his master, had sent King Philip positive orders either to renounce his right to the kingdom of France or to give up the kingdom of Spain.

On the 5th of June Anne went down to the House of Lords, and in a long speech announced to both houses the terms upon which an honourable and profitable peace might be made with France. The House of Commons hailed the speech with rapture, and having voted an address of confidence and thanks, they went up in a body to present it. But in the House of Lords the address encountered violent opposition. Lord Wharton proposed a clause directed against a separate peace, and the Duke of Marlborough supported his lordship, declaring that the late proceedings of ministers had sullied the glories of the queen's reign, and converted her victories and triumphs into shame and disgrace. Lord Raby, now Earl of Strafford, was again sent over to induce the states-general to accept the offers the French were making, and to consent to a cessation of arms. From this moment the Dutch, seeing that nothing could be done in conjunction with the English, and that Anne was ready to sacrifice their interests, began to think and to act for themselves; and commenced, or rather renewed, underhand negotiations with the court of Versailles. Secretary St. John soon discovered these manœuvres, which encouraged him to declare that steps must be hastened, and that the conditions of peace and war were no longer the matter in question, but, *whether her majesty should have the management of the negotiations, or the Dutch.* The situation of the Duke of Ormond was far more embarrassing than ever. His employers had been obliged to declare in parliament that the English army might assist at a siege, and afterwards to send orders to Ormond to co-operate with Prince Eugene, who by the 8th of June had invested Quesnoy. It appears that Ormond at first only sent, and that very reluctantly, sixteen battalions of foreign mercenaries, that were in the joint pay of England and Holland; but he forthwith assumed an attitude as if he would cover the siege with the whole English army, while Eugene prosecuted it with the Dutch and the imperial troops. Marshal Villars, who had written to Ormond as a friend, and who had received assurances from his court that the English were no longer to be considered as enemies, was mortified and irritated, and, being a plain-speaking man, he expressed to Ormond, in very uncourtly terms, his sense of this perfidy, or the perfidy of his sovereign and her ministers. At the same time Prince Eugene, who wanted more active assistance, and who apprehended that the English troops would soon cease even to cover his siege, complained and remonstrated with Ormond, who knew not what to say in defence or excuse, except that, with regard to his own conduct, he knew no other difference between what was shameful and what honourable than obedience to the orders of his queen. But Secretary St. John soon relieved Ormond from part of his difficulties, by letting him know that he must demand from Villars the town and port of Dunkirk as the previous condition of a cessation of hostilities or an unqualified truce on the side of the English. Dunkirk, it was said, was only to be held by the Queen of England as a pledge that France should perform all that she had promised in the still incomplete negotiations at Utrecht; and Villars and the other French officers were instructed to put the English troops in possession. Then Ormond personally communicated to Prince Eugene and the Dutch field-deputies that he could no longer cover the siege of Quesnoy or do anything whatever against the armies of Louis XIV. Eugene was indignant, and his choler was further increased by Ormond's endeavouring to carry off with him not merely the English troops, but also the foreign regiments, who had been in the pay of England. Ormond treated clandestinely with the commanders of these troops, who were for the most part Germans, and who, though they had accepted English pay, had engaged in the war at the instance of the emperor and for the objects laid down in the grand alliance. It seemed to these men the height of dishonour to desert the old cause, and they one and all refused to march off with the English troops, or to abandon Prince Eugene, who, by himself, would be too weak to cope with Villars. Even as matters went, Eugene, as we shall see, suffered severely; but if these troops had left him, it is difficult to calculate what would have been the extent of his reverses. Secretary St. John, writing to Ormond, stormed like a madman at the obstinate Germans. But nearly all the little princes of Germany, who had furnished auxiliaries, approved of the conduct of their soldiers, calling God and man to witness that they had not hired out their troops for the sake of the pay only, but also out of regard to the common safety of Europe and in observance of the duty they owed to the German empire. Hereupon Ormond declared that these poor Germans should never get the arrears of pay due to them; and he proclaimed in his camp a truce for two months, according to her majesty's commands, as signified to him by Secretary St. John, who was by this time raised to the peerage by the titles of Baron St. John and Viscount Bolingbroke. But Ormond was pledged to make the auxiliaries in British pay observe this truce as well as the native troops of Great Britain; and, as these Germans would not obey him, Villars objected to the giving up of Dunkirk; and an English detachment, which had been sent thither, found the gates of Dunkirk shut in their faces. Hereupon, the British troops cursed the Duke of Ormond "as a stupid tool, and a general of straw." The officers, it is said, and all the veterans, were overwhelmed with shame and vexation; whenever they recollected Marlborough and the late glorious times, tears gushed to their eyes. But the allied army being now divided into two parts, and the pontoons, baggage-waggons, and military stores shared between them, Ormond, seeing no prospect of drawing off the auxiliaries, packed up his baggage and decamped on the 17th of July. "This," says Cunningham, "was the

---

[1] Voltaire says that, when he was in England, such was the violence of party, that he heard people call Marlborough a coward, and Pope a blockhead. In the course of the present debate, Lord Paulet, a member of the Tory cabinet, hinted that Marlborough never exposed himself in battle, while he exposed his officers in order to benefit by their deaths.

[2] This great-grandson of Louis XIV. was afterwards Louis XV. of France.

HENRY ST. JOHN, Viscount Bolingbroke.
After Sir G. Kneller.

inauspicious day which caused so much sorrow and disgust to the allies, and branded the British name with infamy and disgrace." Louis had sent orders that, notwithstanding the conduct of the German auxiliaries, Dunkirk should be given up, and Sir John Leake had already arrived off that port with an English fleet. As Ormond advanced in that direction he was refused admittance into Douai and other towns occupied by Dutch garrisons, and Villars thought fit to give him notice that, in case he should find himself under any difficulties, he would be *welcome to a retreat in France.* Ormond halted at Ghent loaded with vexation and disgrace; while Admiral Leake landed a detachment commanded by that great soldier, Brigadier Hill, and took formal possession of Dunkirk and all its forts, the French garrison marching out to a man. Ormond lay some time at Ghent; but he detached six battalions to reinforce Brigadier Hill in Dunkirk. He soon followed himself with the main body of the English army, which (at the end of October) embarked and returned to England. Ormond was received in a kind of triumph by the Tory ministers, who pretended to consider that he had acted more gloriously in shuffling out of the war than Marlborough had ever done in conducting it. Quesnoy had fallen before he declared himself, and from that capture Eugene, with the Imperialists, the Dutch, and the German auxiliaries, marched to lay siege to Landrecies. The Bishop of Bristol and Lord Strafford strenuously recommended to the allies the example of the Queen of England, and a general truce; but Eugene thought he might yet cope with Villars, and the Dutch joined him in rejecting this advice and in reprobating the withdrawing the forces of England. For a time fortune seemed to smile on the brave prince, who made incursions by detachments far into the interior of France, and threw the gloomy court of Versailles into fresh agonies of alarm. But Eugene was not strong enough to cover properly his far-extending lines, and the want of the steady veteran British infantry was soon grievously felt.

On the 24th of July, Marshal Villars crossed the Scheldt, and with a far superior force fell upon Albemarle, who was posted with a division of the allied army at Denain. Eugene, who was attending to the siege of Landrecies, and who was as rapid as Villars, came in sight, but he was detained by the breaking down of a bridge, and Albemarle was defeated and taken prisoner almost under his eye. The French then pushed along the scarp to Marchiennes, where the people favoured the French, and furnished them with intelligence. Indeed, in all this part of the country, the stoppage of the secret-service money, which Marlborough had been accustomed to distribute, had a prodigious effect upon the political disposition of the inhabitants. Marchiennes was taken and plundered by Villars with surprising facility, considering that the place was garrisoned by 4000 men. Eugene now raised the siege of Landrecies; but, even with his army disengaged, he could not prevent Villars from investing Douai. The garrison there scarcely behaved better than the troops in Marchiennes had done; and they surrendered after a short siege. Quesnoy, which Eugene had so recently taken, made a better resistance, but it too fell before Villars. The states-general checked Eugene, who would have fought a battle to save these places, representing to him that, in their present circumstances, it would be unwise and unsafe to risk their army.

CHAPTER XI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1712—1714.

ANNE.

Lord Bolingbroke sent ambassador to Paris—His political character and proceedings—Fatal duel between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun—The Duke of Shrewsbury goes as ambassador to Paris—Marlborough leaves England—The treaty of Utrecht concluded—Its chief articles—Attempt to establish reciprocity of trade between France and England—Jacobite interests compromised by the treaty of Utrecht—Proposal to extend the malt tax to Scotland—It threatens to dissolve the union—Changes in the court and cabinet—Lord Bolingbroke intrigues for the pretender—Dangers of the Protestant succession—Spanish affairs—Risk of a renewal of war—Humiliation of England among the contending parties—Intrigues in the English court in favour of the pretender—Lady Masham's exertions in his cause—Counter-workings of the Earl of Oxford—Meeting of a new parliament—Steps to secure the Hanoverian succession—Proposals made subversive of the pretender's personal safety—They are rejected—The queen's dislike to the Hanoverian succession and its advocates—Proposal that the Elector of Hanover should come to England, and take his seat in the House of Lords—Unintelligible character of the political manœuvres upon this subject—Declarations of the principal statesmen about the elector's coming to England—Extracts of correspondence on the state of parties in England—Perplexity of the Hanoverian court—The queen's angry letter to the Elector of Hanover—The elector's journey to England abandoned—New intrigues in behalf of the pretender—The Hanoverian minister's account of the state of parties at the English court—Alarm of a civil war in behalf of the pretender—The oppressive "Schism Act"—Its origin and nature—Long debates upon it in parliament—It passes through both houses—Its operation unexpectedly arrested—Political rivalry between the Earl of Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke—Oxford displaced—Bolingbroke's temporary ascendency—Marlborough's circumspect watchfulness over these proceedings—Dangerous illness of the queen—Anxiety of the political parties during her sickness—Bolingbroke and the Jacobites reduced to despair—A new prime minister appointed—The Whig party triumphant—The Hanoverian succession secured—Death of Queen Anne—The Elector of Hanover proclaimed King of Great Britain.

UPON the return of the army of the Duke of Ormond, the troops were mostly disbanded, and a general disarming was begun in England. At the same time Secretary Bolingbroke, who had told De Torcy that his queen "had taken steps beyond ordinary rules," was sent over as ambassador to Paris to facilitate the conclusion of the peace begun to be negotiated at Utrecht, which he went prepared to do by playing into the hands of France and the pretender. He was accompanied by Prior the poet. Shortly after his arrival a cessation of hostilities was agreed to for Italy, together with a safe passage for all the Austrians from Spain back to Italy. It was also agreed that the pretender should retire to Lorraine; and that security for his person, during his residence in that country, should be demanded from the Duke of Lorraine and the emperor. De Torcy presented the draft of Philip's act of renunciation, which Bolingbroke sent to the lord-treasurer. Bolingbroke further agreed to a truce with France by land and sea for four months longer, and invited the allies to join in it. He then returned to England elate with the flattering distinctions he had received at Paris, the atmosphere of which place seemed native to him: for, in head and heart, in his good qualities as well as in his evil ones, in his style and in his thoughts, Bolingbroke was more French than English. He left Matthew Prior behind him to finish the negotiations. On the 10th of September the secretary wrote from London to the poet: "For God's sake, dear Mat, for God's sake, hide the nakedness of thy country, and give the best turn thy fertile brain will furnish thee with to the blunders of thy countrymen, who are not much better politicians than the French are poets!" The secretary recommended "management" and "appearance." It was, therefore, high time for the Dutch to think for themselves; and early in October they most reluctantly yielded many of their pretensions. But now the demands of the French rose as those of the Dutch declined: and they advanced claim upon claim, till even Bolingbroke was obliged to exclaim, "By heaven! they treat like pedlars: or, which is worse, like attorneys!"[1] But this mode of dealing was the inevitable consequence of the unwise and ungenerous measures which had been adopted by the English cabinet; the signing the separate truce, the withdrawing our army from Flanders, and the whole tone of our diplomacy—measures in which Bolingbroke himself had undeniably been a conspicuous counsellor and chief actor. We cannot help thinking that the brilliant qualities of this intriguing politician, his masterly pen, his ready and searching wit, aided by many amiable and engaging traits of personal character, have too much blinded the world to his political profligacy, and even occasioned far too high an estimate of his political knowledge and address. A few more such brilliant men as Bolingbroke would have given us something like a French despotism in government, together with a French code of morals.[1]

---

[1] Prior's *Negotiations;* Letters of Bolingbroke, in *Hardwicke State Papers;* De Torcy, *Memoires*

In the meanwhile Lord Lexington had proceeded to Madrid, where, on the 5th of November, and in the presence of the council of state, and of the chief nobility, King Philip signed his renunciation of the French succession, and swore upon the holy evangelists to observe it in all time and under all temptations. The Spaniards at Madrid and in all parts of the kingdom, except in a corner of it, were contented and jubilant; but in that corner which was the exception, the predominant feelings were a hatred of the Bourbon, and a detestation of the English, who had given them up to his dominion. The Catalonians had been invited and incited to take up arms by the English, who had most solemnly engaged never to forsake them or betray them, yet all the British troops there had been recalled; the Imperialists, the troops and officers of the claimant Charles, had thus been obliged to withdraw for their own safety: and, forsaken by all, the poor Catalonians were left to the vengeance of the king whom they had so long and so bravely opposed, and to the fierce retaliation of the neighbouring provinces. Our troops were also withdrawn from Portugal, but the sovereign of that country had been brought into the truce, and could depend upon being secured in the definitive treaty.

Matthew Prior, after all, was only a poet. It seemed necessary to the Tories to have a duke at Paris. And which of all the dukes of England and Scotland was the one appointed at this critical juncture to represent Queen Anne at the French court? It was that shuffling Jacobite, the Duke of Hamilton, who had continued in constant correspondence with the court of St. Germain.[2]

Even before Mrs. Masham and Harley had undermined the Whig ministry, Hamilton had been an acceptable visitor at the court of St. James's, but since the absolute prevalence there of the Tory party, he had been closeted far more frequently with the queen. It was impossible to avoid dark suspicions. Burnet says, "The Duke of Hamilton's being now appointed to go to the court of France gave melancholy speculations to those who thought him much in the pretender's interest: he was considered, not only in Scotland, but here in England, as the head of his party; but a dismal accident put an end to his life, a few days before he intended to have set out on his embassy." His Grace of Hamilton had been engaged in some law-suits, and had contracted a violent hatred against Lord Mohun, a man whose fierce passions fell little short of madness. At an accidental meeting, the duke, it it said, grossly insulted his lordship, who thereupon sent him a challenge. The spirit of party has so completely seized this subject as to make it difficult to ascertain the true story. On Saturday morning, the 15th of November, the keepers of Hyde Park heard a clashing of swords, and, running to the spot, which was in Kensington Gardens, they found both the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun weltering in their blood and dying. Colonel Hamilton, the duke's second, and near relative, remained on the field, and was taken prisoner; but General Macartney, Mohun's second, ran off and escaped. Colonel Hamilton, when brought before the council, deposed that the seconds, that is, himself and Macartney, had fought as well as the principals, and he hinted that his grace had had foul play at the hands of Macartney. The colonel's deposition is far from being entitled to implicit credit; it seems to have been rambling and inconclusive, and the relation in which he stood to the deceased duke, and his political and personal prejudices, render his testimony suspicious. It is true General Macartney fled to the Continent, instead of staying to explain the duel, and rebut his adversary's charges; but in such a business, an innocent and a brave man may reasonably have dreaded the vengeance of the powerful Tory party and the violent excitement of the people, who had been assured by some about court, that the duel was from beginning to end a most foul and premeditated murder, undertaken at the desire and instigation of a desperate Whig faction that had posted other men of the same stamp as Macartney all round Hyde Park to assassinate the duke in case he had escaped the swords of Lord Mohun and his second. Swift, in the *Examiner*, held up Lord Mohun as a profligate, whose hands had been already dyed with three foul murders; and, generally, the writers on the Tory side maintained that both Mohun and Macartney had been "incited to undertake the quarrel, by a certain party of men who were no great friends to the government." The Whig writers, on the other side, maintained that the combat of principals and seconds had been savagely but fairly fought, and that there was no incitement to it beyond the old animosities existing between Hamilton and Mohun, and the recent insult offered by his grace to his lordship. Cunningham says, that Hamilton, "being challenged to a duel by the Lord Mohun, killed his antagonist; but was himself also killed, as was supposed, by General Macartney, Mohun's second." But this does not imply that there was anything unfair in the proceeding, for the combat was general: Macartney, on the fall of his friend, was left single-handed to face two adversaries; and the instinct of self-preservation and the desire of avenging Mohun, would account for, and in such a business justify his attacking Hamilton. But though the Whigs exculpated themselves from the foul charge of promoting a murder, they scarcely pretended to conceal that they were glad at Hamilton's death; and they interpreted the rage of their opponents into a proof of the hopes they had entertained from that Jacobite nobleman's embassy to France, and his conferences there with the pretender. In lieu of the deceased duke, the Duke of Shrewsbury was now nominated, and he proceeded forthwith to Paris, where Matthew Prior still remained to assist in the negotiations. The Tories, or the Jacobites, had not hesitated to accuse the Duke of Marlborough of being concerned in Hamilton's death; and as the fallen and discontented lord-general left England shortly after to fix his residence on the Continent, his departure was construed into a proof of his guilt and of his fear of the consequences. But Marlborough's silent and apparently secret departure out of England has been accounted for upon much better grounds. Godolphin, his best ally, "the man of the clearest head and the calmest temper," had died in the preceding month of September, and since then the court fury against the Whig party, and against the Marlboroughs in particular, had increased, as, in due proportion, had the audacity and unscrupulousness of the general's personal and political enemies. "If he had stayed in England," says Burnet, "it was not to be doubted but, upon the least shadow of suspicion, he would have been immediately secured; whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond sea, to act as there might be occasion for it. There were two suits begun against him: the one was for the two-and-a-half per cent. that the foreign princes were content should be deducted for contingencies, of which an account was formerly given; the other was for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim House. The queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her; and in the preambles of the acts of parliament that confirmed the grant of Woodstock to him and his heirs, it was said the queen built the house for him; yet, now that the tradesmen were let run into an arrear of £30,000, the queen refused to pay any more, and set them upon suing the Duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them. Upon his going beyond sea, both those suits were stayed, which gave occasion to the people to imagine that the ministry, being disturbed to see so much public respect put on a man whom they had used so ill, had set these prosecutions on foot only to render his stay in England uneasy to him." But whatever was the motive for his going, Marlborough, who was followed a few weeks after by his duchess, never returned to England until Anne was safely deposited in Westminster Abbey. Another fact, which is equally certain, is, that from his foreign retirement Marlborough, notwithstanding his frequent correspondence with the house of Hanover, continued also to correspond with the court of St. Germain, and to express his unalterable attachment to the pretender.[1]

---

[1] Nothing can be more unprincipled than the tirade in which, in his *Letters on History*, Lord Bolingbroke endeavours to throw on the Dutch the whole blame of the inadequacy of the terms obtained from France, as if the paralyzing of the allied army had been caused by them, not by the superseding of Marlborough and the inaction imposed on his successor. So that Bolingbroke only makes his own conduct the more indefensible, when, with rare sagacity, he points to the elasticity of the power of France, and the rapidity with which her immense natural resources would always enable her to recover from any temporary exhaustion caused by the ambition and folly of her people and government. Who would suppose that it is Bolingbroke who writes as follows:—"Notwithstanding this, I shall not be surprised if you think that the peace of Utrecht was not answerable to the success of the war, nor to the efforts made in it. I think so myself, and have always owned, even while it was making and made, that I thought so. Since we had committed a successful folly, we ought to have reaped more advantage from it than we did; and whether we had left Philip or placed another prince on the throne of Spain, we ought to have reduced the power of France, and to have strengthened her neighbours much more than we did. We ought to have reduced her power for generations to come, and not to have contented ourselves with a momentary reduction of it. France was exhausted to a great degree of men and money, and her government had no credit: but they who took this for a sufficient reduction of her power, looked but a little way before them and reasoned too superficially. Several such there were, however," &c. He then goes into particular calculations, and repeats that "the natural advantages of the country are such, that how great soever her distress be at any point of time, twenty years of tranquillity suffice to re-establish her affairs, and to enrich her again at the expense of all the nations of Europe." And again, "Upon the whole matter, my lord, the low and exhausted state to which France was reduced, by the last great war, was but a temporary reduction of her power: and whatever real and more lasting reduction the treaty of Utrecht brought about in some instances, it was not sufficient. The power of France would not have appeared as great as it did when England and Holland armed themselves and armed all Germany against her, if she had lain as open to the invasions of her enemies, as her enemies lay to her. Her inward strength was great; but the strength of those frontiers which Louis XIV. was almost forty years in forming, and which the folly of all his neighbours in turn suffered him to form, made his strength as formidable as it became."

[2] In his remarks on the reign of Louis XIV., M. Guizot notes the manifest superiority of the French as diplomatists, and to this we may no doubt in part ascribe the success with which they contrived to detach England from a hearty co-operation with her continental allies, and to secure a better peace at Utrecht than even Anne's Tory cabinet either wished or expected. "The French diplomacy of that epoch," says Guizot, "was also strongly marked by skill and ability. The names of Messieurs de Torcy, D'Avaux, and Bonrepaus are known to all well-informed persons. When we compare the despatches and memoirs, the capacity and conduct, of those counsellors of Louis XIV., with the capabilities evinced by the Spanish, Portuguese, and German negotiators, we are struck with the superiority of the French ministers, not only as regards their intellectual activity and application to business, but also in liberality of mind. These courtiers of an absolute king understood external circumstances and parties, the longings of liberty and popular movements, much better than the majority of the English themselves at that period. There was no diplomacy in Europe in the seventeenth century which appears at all equal to the French but the Dutch. The ministers employed by De Witt and the Prince of Orange, those illustrious chiefs of the party of civil and religious liberty, were the only diplomatists who proved fit to enter the lists with the servants of the great monarch."

A.D. 1713. To allow time for the conclusion of the treaty of Utrecht and the arrival of Lord Bolingbroke, who had returned to the Continent to hasten it, the meeting of parliament had been put off by seven prorogations: at length, however, on the 3d of April, Bolingbroke arrived, and the session opened on the 9th of the same month.

On the 4th of May, exactly eleven years after the proclamation of this costly war, peace was proclaimed in London. Holland, Portugal, Prussia, and Savoy had reluctantly signed the treaty of Utrecht; but the emperor, both in his hereditary capacity of sovereign of Austria, Hungary, Bohemia, &c., and as head of the German empire, persisted in refusing to be a party to it, and in proclaiming in protests and manifestoes that he, a principal in the grand alliance, had been abandoned and betrayed. As finally settled, this famous or infamous treaty left, or seemed to leave France more powerful than she was at the commencement of the war. Its main articles were—1. That the French king recognized the Protestant succession of the house of Hanover, and engaged for himself, his heirs, and successors, not to suffer the pretender to return into his dominions, nor in any way to succour or assist him. 2. That the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. 3. That the fortifications of Dunkirk should be demolished, and the harbour filled up, never to be repaired. 4. Hudson's Bay and Straits were to remain to Great Britain, and satisfaction was to be made by France to the Hudson Bay Company for damages received; the whole island of St. Christopher, Nova Scotia, and the island of Newfoundland were to belong of right to Great Britain, the French having huts there to dry their fish, and liberty to fish only from Cape Bonavista to the northern point of Newfoundland. 5. The French in Canada were not to molest the five nations of Indians subject to Great Britain. 6. All letters of reprisal, mark, and countermark, were to be annulled. 7. England was to retain Minorca and Gibraltar, as provided in a separate treaty with Philip, as King of Spain. (This was all of the treaty that directly regarded the interests of Great Britain). 8. Naples, Milan, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands were to be ceded to the emperor, in lieu of his claim to the Spanish crown. 9. Sicily was to be disjoined from Naples, and transferred to the Duke of Savoy with the regal title; and the eventual succession to the crown of Spain was, in default of descendants from the Bourbon Philip, to be vested in the house of Savoy. 10. In addition to the places anciently possessed by the Dutch, to strengthen their frontier, Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, and Newport were to be assigned as a perpetual barrier, as had been previously stipulated by the new barrier treaty signed by the ministers of Great Britain and the states-general on the 30th of January. The emperor was to be allowed to the 1st of June to declare his acceptance or non-acceptance of the terms proposed.[2]

Fortune or the better power that regulates human events, nullified in the end the fears which Europe had entertained of a Bourbon reign in Spain; but at the time when those fears originated, and even when the treaty of Utrecht was signed, they were neither unfounded nor unimportant; they were, on the contrary, of the highest importance to every power in Europe. It happened that the sickly boy that stood between Philip and the French throne lived to be king, and to beget and leave heirs behind him, so that neither Philip nor his successor was tempted to break the solemn engagement and renunciation made; but if the boy Louis (afterwards the fifteenth of that name) had died, can it be believed for a moment that Philip would not have grasped at the succession? Yet this long war, so ingloriously terminated, had not been without its effects; all the blood and treasure spent had not been absolutely thrown away. The haughtiest, the most arrogant, overbearing, and ambitious sovereign of Europe had been checked, humiliated, and brought to reason; the spell of the French name—the belief that they were all but invincible in the field—had been thoroughly broken, and this mainly through the valour of British troops and the military genius of an English general; our martial reputation had been raised to the highest pitch—a thing insignificant only in the eyes of a few dreaming theorists and impracticable humanists; France had been so weakened and exhausted as not to be in a condition to give any serious alarm to the world for some generations; and Holland for the present was comparatively secured from attack. At home this long war had given fresh vigour and impulses to the mind of the people, and rubbed off the rust which had been contracted under the two last princes of the house of Stuart.

---

[1] Dalrymple, *Memoirs;* Macpherson, *Stuart Papers.*

[2] Many of the princes of his empire seemed determined to support the emperor in resisting the treaty. This was particularly the case with Hanover. In the debates in parliament some of the Whigs objected that this peace could not be called a general peace, since the emperor, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes and states of the empire, were not yet come into it. But ministers replied that, indeed, the peace was not universal, but still might be called general, since the major part of the allies had signed it.—Roger Coke, *Detection.*

Such as it was, the treaty of Utrecht was easily swallowed by the sitting parliament, who, however, raised strong objections to the commercial treaty with France by which it was accompanied. Bolingbroke, and those who acted with him or under him, had agreed that all the goods and commodities of France should be received in England on the footing of the most favoured nations; and that the goods and commodities of England should be received in France on the like terms. This appears like a dawning of the reciprocity system of our own day; and the merit of it is attributed to the bright intellect of Bolingbroke. It should appear, however, that the merit was really due to Mr. Arthur Moore, who had risen from the humble condition of a livery-servant to be a merchant of great wealth and influence, and a political economist far in advance of his time. The English manufacturers, particularly of woollen and silk goods, complained loudly against the commercial treaty. Sir Charles Cooke, Sir Theodore Janson, and other eminent merchants of London, launched a periodical paper to make war on the project.[1] Among other things, these wiseacres asserted that a free trade with France would be a greater calamity than the fire of London; that country gentlemen and landholders would be brought to poverty by the rapid decay of their rents; and that the working people would be reduced to the cruel alternative of starvation or emigration. Numerous petitions and remonstrances were presented all in the same spirit.

The commercial treaty fell to the ground, and helped to destroy the ministry, who also soon began to find that the popular joy for the peace was a very evanescent feeling, and that all classes were beginning to criticize even the main treaty of Utrecht. By that treaty the pretender had been obliged to withdraw from St. Germain: Louis, indeed, was bound to send him out of France; but he allowed him to take up his residence at Bar-le-Duc in Lorraine, which, though nominally a separate country, was as entirely a portion of France as its geographical position and the insignificance of its rulers could make it. Concluding that it would be as easy for the pretender to carry on his intrigues with Scotland and England from Bar-le-Duc as from St. Germain, Lord Wharton, on the 29th of June, without notice given, moved in the upper house for an address entreating the queen "to use her most pressing instances for removing the pretender from the Duke of Lorraine's dominions." Not one of the court party ventured to oppose the motion—so powerful was the dread of any suspicion of Jacobitism, and even with those who fondly fancied at the queen's demise it would be an easy thing to restore the outcast Stuart; but at length Lord North timidly observed, that to carry the motion would show a distrust of her majesty; and he asked where they would have the pretender live, if they insisted upon driving him from all the states that were then in friendship with England?[2] The motion, however, was unanimously carried; and, two days after, General Stanhope made precisely the same motion in the commons. Here was the same timidity also. Only Sir William Whitelock said drily, that he remembered how the like address was formerly made to Oliver Cromwell for having Charles Stuart removed out of France; and yet Charles had been brought back to the throne. It is surmised that the Jacobites in the house remained so quiet from having the fear of the approaching elections before their eyes.[3] The two addresses were carried up to the queen, who, probably without doing much violence to her feelings, pretended to be satisfied with them, and promised to act accordingly, or to use her best endeavours to get the pretender removed out of Lorraine. The negotiation for the removal was intrusted to Bolingbroke and Prior, who both, together with the French minister De Torcy, treated it as a jest. It appears, indeed, that Bolingbroke himself privately furnished the Duke of Lorraine with pretexts for eluding the very demands which he (Bolingbroke) was making publicly.[4]

When the House of Commons—pressed for large supplies notwithstanding the peace—were proceeding to renew the malt tax for another year, it was proposed, and eventually carried, that this tax should be extended to Scotland, which had hitherto been free from it. The Scottish members and the Scottish peers, who had many other grievances, some imaginary, but others real and serious, held a meeting, and deputed two lords and two commoners to remonstrate with the queen against "such a breach of the articles of the union as prompted them to declare it dissolved." Anne reproved them for their precipitation, and thought the threat would end there. But on the 14th of June, Lord Findlater moved in the upper house for leave to bring in a bill to dissolve the union. What followed upon this motion is one of the most atrocious instances upon record of the rancour and recklessness of party or faction. The Whigs, whose brightest work had been the carrying of the union in the teeth of the all but unanimous Tory opposition, now changed sides, and, like foul infanticides, endeavoured to destroy the best of their progeny, that they might step over its bleeding body into the cabinet. Perhaps it may be said that the Whigs did not intend the disseverance to be lasting; but, if it had happened only for a day, the advancing clock of British civilization would have been put back a whole century. And yet, what with Whig lords that were scheming, and Scottish lords that were furious, or sold, body and soul, to the pretender, the motion was rejected only by a majority of *four*. Some good, however, seems to have come out of this madness. Several injuries inflicted upon Scotland were exposed; and English legislators were reminded of the necessity of proceeding more gently with a high-spirited and resolute people.

---

[1] *The British Merchant*, afterwards collected and republished in three volumes.

[2] Lord Peterborough said, with more wit than feeling, that, as the pretender had begun his studies at Paris, he had better go and finish them at Rome.

[3] *Lord Mahon.*

[4] Letter of the Abbé Gaultier to De Torcy.

On the 16th of July Anne closed the session with an energetic speech, in which she took honour to herself for having concluded a war, which she found prepared for her on her accession, by a safe and honourable peace. As its three years had expired, the prorogation of this parliament was followed, on the 8th of August, by its dissolution by proclamation.

Some important changes were made in court and cabinet. The Duke of Shrewsbury was made Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; the Duke of Ormond, one of the most resolute of the Jacobites, was appointed governor of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque-ports, as if to facilitate the landing of the pretender in England; Lord Lansdowne became treasurer of the household, and Lord Dartmouth privy-seal; Bromley, the Tory leader in the commons, was made joint secretary with Lord Bolingbroke; Benson was created Lord Bingley, and sent on an embassy to Spain, being succeeded in his post of chancellor of the exchequer by Sir William Wyndham, then a friend of Bolingbroke. In these changes the ascendency of Bolingbroke was made visible: and, indeed, by means of Lady Masham, the intriguing secretary seemed to be getting the treasurer's staff within his grasp. Emboldened by success, Bolingbroke now gave a freer scope to the evil genius by which he was possessed; and the suspicion he excited in the house of Hanover, and the mortal offence he gave them, made his case hopeless if they should ascend the English throne, and therefore urged him forward in his by-paths and intrigues, as offering his only chance of self-security in after-time. The frequent illnesses of the queen must have forced these considerations upon him incessantly; and we believe that in them, and in the pride of the man's heart—in the satisfaction of overcoming difficulties which seemed insuperable to every other statesman—may be found the motives of Bolingbroke's proceedings to bring in the pretender. Perhaps, also, part of Oxford's timidity on this subject may have arisen out of the circumstance that he enjoyed less of the queen's confidence than his rival, and had infinitely less art than Bolingbroke in detecting secret and studiously concealed inclinations. The secretary had been for some time convinced that Anne, more from hatred to the house of Hanover than any family affection, would gladly contribute to placing the crown on the pretender's head after her own death, if she could be certain that she could do it without danger to herself, and also certain that the pretender would enter the pale of the Church of England, out of which she seems conscientiously to have believed that there was no salvation, and no possibility of ruling the English people. The genius of Bolingbroke, overlooking these *ifs* and hypotheses, and the startling array of national feeling and parliamentary authority, presumed that, through the partialities of a weak woman, and the resources of his own mind, he could set aside the act of succession, and bring in the Stuart. At this time the diplomatic intercourse between England and Hanover was anything rather than smooth: the queen considered herself highly insulted by the elector's adhering to his liege lord the emperor, and by the obstacles he had raised to the treaty of Utrecht. Anne in her own court spoke most disrespectfully both of George and of his aged mother, and encouraged the jests that were made upon their serene highnesses by her familiars. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian resident, knew not how to act or what to think—except that there was a design on foot against his master.

Letters were brought over from the pretender and his chief advisers (as they had been before) to entreat all the friends of the good cause to vote for the Tories, and to exert themselves strenuously in the elections for the new parliament. [Yet Oxford, according to a Jacobite letter, had "lately put in some of the most violent Whigs to be high-sheriffs in some counties, on purpose to influence the next elections in favour of the Whigs."][1] The Tories stood upon the peace and upon the broad basis of the high-church interest, and so despondent were the friends of the Protestant succession, that General Stanhope told Schutz that the majority of *country gentlemen* would surely be against them; and that, if things continued on their present footing, the elector, George, would not come to the crown unless he came with an army. Still, however, the Whigs made extraordinary exertions, taking *their* stand upon the treaty of commerce and the old jealousies of the nation against everything French. This last was their best card; and, to show their concern for trade and the staple commodity, they wore pieces of wool in their hats, while the Tories wore green boughs to recall the memory of the oak of Boscobel and the restoration of King Charles II. After the two parties had tried their strength in all the counties and boroughs, it was found that the Whigs were a trifle more successful in this election than at the last.

---

[1] Extract of a letter from Father Innes, in Macpherson, *Stuart Papers*. The very next letter in this strange repository of intrigue and baseness is from a Mrs. White in England to the pretender's minister in France. After speaking about a considerable sum "for him that was of the best quality"—meaning Secretary Bolingbroke—Mrs. White says that she cannot change her opinion about the trimming and shuffling Harley (Oxford). "He would," she says, "engage all; but keeps the balance in his own power, to give a turn the way he thinks will prove

The foreign transactions of the year 1713 heaped fresh disgrace upon the flag or the government of England. Philip, as King of Spain, had renewed the treaty of commerce and navigation of 1667, which granted to England the monopoly of a detestable traffic—the "Assiento," or the exclusive right of supplying the Spanish colonies in America with African slaves. He had also, on the representations of the English government, engaged to grant their lives, estates, and honours to the steady and unfortunate adherents of the Austrian claimant, the brave Catalans, for all that had been done by them during this war. There were to be exceptions, as a matter of course; but as many of the Catalans as pleased were to be allowed liberty to remove to Italy with their effects. But the people of that province, who before now had braved for years the whole power of Spain, distrusted and refused the conditions offered to them, and prepared once more to defend themselves against the armies of Philip. If the Bourbon had depended only on Spanish troops, the struggle might again have lasted twelve years; but Philip got veteran troops from France, and the active and able Duke of Berwick for his general; and the "rebellion," as it was now styled even by some of the powers that had landed the Austrian Charles there, and put arms in the hands of the natives, was quenched in a sea of blood—leaving the Catalans good cause to curse the name of England and of Austria. As for the emperor, he would have assisted them, or at least for his own interest he would have prolonged the struggle in Spain, if he had been able; but, left to carry on the war single-handed, it was with extreme difficulty he could defend himself upon the Rhine, where the French retook Landau, and gained other decided advantages, which made him listen to pacific proposals, that led, in the autumn, to a conference at Rastadt between Prince Eugene and Marshal Villars. The negotiations were broken off, but each party soon saw the propriety of yielding something: Eugene and Villars met again at Rastadt, where it was finally agreed that France should continue in possession of the whole of Alsace, with Landau, Strasburg, and the fortresses of Huningue and New Brisac, in their integrity, and not dismantled as proposed in the treaty of Utrecht; and that the allies of France, the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria, should be relieved from the ban of the empire, and reinstated in their respective dominions. It was further agreed, however, that there should be a kind of congress held at Baden in the spring of the following year, to regulate other matters so as to perpetuate the peace between the French king and the emperor. We may mention here, that when that meeting took place the pope's nuncio was present as one of the congress, and that when the emperor desired that ministers of England and Holland should also be admitted, it was resolutely refused by France. When Anne complained of this, the French king replied that he would do her majesty all good offices, and take all possible care of the interests of Great Britain. The emperor Charles was solicited, like the other Catholic princes, by the court of Rome and by the pretender; and it was feared that, to avenge the faithless defection of Queen Anne, which had cost him so dear, his imperial majesty might make common cause with France and Rome in abetting the outcast Stuart, and forcing him back upon the English nation. It was even rumoured that the emperor had expressly stipulated to support the cause of the exiled family, and to give one of his nieces in marriage to the pretender. Oxford, in a conversation with the Whig ex-chancellor, Lord Cowper, accused the Duke of Marlborough of promoting this marriage.[1] The conferences both at Rastadt and Baden were therefore watched with the greatest anxiety in England; and so low had the real victrix in the war now fallen, that she was grateful for an assurance that the emperor would not interfere in the internal concerns of England. Her name, in fact, was not mentioned in the treaty.

In the meantime the government of England had fallen into contempt at home, and the intrigues of the court had thickened, and continued still to thicken, with every new attack of the gout or other illness of her majesty. Anne's own mind was divided and agitated by different

---

most suitable to continue for his own private interest. He makes himself many enemies, and secures but few friends; for those that are in the king's interest abominate the trimming way he takes; and he will not be able to go on much longer without giving some other demonstration than he yet has."

[1] Lord Cowper's Diary, in Coxe's *Life of Marlborough.*

partialities and conflicting passions; and the two women whom she chiefly consulted, and upon whose advice she relied, as she had done in former times upon that of the Duchess of Marlborough, entertained notions diametrically opposite. The Duchess of Somerset was favourable to the house of Hanover, and wrought upon the weak mind of Anne through her dread of Popery and her high Church-of-Englandism, not hesitating to hint that she would risk her soul's eternal welfare, if she exposed her people to the dangers of Popery by contributing to the succession of a prince who had been nurtured in the Roman creed, who had lived all his life in Roman Catholic countries, and who had rejected every overture made to him about changing his religion, or conforming even in outward appearances to the Anglican church. Lady Masham, on the other side, was enthusiastic for the pretender. As early as the year 1710 that bedchamber-woman had put herself at the head of schemes and projects for changing the destiny of her country: according to the Duke of Berwick, the Abbé Gaultier, when charged with secret negotiations between France and England, waited upon him at St. Germain to communicate secret messages and overtures from Lord-treasurer Oxford, and told him of the designs of the English minister in favour of the pretender, stating, however, that Oxford insisted on three conditions:—1. That no one at St. Germain, not even the pretender's mother, should be let into the secret; 2. That Anne should enjoy the crown during her life; 3. That security should be given for the church and constitution of England. Berwick informs us that he willingly agreed to all this, and that the pretender did the same.

In consequence of the clandestine expedition to Paris of Gaultier and Matthew Prior, M. Ménager, it will be remembered, came over to England. An important part of the mission with which Ménager was charged was, to ascertain what could be done for the pretender, and what was the real state of Anne's feeling towards him. Lord Bolingbroke, then Mr. St. John, introduced Ménager to the she-favourite, saying that he did not choose to meddle further in the matter himself, but that her majesty had allowed him to introduce Ménager to Mrs. Masham. When the Frenchman and the bedchamber-woman came together they presently agreed upon two points: 1. That for the satisfaction of the people at home, the King of France should be required in Anne's name to abandon her brother and his interest, *on pretence of adhering to the succession as it was now established;* 2. That, nevertheless, the seeming to abandon the said interest was to be so understood, that the king should not be obliged, in case of her majesty's decease, not to use his endeavours for the placing the said prince on his father's throne, to which he had an undoubted right. "Mrs. Masham further told me," says Ménager, "that it was the present unhappiness of the queen to possess the throne of her brother, which she had no other claim to than what the political measures of the state had made legal, and in a sort necessary." With the perfect understanding that the renunciation of the pretender and the recognition of the Hanoverian succession was a mere show—a thing to be said and written, but not observed by his master Louis, Ménager repaired to Utrecht, where he was a principal negotiator, and where he found that the English plenipotentiaries had not received any such private instructions as Lady Masham had given him reason to expect would be sent to them; and he afterwards discovered that the agents of the court of St. Germain had made the interests of the chevalier or pretender the subject of a private negotiation with the ministry in England. When Oxford had amused these agents as long as was thought necessary, he began to start numerous objections and difficulties, and to urge the necessity of time and patience in working out so great and perilous a scheme. And the Jacobite agents were at last obliged to represent to the court at Versailles, "that the ministry in England were men of no honour; that they had held them in suspense for a long time; and that now, they not only did not come to the point with them, but declined any conversation on the subject." Lady Masham, who had wished the pretender to depend upon, and to owe his fortunes to Bolingbroke, afterwards wrote to Ménager to express her disappointment and vexation. "I take it for granted," says the bedchamber-woman, "that they (the court of St. Germain) are fallen into the hands of my lord-treasurer (Oxford). If their assurances are from him, I doubt not he values himself upon having deceived them."[1] "In this manner," says the Duke of Berwick, in his memoirs, when treating of the year 1714, "did Oxford amuse us, and it was difficult to prevent it; for to break with him would have been the destruction of everything, because he had the power in his hands and governed Queen Anne. We were therefore forced *to pretend to trust to him;* but, at the same time, we neglected not to concert measures privately with the Duke of Ormond, *and many other persons*, in order that we might bring about this matter by their means, if Oxford should fail us." Among the *many other persons* thus alluded to as trusty Jacobites was the Duke of Buckingham. During the winter (1713–14) Anne was seized with a dangerous illness at Windsor; and for some time it was believed that the gout had mounted to her stomach. The nation was thrown into alarm—the intriguing ministry into an agonizing panic. Oxford, the very last man that had a right to complain of indecision and procrastination, said to his penman and confidant, Swift, "These people, when the queen is ill, think she has not an hour to live; and, when she is better, they act as if she were immortal."[1] A run was made upon the bank; it was reported that an armament was prepared in the ports of France to bring over the pretender; and the funds, ever susceptible and ever timid, fell. To quiet these alarms, the suffering Anne was obliged by her ministers to write a letter to the lord-mayor of London, to assure him that her malady was abating, and that she would soon return to London to open the session of parliament in person.

---

[1] Minutes of Ménager's negotiations, in Macpherson, *Stuart Papers; Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick.* Hallam distrusts Ménager as an authority. "If we may trust," he says, "to a book printed in 1717, with the title, *Minutes of Monsieur Mesnager's Negotiations with the Court of England towards the close of the last Reign*, written by himself, that agent of the French cabinet entered into an arrangement with Bolingbroke in March, 1712, about the pretender. It was agreed that Louis should ostensibly abandon him, but should not be obliged, in case of the queen's death, not to use endeavours for his restoration. Lady Masham was wholly for this, but owned the rage and irreconcilable aversion of the greatest part of the common people to her (the queen's) brother was grown to a height." But I must confess that although Macpherson has extracted the above passage, and a more judicious writer, Somerville, quotes the book freely as genuine (*History of Anne*, p. 581, &c.), I found in reading it what seemed to me the strongest grounds of suspicion. It is printed in England, without a word of preface to explain how such important secrets came to be divulged, or by what means the book came into the world; the correct infor-

A.D. 1714. The new parliament, which had been originally summoned for the 12th of the preceding November, met on the 16th of February. On the 2d of March her majesty delivered the speech from the throne. "I wish," she said, "that effectual care had been taken, as I have often desired, to suppress those seditious papers and factious rumours, by which designing men have been able to sink credit, and the innocent have suffered. There are some, also, arrived to that height of malice, as to insinuate that the Protestant succession in the house of Hanover is in danger under my government. Those who go about thus to distract the minds of men with imaginary danger can only mean to disturb the present tranquillity, and to bring real mischief upon us." Nevertheless the Whigs remaining in parliament resolved to prove the truth of the position, that the Protestant succession *was* in danger. They began in the lords, where Sunderland, Cowper, Halifax, and Wharton urged the perils arising from the pretender's continuing in Lorraine, and carried an address for praying for an account of what steps had been taken by government to procure his removal. Lord Oxford had recourse to one of his tricks; and he moved for a bill "for the further security of the Protestant succession, to make it high treason to bring any foreign troops into the kingdom." He thought that this would have the outward appearance of zeal and patriotism; but his real intention was to prevent the landing of the electoral Prince of Hanover with an armed force, a desperate expedient which now began to be talked of, and which had been recommended—among others by the Duke of Marlborough!—to the house of Hanover as the only likely means of making sure of the succession. But the lord-treasurer's device was transparent; he was called upon to explain his meaning, and, upon being compelled to say that he meant the bill to apply only to foreign troops introduced by the pretender, he was told that then it must be altogether unnecessary, for by all laws such troops, if foreigners, would be public enemies, and if natives, rebels. The bill was accordingly lost, and Oxford greatly disconcerted. The Whig lords continued their attack; and Lord Wharton moved, in direct terms, that the Protestant succession was in danger under the present administration. The debate was exceedingly hot. Several peers who had hitherto figured as warm Tories and supporters of the administration—as the Archbishop of York and several bishops, the Earls of Abingdon, Jersey, and the Lords Ashburnham and Carteret—turned round on this critical occasion and voted with the Whigs. Yet, in the end, the vote that the succession was *not* in danger was carried by a majority of twelve—exactly the number of the recently created peers. The House of Commons, however, on the motion of Sir Edward Knatchbull, resolved itself into committee on the same question. In that house, also, many Tories, of the class generally styled the Hanoverian Tories, quitted the ministerial ranks and voted with the Whigs. The speaker, Sir Thomas Hanmer, was one of these seceders; and he delivered a speech which was considered powerful and effective by many who were Tories without any taint of Jacobitism. A minority of 208 voted with him against 256—a diminution in the majority which spread consternation in part of the cabinet, and gave joy to the rest, for Bolingbroke's main endeavour was at the moment to overthrow the lord-treasurer. The Tories too—Jacobites and all—were obliged, for the sake of appearances, to agree with the Whigs in a resolution that the queen should be desired to renew

---

mation as to English customs and persons frequently betrays a native pen; the truth it contains as to Jacobite intrigues, might have transpired from other sources, and in the main was pretty well suspected, as the *Report of the Secret Committee on the Impeachment in* 1715 shows; so that, upon the whole, I cannot but reckon it a forgery in order to injure the Tory leaders."—*Constitutional History of England*, chap. xvi.

[1] Swift's Works, *Inquiry*.

her instances for the removal of the pretender from Lorraine. This address was also carried in the upper house, where Lord Wharton further moved that her majesty should be desired to issue a proclamation, promising a reward to any person who should apprehend the pretender, dead or alive. Notwithstanding their desire and their interest in keeping up the popular excitement, and notwithstanding the risk they incurred of being denounced as Jacobites, several of the Whigs opposed this motion. Lords North and Grey said that such a proclamation, with the words dead or alive, would look like an encouragement to assassination, and he implored the house not to take a step so inconsistent with its high character, and with the character of a nation and government famed for lenity and clemency. Lord Trevor declared that no man had more respect and affection for the house of Hanover, but that they must excuse him if he would not venture his soul's perdition for them; and he proposed as an amendment, "That the reward should be for apprehending and bringing the pretender to justice, in case he should land or attempt to land either in Great Britain or Ireland." This was carried; the time of issuing the proclamation was left to the queen's own discretion; and Anne was thus relieved from the necessity of putting a price upon her brother's head. But in the strife of parties, and in the well-founded apprehensions of the time, the merciful alteration was carried by a majority of no more than ten. At this moment Anne was in the worst of humours; irritated on the one side by the almost total defection of the bench of bishops, and the open hostility of many formerly deemed the most submissive of Tories; and scared on the other side by endeavours made and making by the Whigs to bring over the electoral Prince of Hanover. Baron Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, had standing instructions to adhere to, and constantly consult with the Whig leaders, Somers, Halifax, and Cowper, and with other lords and members of the commons that were the undoubted and zealous friends of that succession. The envoy's house had thus become a place of constant resort and consultation; and, as they grew bolder with their growing strength in parliament, the Whigs proposed that Schutz should demand from the queen a writ of summons for the electoral prince, who, having been created a British peer by the title of Duke of Cambridge, only wanted the writ to be able to come over and take his seat in the House of Lords. The envoy doing readily what he was asked to do, went at once to the Lord-chancellor Harcourt.[1]

This proceeding incensed the queen, perplexed her ministers in the extreme, and led to an angry correspondence with the court of Hanover, to still more violent storms in England, and to intrigues and counter-intrigues, which were innumerable and are now almost inexplicable. Oxford protested to the elector that he and Lady Masham were devoted to his interests; and after this he laboured to show that the coming over of the electoral prince would be far more fatal to the interests of his family than it would be unpleasant to her majesty. "Let me, in confidence, tell you," said he, "that there is but one thing that can be any way of prejudice to the succession, and that is the endeavour to bring them, or any of them, over without the queen's consent. Two courts in this country have been so fatal, and the factions are so high, that it must be very mischievous both to the queen and to the serene house, to have any such thing enterprised that may create a difference between the queen and that family: *that* will change the dispute to the crown and the succession; whereas now it is between the house of Hanover and a Popish pretender. I will add but this one word, that I will assure you that, upon any advances of kindness from the house of Hanover, I will pawn my life for it, they shall receive most essential proofs of the queen's friendship; and I am sure *that* is the best confirmation of their succession."[2] Even thus lightly could the prime minister of England speak of the solemn and repeated acts of parliament, which alone were competent to decide the question. "There have been, however," says Schutz, "great rejoicings over all the city, since it was made public that I had asked the writ for the prince; and some have no doubts of his coming speedily, as others most certainly fear it. The bells were ringing for some days past, and healths drunk to his good journey." The envoy, from all that he saw, was convinced more and more of the needfulness of the journey; and he was further urged and impelled by the Whig leaders, who seem scarcely ever to have left him. In the end the writ for the electoral prince was refused, and Schutz, being forbid the court, made haste back to Hanover to justify himself; and the Duke of Marlborough wrote to recommend that the prince should set out from Hanover to London, without caring for the refusal of the writ or the feelings of Queen Anne, whose life was believed to be very precarious.

"By this remedy," says Marlborough, "the succession will be secured without risk, without expense, and without war; and likewise it is very probable that France, seeing herself anticipated in that manner, will abandon her design of assisting the pretender." General Cadogan and other leading Whigs wrote pressing letters to the same effect. The Archbishop of York also sent professions of attachment. "I hope," said the archbishop, "your royal highness will every day more and more have the satisfaction of seeing that, not only I myself, but the whole body of our clergy, are faithful and zealous, as becomes us, in this respect; and that the same good spirit is still among us, which so laudably, and, through the blessing of God, successfully, opposed and got the better of the attempts of France and Popery in King James's reign." A day or two after writing this letter, the Archbishop of York was sent for by Queen Anne, who was now getting greatly alarmed at the nation's apparent convictions that she and her ministers were betraying them to France and the pretender. The queen made the archbishop the greatest protestations that she was sincerely for the Protestant succession; but the prelate could not reconcile this with what he himself and every one saw. Alarm and vexation brought on the queen's old sickness. Her indisposition was a fresh cause for excitement to both courts. Her majesty, however, took great pains to make known the conversation she had had with the Archbishop of York, and the assurances she had given that prelate. She, moreover—at least in outward appearance—withdrew her confidence from Bolingbroke, and put herself again in the hands of the cautious Oxford. "The lord-treasurer," says the Hanoverian agent, Galke, "is more than ever in credit with the queen, and appears disposed to attach himself to the electoral prince, as soon as he appears, in order to gain him her majesty's good graces, and to overturn Bolingbroke. . . . . Bolingbroke is enraged at this, and it is not doubted but he will take his measures upon it in a manner suitable to his humour." In consequence of these changes the court of Hanover made a show of being satisfied with Oxford's intentions, and set some of their ministers to renew a friendly correspondence with him. But only a week after, the electoral house received fresh warnings from an "unknown friend," who stated that the Jacobites in London were inventing lies of every kind to destroy all hopes of the prince's coming, producing letters from Hanover to show that Schutz had been disavowed and very ill received there, that it was quite certain that the elector would not send his son to England. Mr. Bromley, one of the secretaries of state, in particular, had spoken in this manner; and the effect was, that the pretender's faction were in transports of joy, and the friends of Hanover, both Whigs and Tories, in the utmost despair. The Duke of Argyle had been heard to exclaim that if the elector abandoned them in this manner, and refused to embrace an opportunity so favourable, so easy, and so conformable to English laws, sacrificing and abandoning them to the rage of their enemies, after all they had done for him, the Whigs could have no other resource, but to go to the other extremity, and invite the pretender to come over on tolerable terms, and without a French army. Insults were still openly offered to the acts of succession, and to the right of the house of Hanover; and the queen had granted a pardon to Dr. Bedford, the author of a book on hereditary right, which attempted to disprove the claim of the electress to the British crown. All this was very significant; and the "unknown friend" conveyed another piece of information which was equally so. This was, that while the queen seemed to be dying, or at least in extreme danger, ministers were remodelling the army. "They continue," he says, "*to dismiss all the officers, civil and military, who presume to show any attachment to the Hanoverian succession;* and yet they give out that they have the greatest zeal and attachment to your court. It would be very curious if they should succeed to persuade you of this." Lord Anglesea, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and other Hanoverian Tories, wrote letters equally urgent, and pledged themselves to preserve the right of the electoral house, as fixed by parliament; and Galke informed the Hanoverian ministers that their friends expected that Prince George would set out on his journey immediately, thinking this "absolutely necessary, and that without it the pretender would be soon at the English court, and be very well received there." As Anne grew worse, Cadogan wrote again to declare "the inexpressible impatience shown by every one here for news of the electoral prince's departure;" and his confirmed conviction, "that everything was irreparably lost if the resolution of sending him over were changed or delayed." This close and acute observer also intimated that the dissensions in the cabinet were increasing—that the quarrels between the lord-treasurer and Bolingbroke were greater than ever. "It is true," he adds, "their common friends reconcile them for a day or two, but they quarrel more violently afterwards. The partizans of both the one and the other give out that their leader possesses all the favour and confidence of the queen; but it is impossible to write anything positively on this subject, this scene at court having lately changed as frequently as the wind."

---

[1] Macpherson, *Hanover Papers*.

[2] Macpherson, *State Papers*.

While thus pressed on the one side by the Whigs, the house of Hanover was cajoled on the other by Mr. Harley, brother of Lord Oxford, and by letters from England, assuring them of the steadiness and affection of the queen. In these circumstances it was natural that that little court, always slow and circumspect, should hesitate and procrastinate. To remove these delays, the Duke of Marlborough, who at this moment seems to have been sincerely earnest for their succession, sent an agent of his own to Hanover, in the person of Mr. Molyneux, recommended to that court by his grace as "being a man of quality, who had very large possessions in Ireland, but principally as a man of parts and of merit, with whose good principles he was well acquainted." Molyneux was exceedingly well received by all the members of the electoral house, and helped to defeat the mission of Mr. Harley, and to prove that his brother, the lord-treasurer, was not to be depended upon in the slightest degree. Molyneux, who maintained a constant correspondence with the duke, and occasionally wrote to the Duchess of Marlborough, was useful in other respects, and more particularly in exalting the merits of the illustrious general, and proclaiming his entire devotion to the old electress and her family.

On the 30th of May (N. S.), Anne, finding or fearing that the electoral house was no longer to be cajoled by professions and promises, resorted to threats, and wrote, or rather signed, a most bitter and reproachful letter to the elector. This royal epistle, which was carefully suppressed at the time, while others, addressed by her majesty to the same personage, were as carefully published and distributed to prove her affection to the Guelphs, ran in these words:—"As the rumour increases, that my cousin, the electoral prince, has resolved to come over to settle, in my lifetime, in my dominions, I do not choose to delay a moment to write to you about this, and to communicate to you my sentiments upon a subject of this importance. I then freely own to you, that I cannot imagine that a prince who possesses the knowledge and penetration of your electoral highness can ever contribute to such an attempt; and that I believe you are too just to allow that any infringement shall be made on my sovereignty which you would not choose should be made on your own. I am firmly persuaded that you would not suffer the smallest diminution of your authority: I am no less delicate in that respect; and I am determined to oppose a project so contrary to my royal authority, however fatal the consequences may be. Your electoral highness is too just to refuse to bear me witness, that I give, on all occasions, proofs of my desire that your family should succeed to my crowns; which I always recommend to my people, as the most solid support of their religion and their laws. I employ all my attention, that nothing should efface those impressions from the hearts of my subjects: but it is not possible to derogate from the dignity and prerogatives of the prince who wears the crown, without making a dangerous breach on the rights of the successors; therefore, I doubt not but, with your usual wisdom, you will prevent the taking such a step; and that you will give me an opportunity of renewing to you assurances of the most sincere friendship, with which I am, &c."[1]

This letter is said to have had, among other effects, the very serious one of killing the old Electress Sophia. The old lady was eighty-four years old, and had been accustomed to say, that, if she could only live to have "Sophia, Queen of England," written on her tombstone, she should die content. The journey of the electoral prince was now entirely given up. It appears that while he and his grandmother had been most eager for the expedition, his father, the elector, had been strongly opposed to it. By some the objections of the elector are attributed to caution and forethought, by others to mere constitutional irresolution; but there are others again who attribute them wholly and solely to his jealousy of his son, and to his fear that, if the young man got well established in England, he might, at the queen's death, keep the throne to himself, and get a parliamentary sanction for setting aside his senior and his parent.

On the side of the pretender there had been no want of new intrigues and schemes. Every day, indeed, seems to have produced one. At the beginning of the year, the busy little Abbé Gaultier and the Duke of Berwick met again in France. Berwick, disgusted, as he says, with the slowness, irresolution, and coldness of the lord-treasurer, at last determined to bring him to the point, so as to leave him no opportunity of further shuffling; and, by means of the abbé, he recommended to Oxford the following project:—That the chevalier should go privately, and by himself, into England, and get access to the queen, his sister, who should then go down to the parliament, and there explain that her brother's right to her crown was incontestible; that she had taken a resolution to restore to him what belonged to him by all laws Divine and human; that she nevertheless had taken proper measures with him to prevent any danger to the Church of England; it having been settled between them, that she should enjoy the crown during life, and educate him in England as her son, &c., &c. The Duke of Berwick was an excellent soldier, and a clever man in other respects; but his foreign education, habits, and associations had left him deplorably ignorant of the real condition of England, of the temper of the English people, and of the means of proceeding with them. Now, in England, the chief effort of the Jacobites was to obtain the dismissal of Oxford, and the promotion of Bolingbroke—an effort in which they were materially aided by the she-favourite Lady Masham, whose Jacobitism was made to throw out fresh and vigorous shoots by some cold water which the lord-treasurer cast upon her greediness for money. Oxford felt himself tottering, and saw no prop at hand in any party. Berwick also wrote to the Duke of Ormond, and *many other persons*, urging them to awake from their lethargy, and take their precautions before the Queen should die and leave them and their schemes open to their enemies, the Whigs. The pretender at this moment was moving from place to place; and every movement seems to have been reported by secret agents both to the court of Hanover and to the Whig leaders in England, who were equally suspicious and anxious as to its meaning.

---

[1] *Macpherson*, who first published this letter.

Up to the end of May, or beginning of June, the Whigs in England remained uncertain whether the electoral prince would come or not. Sir Thomas Hanmer, and others of the party called Hanoverian Tories, intimated that, as the affair had spun out to such a length, it might be better to wait for the next session of parliament, and to see, in the meantime, what might be done to secure that succession: but Halifax, Sunderland, Townshend, and the rest of the great Whig leaders, continued in their old opinion, that there was no time to lose, and that the electoral prince ought either to come at once, or to declare the reasons of his not coming; in order that his friends might consider of something else, and concert the conduct best to follow, to keep up the spirits of their party. As it became evident, however, that the prince would not come over without that hopeless condition—the consent of the queen—the Whigs insisted that new instruments of regency should be forwarded without loss of time, and that new credentials for the Hanoverian resident at London should be sent with them; as these things would be of the utmost importance in case of the queen's death. On the other side, Oxford was renewing his compliments to the Hanoverian diplomatists at London, at the Hague, and at Hanover, and was repledging himself to an entire friendship and a devotion to the cause of that house. "This," says Bothmar, who was at the Hague, "is a proof that Oxford finds himself falling. I shall make the most obliging answers to him, and will endeavour to make use of him, without giving my confidence to a man so double: perhaps we may draw some advantage from him, even though the other (Bolingbroke) should turn him out." Lord Paget, who had been appointed to proceed on the special embassy to Hanover, had been stopped when ready; and now the silly and incompetent Earl of Clarendon, with a "Jacobitish secretary," was sent in his stead. Bothmar describes this grandson of the renowned chancellor as "a selfish and presumptuous fool"—"a fool to such a degree, that, being appointed governor, by the queen, of the colony of Pennsylvania, he thought that it was necessary for him, in order to represent her majesty, to dress himself as a woman, which he actually did." This Hanoverian minister further adds, that the appointment of this "fool Clarendon" had been brought about by Bolingbroke, without the knowledge of Lord Oxford. Clarendon's instructions were written out by Secretary Bromley, and the great *gist* of the whole was, that he should make the queen's mind easy, and prevent by all means the coming at any time of the prince. His lordship was instructed to satisfy the elector that the queen had no intention but to secure his succession; and that she was ready to do everything, consistent with the safe and quiet possession of the throne during her own time, that might contribute to that end. The resolution which the elector had come to, or which he probably had all along entertained, was confirmed; but, not to trust too much to her majesty, or her ministers, he ordered Bothmar to repair from the Hague to London, and attend to the suggestion touching the instruments of regency.[1]

The session of parliament, in which the Whigs had hoped to welcome Prince George into England, still lasted; and that now disappointed party continued to exercise the greatest vigilance. They were still alarmed by letters from France, importing that the pretender was, with the utmost diligence, making preparations for some secret expedition; that he would soon be again in Scotland, or would go to Ireland. What was calculated to add materially to these alarms was the apprehension of several Jacobite agents that were impudently enlisting recruits for the pretender's service in London and in different parts of the country. Lord Wharton waited upon the Lord Chief-justice Parker with positive information that two Irish officers in particular, named Hugh and William Kelly, were enlisting men in the city and in Westminster, almost under the eye of parliament. Parker issued warrants, and the two Irish officers were arrested, the one at Gravesend, the other at Deal, having about them passes from the pretender's minister, the Earl of Middleton. They had not been very fortunate as recruiters, or the recruits were fortunate enough to escape detection, for not more than half a dozen were seized. The daring attempt, however, called for some severity; and after some short debate in the houses, where all the Hanoverian Tories joined the Whigs, ministers, on the

---

[1] In a letter written to Hanover by Secretary Galke, about this time, is this curious passage:—"I am assured, from very good authority, that Bolingbroke, having heard that Oxford said of him that he could prove he was a Jacobite, told one of his friends, that he had proofs in his hands to convict the other of being in the interest of the pretender."—*Macpherson.*

23d of June, issued a proclamation for apprehending the pretender, whenever he should attempt to land, and promising a reward of £5000 to any person or persons that should do that service and bring him to justice.

This session of parliament was made infamous by the passing of an act as intolerant and as tyrannical as anything that was ever done or attempted in the worst days of the house of Stuart. With party feelings all on the other side, but with perfect justice, and with a moderation of censure, Lord John Russell says:—"This bill may serve to show the principles, the views, and the intentions of the Tory party, and thereby give a notion of what might have been expected from them, had they succeeded in keeping the government of the state in their own hands during the succeeding reign."[1] The Hanoverian Tories were at least as averse to the dissenters as to the pretender; the surest way to conciliate them was to give a bonus to the high party in the church; and the high-churchism of the queen naturally grew higher with sickness and danger, and thoughts of another world. Bolingbroke, who could scoff and sneer at Christianity in all its branches and modifications, again put himself forward as a champion for the high-church party, trusting that whatever blows he dealt, and whatever wounds he inflicted, would tell against his rival Oxford, who, in his difficulties, was again attempting to effect a reconciliation with the low churchmen; and who, moreover, at all times was reluctant to adopt any decided measure. Bolingbroke, closeted with Atterbury, devised the infamous "Schism Act:" Bolingbroke drew it up in council, giving it the character of a government measure; and Bolingbroke, through the mouth of his friend Sir William Wyndham, brought it into parliament on the 12th day of May. The object of the bill was to prevent education by dissenters in any way; to vest the rights of educating, as a monopoly, in the Church of England; and to prevent dissenters from keeping schools, even for their own children. In other words, it enacted that no person in Great Britain should keep any private or public school, or act as a tutor, unless he had previously subscribed the declaration to conform to the Church of England, and obtained a license from the bishop of the diocese, which license was not to be granted until the party produced a certificate of his having received the sacrament, according to the communion of the Church of England, within the last year, and also subscribed the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: and any person acting in contravention of these arbitrary enactments was to be committed to prison without bail. The Whigs stood up to a man, and opposed the bill with all their might. Mr. Hampden, Mr. Robert Walpole, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and General Stanhope particularly distinguished themselves in the debate. Stanhope, who had lived much in Popish countries, and who recognized everywhere the necessity of a wider toleration than then existed anywhere—showed, in particular, the ill consequences of this law; as it would of course occasion foreign education, which, on the one hand, would drain the kingdom of great sums of money, and, which was still worse, would fill the tender minds of young men with prejudices against their own country." Bolingbroke had made no mistake in his calculations as to the strength of the high churchmen: the third reading of the schism bill was carried in the commons by the great majority of 237 to 126. In the lords, Bolingbroke fostered his ill-favoured project, by moving the second reading. Lord Wharton, in opposing him, said—"It is somewhat strange that they should call schism in England what is the established religion in Scotland: and, therefore, if the lords who represent the nobility of that part of Great Britain are for the bill, I hope that, in order to be even with us, and consistent with themselves, they will move for the bringing in another bill, to prevent the growth of schism in their own country." Lord Cowper remarked that, in many country towns, reading, writing, and grammar-schools were chiefly supported by the dissenters; so that, to put down those schools would be like suppressing the reading of the Holy Scriptures. That member of the church militant, Compton, was quiet at last, under the aisles of his cathedral; but Robinson, his successor, who had been translated from Bristol, was as intolerant as he. Lord Nottingham, who had gone over to the Whigs, and who entirely overlooked his old affection for the high-church faction in his hatred to Swift, who had lampooned him, and who to all appearance was very likely to be soon a bishop, said vehemently—"My lords, I have many children, and I know not whether God Almighty will vouchsafe to let me live to give them the education I could wish they had. Therefore, my lords, I own I tremble when I think that a certain divine, who is suspected of being hardly a Christian, is in a fair way of being a bishop, and may one day give licenses to those who shall be intrusted with the education of youth." All eyes were fixed upon the lord-treasurer, who was known to have proposed in the cabinet that the bill should be softened: the Tories seem to have fancied that he would have declared against them in the house; the Whigs, that he would speak and vote with them, even though it must cost him his office. That shuffling minister tried to please both, or at least to give to either as little offence as possible. He declared that he had not yet considered the whole bill—that his mind was not made up; but he persuaded the opposition to allow the second reading without a division; and on the day when the bill was finally put to the vote, he absented himself from the house. This conduct had its usual result: it incensed both parties, and was as favourable to the views of Bolingbroke as anything could be. The Whigs, who could not negative the bill, attempted to soften its severities; but a clause they proposed, to allow the dissenters to have schools for children of their own persuasion, though for none others, was rejected upon a division. Other modifying clauses, however, were carried, the high churchmen consenting that the dissenters should be allowed dames or schoolmistresses of their own persuasions to teach their children to read; and that the conviction of offending schoolmasters and tutors should take place in the ordinary courts of justice, and not by summary process before a magistrate, as originally proposed. They also allowed a right of appeal to a higher court, and impudently added a clause to exempt from the act any tutor employed in the family of *a nobleman!* The Hanoverian Tories were, after all, unfit and unsympathizing allies of the Whigs, whom they could only meet upon one ground, or the common preference of the Guelphs to the Stuarts: their conduct on this occasion proved that, in getting rid of their superstitions about hereditary and Divine right, they had not freed themselves from the old concomitants of those superstitions. Not satisfied with the operation of the act in Protestant England, they proposed that it should be extended to Catholic Ireland, and they carried their clause by a majority of six, in spite of the representations of the Duke of Shrewsbury, the lord-lieutenant. The third reading of the bill was carried by seventy-seven to seventy-two—a weak majority, considering that the queen had so recently made twelve new peers to vote with ministers. Perhaps it would have been greater but for the schism between Oxford and Bolingbroke, and some compunctious visitings of the Presbyterian peers of Scotland. Thirty-three lords, of whom five were bishops, entered a strong protest against the whole bill. When the bill, as amended, was sent down to the commons, General Stanhope proposed that the tutors in the families of members of the house might be put upon the same footing as those who taught in the families of noblemen; but Mr. Hungerford represented that any, the least alteration would cause delays, and might lead to the loss of the valuable bill; and the whole ministerial pack joining the zealots in full cry, the bill was passed as it was, by 168 against 98. It was to come into operation upon the 31st August; but on the 1st day of that month Queen Anne died, and, under the opposite principles which rose to the ascendency in the reign of her successor, it remained practically almost a dead letter, till it was, a few years after, formally repealed.

---

[1] *Hist. Europe.*

On the 9th of July Anne closed the session with a speech from the throne. Upon the rising of parliament, Oxford looked around him for some plank to support him. Although he had given the Whigs abundant reason to despise him, he renewed an underhand intercourse with the chief of that party; and the Duke of Shrewsbury and other leaders seem to have considered that he was still worth securing, or that every possible means was to be adopted to defeat the schemes of the bold and able Bolingbroke. But it was soon evident to the elector's envoy, the keen-sighted Bothmar, that nothing could save Oxford. Several days before the rising of parliament, he assured his court that Bolingbroke would maintain himself; and that the lord-treasurer must fall very soon. According to Bothmar, a reconciliation between the rivals was effected; but he saw through its hollowness, and declared that it could not be durable. Lady Masham decided the point. Full of wrath against Oxford, for his having dared to oppose her will and disappoint her of her money, she told this falling minister, and once-loving cousin, to his face, that he had never done the queen any service, and was incapable of ever doing her any. Oxford retaliated: "I have been," said he, "abused by lies and misrepresentations; but I will leave some people as low as I found them." This passed in the queen's cabinet, and in her majesty's presence; and the altercation between the titled waiting-woman and the lord-treasurer is said to have lasted till two hours after midnight. The end of all was, that Anne demanded his white staff, and Oxford was left low indeed.[1] The Jacobites, who had been for some time impatiently desiring his disgrace, seem to have taken credit to themselves for effecting it. The Duke of Berwick says, that it had been intimated to the queen, through Lady Masham, that his removal from office was indispensable. Bolingbroke, of course, rose upon the fall of his rival. This man of intrigue, though he did not grasp the treasurer's staff, became, in fact, everything that he wished, and distributed offices among men who were bound to him, and who were all Jacobites. Nominally, he merely retained the seals of secretary, with the sole management of foreign affairs; he put the treasury into commission, with William Wyndham at its head; the privy seal he allotted to Atterbury; Bromley, the other secretary of state, he allowed to remain; the third secretaryship, or that for Scotland, was put into the hands of that desperate half-mad Jacobite, the Earl of Mar; the Duke of Ormond was to be commander-in-chief; the Duke of Buckingham lord-president; and Harcourt, as one upon whom he could entirely rely, was to remain lord-chancellor. Many minor offices remained to be disposed of, and, in the words of one of the party, "the sterility of good and able men" to be put in these places was "incredible." The truth is, that beyond a few personal friends, and a few determined Jacobites, there were none that Bolingbroke could or would trust. Before drawing up his scheme for the new cabinet, he made an attempt upon the principles of some of the old Whig placemen. On the day after Oxford's dismissal, he gave a dinner-party at his house in Golden Square to General Stanhope, Robert Walpole, Pulteney, Craggs, General Cadogan, and other chiefs of the party; but his cajoling overtures came to nothing. At this moment the Duke of Marlborough, who had sent his friend General Cadogan into England before him, was staying at Ostend, watching the game that was playing, with the evident intention of striking in at the decisive round. His real intentions were matters of anxious surmise and speculation to all parties; and such was his personal importance, or the high opinion entertained of his selfish sagacity, that it appears to have been considered as certain that whichever party he embraced and adhered to, must in the end be the prevalent one.[1] It seems certain that, notwithstanding an offer the money-loving duke had recently made to lend £20,000,[2] to enable the electoral Prince George to come over to England, to look personally to the interests of his family, the whole court of Hanover looked upon Marlborough and his movements with distrust, fearing to confide in him, and yet fearing to offend him, hopeless of securing him unless he were convinced that their cause would triumph, and bring him more advantages than the other.

---

[1] The lord-treasurer was wanting to himself; and his habits of procrastinating and treating the most serious business as if it were a joke (a fatal and a disgusting quality in a minister of state) made even some of his best friends indifferent to his fall. "Lord Oxford," said Pope, "was not a very capable minister, and had a good deal of negligence into the bargain. He used to send trifling verses from court to the Scriblerus Club almost every day; and would come and talk idly with them almost every night, even when his all was at stake."—Spence, *Observations, Anecdotes, and Characters of Books and Men.*

Bothmar had not exaggerated in speaking of the queen's dangerous state. On the 30th of July, only three days after the stormy scene at court, and the dismissal of Oxford, she was seized with an apoplectic fit. Ever since that tempestuous night she had been in a deplorable condition; agitated and shattered, and confident, as she told her physicians, that she should never recover; and after the fit she sank into a stupor. There was a display of grief both real and affected; but the funds rose considerably, as soon as it was known in the city that she was dying. The most intelligent part of the nation had become convinced that nothing was so likely to endanger property, and the constitution, as a prolongation of the royal life, and of the ministry of the plotting insidious men upon whom she had thrown herself. On the other side, Bolingbroke, Ormond, Harcourt, and the rest of that party, who had been rather named to office than put into possession of it—so rapid was the course of events—were bewildered, and apparently all but stupified at this sudden blow. They met in council at Kensington, in a room not far from that where the queen lay dying; and they were presently thrown into consternation by the arrival of the Dukes of Argyle and Somerset, who said that, understanding her majesty's danger, they had hastened, though not summoned, to offer their assistance. The Duke of Shrewsbury, who had been for some time playing a very ambiguous part, but who had returned to his old Whig principles, rose up and thanked Argyle and Somerset for their unexpected attendance and the offer of their services. Somerset and Argyle then took their seats at the council board, insisted on examining the physicians, and upon their report urged that it should be proposed to the queen that the post of lord-treasurer should be instantly filled up, as at such a moment it was essential to have a recognized prime minister; and they further insisted that the Duke of Shrewsbury should be at once recommended to her majesty, as the nobleman most fit to manage affairs at that crisis, and to secure the succession as fixed by parliament. Bolingbroke thus saw his grand scheme vanish into thin air, like an unsubstantial palace at the touch of the enchanter; but he said nothing, did nothing, remaining in amaze like one under a spell; and he followed Shrewsbury and the other lords to the queen's bedside, where the recommendation of the council was intimated in a discourse which the sufferer, in all probability, did not understand. A sign or a nod from Anne was, however, interpreted as a sufficient assent, and as a sufficient warrant for a most momentous change—a change which involved the interests of millions. Thus was Shrewsbury, already Lord-lieutenant of Ireland and lord-chamberlain, made lord-treasurer and prime minister, and from this moment the deciding card was in his hand, rather than in that of Marlborough, who, when the critical moment came, found himself detained at Ostend by contrary winds. The Duke of Argyle, a man of action and a man of ability, and who had carried the somewhat incompetent Somerset along with him to Kensington, was the real evil genius before which Bolingbroke stood rebuked; and now in conjunction with Somerset and the new *Whig* prime minister, Shrewsbury, Argyle moved that every privy counsellor whatsoever, that happened to be in London or in the neighbourhood, should be immediately summoned to attend. The ex-chancellor Somers, whose character and influence stood highest, forgot his own infirmities, and hastened to the place where the queen was expiring; and he was accompanied or followed by many other Whigs, who had not seen the interior of the court for a long time. If Bolingbroke and his coadjutors were bewildered before, they were now crushed and ridden over by the Whig party, who, without losing time, ordered four regiments up to London, recalled seven battalions from Dunkirk, laid an embargo on all the sea-ports, sent out orders for the immediate equipment of a good strong fleet, and took other measures to secure the throne to the house of Hanover, and defeat any attempt that might be made by France and the pretender. Indeed, before the result of the visit of Argyle to the council chamber was known, the Whigs, principally guided by the active and able General Stanhope, had concerted measures calculated to lead to the same result; and Stanhope had formed a plan for seizing the Tower, and securing in it, at the moment of trial, the persons of the principal Jacobites. On the day after the appointment of Shrewsbury, while Anne was in a lethargy, and the physicians expecting every moment to be her last, the council sent their orders to the heralds-at-arms, and to a troop of the life-guards, to be in readiness every moment to proclaim the rightful successor George I.; and they hurried off Mr. Craggs to Hanover to hasten the journey of the elector, who was requested to repair to the coast of Holland, where the English fleet would be ready to receive him. Well knowing how hotly the Jacobite fever was raging in many parts of Scotland, they determined that an able general should be sent down to that country to take the command of the troops. All this was decided on the 31st of July, and on the following morning Anne, who had not recovered sufficiently from her stupor either to sign her will or to take the sacrament, expired, in the fiftieth year of her age, and thirteenth of her reign. "The Earl of Oxford," says the still bewildered Bolingbroke in a letter to Swift, "was removed on Tuesday; the queen died on Sunday. What a world is this, and how does fortune banter us!" On the evening of the 1st of August the Duke of Marlborough approached the English coast: near Dover his vessel was boarded by a messenger from Sir Thomas Franklin, the post-master-general, who told his grace that the queen had died that morning, and that the Elector of Hanover had been joyfully proclaimed. And, in fact, George was proclaimed with acclamations in London, in York, and in the other principal cities, where no Jacobite had courage to raise his voice, or even to show himself in public. In the capital, only one man, and that man a Protestant clergyman of the high-church school, had the courage to propose proclaiming the pretender. It was Doctor Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester.

---

[1] George Lockhart, of Carnwath, the author of the *Memoirs*, one of the most active and distinguished of the Scottish Jacobites, who was very constant in his attendance about court, says, that there was a report that the Duke of Marlborough had refused the loan of £100,000, which the pretender had demanded from him as a proof and a pledge of his fidelity. If this demand was really made, it must have tended very materially to strengthen the lord-general's *new* fidelity to the Protestant succession, to whose interests he won over or secured the affection of the British troops at Dunkirk and other places.

[2] Pope, no incompetent judge, who knew the man well and intimately, says—"As inconsistent as the Duke of Marlborough's character may appear to you, yet may it be accounted for, if you gauge his actions by his reigning passion, which was the love of money. He endeavoured, at the same time, to be well both at Hanover and at St. Germain: this surprised you a good deal when I first told you of it, but the plain meaning of it was only this—that he wanted to secure the vast riches he had amassed together, whichever should succeed. He was calm in the heat of battle; and when he was so near being taken prisoner, in his first campaign in Flanders, he was quite unmoved. He was like to lose his life in the one and his liberty in the other; but there was none of his money at stake in either. This mean passion of that great man operated very strongly in him in the very beginning of his life, and continued to the very end of it."—*Spence.*

CHAPTER XII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1714—1716.

GEORGE I.[1]—ACCESSION, A.D. 1714—DEATH, A.D. 1727.

Regency previous to the arrival of George I.—Selfish competition of parties—Arrival of George I.—Ministerial arrangements—Proclamation of the pretender—A Whig parliament returned—The new king's opening speech —The late ministers brought to account—Lord Bolingbroke escapes to France—Examination into the late war, and the treaty of Utrecht—Iniquitous disclosures—Lord Bolingbroke and the Earl of Oxford impeached —Imprisonment of the Duke of Ormond—Earl of Oxford sent to the Tower—Matthew Prior examined and committed—Intrigues of the high-church party against the new succession—Unpopular manners and appearance of George I.—Correspondence renewed with the pretender—Bolingbroke repairs to the pretender's court —His intrigues as the Jacobite minister of state—He is joined by the Duke of Ormond—Jacobite rebellion in Scotland headed by the Earl of Mar—Preparations to suppress it—A Jacobite conspiracy in England detected —The Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster rise in arms and proclaim the pretender—The Scottish and English insurgents unite—The Earl of Mar's military incompetence—His irresolute movements—Progress of the rebellion on the English borders—The rebels attempt to hold Preston against the royal troops—They are compelled to surrender—Battle of Sheriffmuir—Mar compelled to retreat—The pretender lands in Scotland —His useless proceedings—His unpopular demeanour—Hopeless condition of his affairs—The rebels attempt to fortify themselves in Perth—They lay waste the country between Perth and Stirling—The Duke of Argyle advances upon them—Flight of the rebels from Perth—The pretender retires to France—Dishonourable character of his retreat—He dismisses Lord Bolingbroke—Retirement of the pretender to Avignon—Punishment of the insurgent Jacobites in Scotland and England—Trial and execution of the rebel noblemen and officers.

THE regency bill, passed in 1705, had provided for the government on the demise of Anne, and the seven great officers of state, together with eighteen peers, named in an instrument signed by the Elector of Hanover, took upon themselves the temporary administration. Of the eighteen peers named by George, the greater number were determined Whigs; and Argyle, Cowper, Halifax, Townshend, and Devonshire were among them. Marlborough was not named, nor was his son-in-law, Sunderland: this was not extraordinary, but it excites some surprise to see the illustrious Somers excluded also. The great general, on landing at Dover, received an enthusiastic welcome, and his entry into London was like a triumph. Two hundred gentlemen on horseback met him on the road, and the procession was joined by a long train of horses and carriages. Marlborough went straight to the House of Lords and took the oaths to King George; but then, mortified at his exclusion from the regency, he retired into the country. The lords-justices appointed Joseph Addison to be their secretary, and ordered that all despatches addressed to Bolingbroke should be delivered to Addison. In the Scottish capital King George was proclaimed without opposition; but for some days there prevailed great doubt and anxiety as to Ireland: and the lords of the regency, or lords-justices, thought at one moment of despatching thither General Stanhope as commander-in-chief, and Marlborough's son-in-law, Sunderland, as lord-lieutenant, without losing time in waiting for the king's instructions; but they soon received intelligence that all was quiet, and that King George had been peaceably proclaimed at Dublin by the Lords-justices of Ireland, the Archbishop of Armagh, and Sir Constantine Phipps, whose Toryism had formerly been suspected to be of the Jacobite bias.

---

[1] "The era of the Georges may be compared to the era of the Antonines at Rome. It was a period combining happiness and glory—a period of kind rulers and a prosperous people. While improvement was advancing at home with gigantic strides—while great wars were waged abroad—the domestic repose and enjoyment of the nation were scarcely ever for a moment broken through. The current was strong and rapid, but the surface remained smooth and unruffled. Lives were seldom lost, either by popular breaches of the law or by its rigorous execution. The population augmented fast, but wealth augmented faster still; comforts became more largely diffused, and knowledge more generally cultivated. Unlike the era of the Antonines, this prosperity did not depend upon the character of a single man. Its foundations were laid on ancient and free institutions, which, good from the first, were still gradually improving, and which alone, amongst all others since the origin of civil society, had completely solved the great problem, how to combine the greatest security to property with the greatest freedom of action.

"It is true, however, that this golden period by no means affords us unmixed cause for self-congratulation, and contains no small alloy of human frailties and of human passions. Some of the quiet I have mentioned may be imputed to corruption, as much as some of the troubles to faction. Our pride as legislators may sink when we discover that our constitutional pre-eminence has arisen still more from happy accident than from skilful design. We may likewise blush to think that even those years which, on looking back, are universally admitted as most prosperous, and those actions now considered irreproachable, were not free at the time from most loud and angry complaints. How ungratefully have we murmured against Providence at the very moment when most enjoying its bounty! How much has prosperity been felt, but how little acknowledged! How sure a road to popularity has it always been to tell us that we are the most wretched and ill-used people on the face of the earth! To such an extent, in fact, have these outcries proceeded, that a very acute observer has founded a new theory upon them; and, far from viewing them as evidence of suffering, considers them as one of the proofs and tokens of good government."—Lord Mahon's *History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht*, vol. i. p. 1.

Not a moment was lost by the Whigs in England in putting forth claims to the honours and emoluments of office, and in scheming what should be the new cabinet. The bishopric of Ely, and every good thing that happened to be vacant in the church, was asked for, and every place at court, such as the captaincy of the band of gentlemen pensioners, the groomship of the bedchamber, &c., was grasped at by several competitors. Baron Bothmar was made the medium of these applications to Hanover.

But we may turn from these pettinesses, which were the inevitable consequences of a demise and a new succession, to matters of greater weight, in which the interests of three nations were concerned, and in which they were but too often sacrificed to private ambition and the interests of worthless individuals. According to a very important provision in the act of regency, the Houses of Parliament met on the day of the queen's death, though it was a Sunday, and all such members as were in or near town hastened to their seats. The Tories attempted to procure an adjournment till the following Wednesday; but Sir Richard Onslow represented that the state of the nation was too critical to allow of delay; and the houses met again on Monday. Three days were spent in administering and taking oaths to the new sovereign. In the same breath, and with the same drop of ink, they expressed their deep grief at the death of their late sovereign lady Queen Anne, of blessed memory, and their lively pleasure at the accession of King George, whose right to the crown was so undoubted, and whose virtues were so princely. The most that the Hanoverian agents hoped or expected was, that the House of Commons would grant the king the same civil list enjoyed by the late queen, and that a new parliament would augment it on account of Prince George and his family; but the Tories, either to secure favour at court, or to produce in the beginning an extravagant notion of the avaricious and grasping disposition of the new sovereign, had the face to propose that the civil list should be raised to £1,000,000, or to £300,000 more than had been granted to Anne; but the Whigs wisely discouraged this very suspicious liberality, and the sum voted was £700,000. A clause was inserted in the bill for the payment of £65,000 due to the Hanoverian troops in the pay of England, but hitherto withheld by the court because those troops had refused to join the Duke of Ormond in 1712 in his base desertion from the allies. A reward of £100,000, to be paid by the treasury, was offered to any person that should apprehend the pretender, in case of his landing; and, after the passing of some other money-bills, this short session was closed by prorogation.

GEORGE I.—From a print by Vertue, after Sir G. Kneller.

All those who wished well to the Protestant succession were impatient for the arrival of the new king, whose delay on the Continent excited universal surprise. Other princes had shown the extreme of eagerness for a far less glittering prize; but the phlegmatic George I. seemed to look almost with indifference to the crown of three great and rising kingdoms; and it was not till six o'clock in the evening of the 18th of September, or nearly seven weeks after the death of Anne, that he landed at Greenwich with his eldest son, Prince George. His subjects of Hanover had witnessed his departure with regret and tears—his English subjects received him with joy and acclamations, although on a near view they saw little to admire in his personal appearance or in his bearing, which were plain and undignified.

His majesty presently proceeded to complete his ministerial arrangements: Lord Halifax was appointed first lord-commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Cowper, again chancellor; Nottingham, president of the council; Marlborough, commander-in-chief and master-general of the ordnance; Wharton (who was made a marquis), lord privy-seal; Orford, first lord of the admiralty; Shrewsbury, lord-chamberlain and groom of the stole; the Duke of Devonshire, lord-steward of the household; the Duke of Somerset, master of the horse; Sunderland, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland; and Robert Walpole, whose ability in debate was worth a high price, paymaster of the forces. In Scotland, the Jacobite Earl of Mar was turned out, and the Duke of Montrose put in his place; and the Duke of Argyle was intrusted with the supreme command of the forces there. In Ireland, Sir Constantine Phipps was deprived of the seals, and Mr. Broderic made chancellor. These ministerial arrangements were all completed before the 20th of October, on which day the coronation was performed at Westminster with the usual solemnities. The old abbey was thronged with nearly all the peers, whether Whig, Tory, or Jacobite; the indolent *insouciant*-looking Oxford was there, and so was his keen-eyed, animated rival, Bolingbroke. The usual promotions in the peerage followed the ceremony.

On the 29th of August (N. S.) the pretender, who had gone from Bar-le-Duc to drink the mineral waters of Plombière, signed and sent forth a manifesto asserting his right to the throne of Great Britain, and explaining somewhat too clearly the causes of his inactivity up to "the death of the princess our sister, of whose good intention towards us we could not for some time past well doubt: *and this was the reason we then sat still, expecting the good effects thereof, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable death.*" This was at once a capital blunder and a glaring proof of the little attention the exiled prince paid to the safety of his friends in England. The Whigs instantly caught at the words as additional and incontrovertible evidence as to the intentions of the late ministry: the Tories insisted that the manifesto was a false document basely forged by the Whigs, to throw discredit upon them and dishonour the late queen; but they were driven from this position by the thick-headed and thick-hearted pretender, who openly acknowledged the authenticity of the manifesto.

A.D. 1715. Early in January two royal proclamations were issued—the one dissolving the parliament, the other calling a new one. At the preceding election, only two years before, five-sixths of the successful candidates were Tories, yet at the present election the Whigs were returned in triumphant majority. The new parliament met on the 19th of March, and Mr. Spencer Compton, the ministerial nominee, was chosen speaker without opposition. A few days after, the king went down in person, but being unable to pronounce English, he gave his written speech to be read by Chancellor Cowper. After thanking all his loving subjects for their zeal in defence of his succession, he lamented that many conditions of the late peace had not been performed; and showed the necessity of defensive alliances, in order to insure their due execution: he regretted the injuries suffered by trade, and expressed his surprise at finding that the public debt had been increased since the treaty of Utrecht. He alluded frankly to the pretender, and to his boasting of assistance he expected to derive from England; but, in conclusion, he declared that he would make the constitution, in church and state, the rule of his government, and devote his chief care to the happiness, ease, and prosperity of his people. Both houses joined in expressing their sense of the dishonour of the peace and the delinquency of the late ministers.[1] The commons, in their address, said, "It is with just resentment we observe that the pretender still lives in Lorraine, and that he has the presumption, by declarations from thence, to stir up your majesty's subjects to rebellion. But that which raises the utmost indignation of your commons is, that it appears therein that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures wherein he places his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment."

This was the first public intimation of the intention of the present cabinet to call their predecessors in office to account; and the intention was further avowed in the course of debate by General Stanhope. This leader of the commons—for at first Stanhope, rather than Walpole, was the leader—said, that a report had been industriously spread that it was not intended to bring the late ministers to trial, but only to censure them in general terms; that he could, however, assure the house that, notwithstanding all the endeavours which had been used to prevent a discovery, by conveying away several papers from the secretary's offices, yet his majesty's present government had sufficient evidence left to prove the former ministry the most corrupt that had ever sat at the helm.

With all his vivacity and rashness, Bolingbroke seems to have had less moral courage than his rival Oxford, whom he had always despised as irresolute and timid. His danger, however, was probably somewhat greater; and he may have apprehended that there was better evidence to convict him on an impeachment than what could be brought against the ex-lord-treasurer. But, however this may have been, Oxford remained to face the storm, while Bolingbroke fled from it. On the evening of the 26th of March he appeared publicly at Drury Lane Theatre; and at the close of the performance he bespoke, according to the custom of the time, the play for the next night.

---

[1] In the lords there were some very sudden conversions. "I saw," says Bolingbroke, "several lords concur to condemn, in one general vote, all that they had approved of in a former parliament by many particular resolutions." The majority which carried the address in the lords was sixty-six to thirty-three.

But, upon leaving the theatre, he disguised himself as a servant to La Vigne, a French cabinet messenger, set off for Dover, and landed with the Frenchman at Calais. We shall soon find Bolingbroke figuring as secretary of state to the pretender.[1]

In the meanwhile all the papers that could be found of Bolingbroke, Strafford, and Prior had been seized, and the poet had been recalled from Paris and kept under surveillance. On the 9th of April Stanhope brought forward these papers, with an immense heap of instructions, memorials, &c., relating to Ormond's withdrawing the troops from the allies, and to the treaty of Utrecht; and, representing that they were too voluminous to be perused by the whole house, he moved that they should be referred to a select committee of twenty-one members. This proposal was adopted without opposition, and a thoroughly Whig committee, called a committee of secrecy, was appointed forthwith. The twenty-one commenced operations that very evening, appointing Robert Walpole their chairman. The task was long and tedious, and, as week after week passed over without any report to the house, Shippen, a decided Jacobite member, insinuated that, notwithstanding the great noise which had been made, the committee of secrecy would not be able to produce any proof of the guilt of the late ministry. But Shippen was silenced by Walpole the chairman, who declared that, so far from this being the case, he wanted words to express the villainy of the late *Frenchified* ministry, as it appeared from the evidence in hand. At last, on the 9th of June, two months after the appointment of the committee, Walpole presented the report to the house, and read it himself. The reading occupied five hours.

The report, ably drawn up, filled the vast majority of the house with rage and indignation, and even called some blushes to the faces of those who had sanctioned the dishonourable treaty of Utrecht, the disgraceful conduct of Ormond, the baser betraying of the Catalans, and the altogether unnecessary gift of Tournai to France: and if on one important point—the traitorous correspondence of Bolingbroke with the French court—the report did not produce such indisputable evidence as has been laid before the world since the prosecution, and in part very recently—there was yet enough to excite and justify the darkest suspicions. When the silence had lasted for some minutes, Mr. Hungerford ventured to say, that in his opinion there was nothing in the report, relating to Lord Bolingbroke, that amounted to the crime of high treason. General Ross also made use of a few timid expressions to the same effect; and this was all that was said in the House of Commons in support of the brilliant but flagitious minister; and the vote for his impeachment passed without a division. Lord Coningsby then rose and said, "The worthy chairman of the committee has impeached the hand, but I do impeach the head; he has impeached the clerk, and I impeach the justice; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master: I impeach Robert, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanours." More was said for Oxford than had been said for Bolingbroke; yet it amounted to very little; and this resolution of impeachment was also carried without a division. It appears to have been for some time a matter of doubt whether they should impeach the Duke of Ormond, who, in withdrawing the troops from the allies, had only obeyed positive orders; and that ministers were provoked to the affirmative by that weak and vain man's bravadoes. It was, however, not till the 21st of June that Stanhope stood up and impeached Ormond. Luckily for him, his correspondence with the friends of the pretender was less susceptible of proof than even that of Oxford. Many members, including some that were devoted to the house of Hanover, spoke warmly in his favour; the discussion lasted nine hours and a half, and Stanhope carried his motion by a majority of only forty-seven. On the very next day Mr. Aislabie stood up and impeached the Earl of Strafford, one of the two plenipotentiaries at Utrecht; but the charge was lightened to high crimes and misdemeanours, without the treason. The Duke of Ormond, after listening to a variety of Jacobite projects, which he had not sufficient spirit or talent to execute, followed Bolingbroke's example, fled secretly into France, and joined the pretender. Ormond never returned, living in exile and dying in it, at the age of fourscore, in the year 1745.

On the 9th of July, Lord Coningsby, followed by a great part of the House of Commons, carried up to the bar of the lords the articles of impeachment against Oxford. They were sixteen in

---

[1] Of Swift and Bolingbroke, Mr. Hallam speaks thus:—"In a single hour these great masters of language were changed from advocates of the crown to tribunes of the people; both more distinguished as writers in this altered scene of their fortunes, and certainly among the first political combatants with the weapons of the press whom the world has ever known. Bolingbroke's influence was of course greater in England; and with all the signal faults of his public character, with all the factiousness which dictated most of his writings, and the indefinite declamation or shallow reasoning which they frequently display, they have merits not always sufficiently acknowledged. He seems first to have made the Tories reject their old tenets of exalted prerogative and hereditary right, and scorn the high-church theories which they had maintained under William and Anne. His *Dissertation on Parties*, and *Letters on the History of England*, are in fact written on Whig principles (if I know what is meant by that name), in their general tendency; however a politician, who had always some particular end in view, may have fallen into several inconsistencies."—*Constitutional History of England*, vol. ii. p. 443.

GEORGE I., KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND ELECTOR OF HANOVER.

George I. was the son of the Elector Ernest Augustus of Hanover by Sophia, daughter of Frederick, elector palatine, and granddaughter of James I. He was born in 1660, and in 1682 he married Sophia Dorothea of Zell, whom he afterwards kept in confinement because of a suspected intrigue. In 1698 he succeeded his father as elector, and on the death of Queen Anne in 1714 he ascended the English throne. His power, however, was very slight; and as his knowledge of English was small, and his love for the English limited, he spent a large part of his time in his beloved Hanover. The private character of this king was bad, but as a sovereign he showed a certain amount of good sense, and was at least an honest kind of figure-head to a constitutional government. He died suddenly at Osnabrück on 9th June, 1727.

Williams. Engraved by W M Lizars

FROM THE PORTRAIT [illegible] GODFREY KNELLER.

IN S^T GEORGE'S HALL, WINDSOR CASTLE

number, but afterwards six were added to them. The first fifteen related to the peace of Utrecht; the sixteenth to the sudden creation of twelve peers, made on purpose to obtain a Tory majority in the House of Lords. After the articles had been read, a debate arose as to whether any of them amounted to high treason. As was not unusual on such occasions, it was proposed that the judges should be consulted; but a motion to that effect was negatived by eighty-four to fifty-two. The next motion was that Oxford should be committed to the Tower; and Oxford, after being reprieved for a few days on account of a real or pretended indisposition, was committed to the Tower by the house. Part of the *vivâ voce* evidence, alluded to by the committee of secrecy, was that of Matthew Prior, who, seven days after this, or on the 16th of July, underwent a long examination before the committee. It had been reported that Prior, to secure himself, would make ample revelations, and disclose quite enough to make out a case of treason against Bolingbroke and Oxford; but the poet refused to disclose the secrets with which he had been intrusted, and abhorred the idea of criminating his patrons and employers. To punish this obstinacy, Walpole, in all due form, moved the house for an impeachment against Matthew Prior, esquire, who had been for some time in the custody of a messenger, and who, on the 17th of the same month, was ordered into close custody, where no person was to be admitted to see him without an order from the speaker. In the following year, when an act of grace was passed, the poet, who still lay at the mercy of the House of Commons, was one of the persons excepted out of it; but being discharged soon after, he quietly retired into the country, and spent the remainder of his days at his own villa of Down Hall, or at Wimpole, a seat of the Earl of Oxford, where he died on the 18th of December, 1721. Oxford was left in the Tower; and his opponents continued long to deliberate whether there was sufficient evidence to convict him of high treason, or only enough to prove the point of misdemeanour.

The easy accession of the house of Hanover, after all the plots and plans that had been laid, and all the pledges that had been given to the pretender, struck the world with astonishment. Efforts, however, were made at a very early period to shake the new throne; and it was the high-church party that first applied their broad shoulders to this work. In their sermons, and still more in their pamphlets, they irritated the populace with suspicions of the king's temper and orthodoxy. They painted his religion in bad colours, representing that the old tyranny of the Presbyterian government, that the starch days of the Puritans were to be restored. They drew an odious distinction between a native and a foreign prince, and they prophesied that England would be eaten up by Hanoverian rats and other foreign vermin. Presently loud cries were heard throughout the land of "High church and Ormond for ever!" "Down with the Puritans!" "Down with the dissenters!" and where the orthodox mob was strongest they soon proceeded to realize the metaphor, and to knock down the meeting-houses of the dissenters. In Staffordshire these excesses were greatest; and scarcely a Whig or dissenter there could escape insult or more serious injury. To stop these excesses, the legislature had recourse to the well-known riot act, which was hastily carried through both houses of parliament. The ill-humour of the people, however, was not to be repressed; and the more they saw of the new king and the new court the less they liked both. And, indeed, though possessed of some solid qualities which seem to have fitted him for the difficult position in which he was placed, the first George was far from being a very prepossessing or brilliant prince. He was fifty-four years old, had a heavy countenance and a clumsy figure, and was plain in his dress, almost a sloven; he was taciturn and phlegmatic, and yet subject to violent fits of passion; he could neither confer a favour with grace nor refuse one with blandness. In the midst of this personal unpopularity of George and his court, numerous papers in behalf of the pretender were written, printed, and circulated. One of them, attributed to Mr. Leslie, drew a charming portrait of the chevalier. He was described as active, tall, and graceful, resembling in his countenance that respectable sovereign Charles II.; and as to his moral qualities, it was affirmed that he was candid, tolerant, and benevolent, just, firm, and altogether a prince of excellent principles. The multitude also recollected, as a favourable circumstance, that Charles II., though he had kept a great many, had kept none but very handsome mistresses, who had been exceedingly lavish of their money. As the popular discontent grew and increased, the Jacobites, and some of the selfish traffickers of state, who had been disappointed in their expectations, began to cabal again, and to renew or commence a correspondence with the pretender; and foremost among these renewed traitors was the *illustrious* Marlborough, who, though commander-in-chief of the British army under George, sent a sum of money to France as a loan to the chevalier, who was at the moment planning how to kindle the flames of civil war in Scotland.[1] The disaffected in England, as well as in Scotland, thought they had a tower of strength in Bolingbroke, whose genius was indisputable; and they opened a regular intercourse, by letters and messengers, with that fugitive. On his first arrival in France, Bolingbroke had had a long interview with Lord Stair, who was residing at Paris as a diplomatic agent for King George, and he had solemnly assured that nobleman that he would enter into no plot nor contract any engagement with the Jacobites; but, at the same time, he had privately seen the Duke of Berwick, and pledged himself to assist the pretender openly whenever a promising opportunity should arise. Lord Stair, however, knew his man; and, having his misgivings, he set a person to watch Bolingbroke. About the beginning of July, Bolingbroke repaired to the pretender's court, which was then at Commercy. "Here," says he, "I found a multitude of people at work, and every one doing what seemed good in his own eyes: no subordination, no order, no concert. . . . The Jacobites had wrought one another up to look on the success of the present design as infallible. . . . Care and hope sat on every busy Irish face. Those who could write and read had letters to show, and those who had not yet arrived to this pitch of erudition had their secrets to whisper. No sex was excluded from this ministry."[1] In fact, one of the busiest persons in this strange heterogeneous conclave was a Mrs. Trant, a lady who had more Jacobitism than virtue. With such agents, and such a rabble rout, it was not difficult for Lord Stair to discover most of their secrets. After a conference with an Irish friar, in which each suspected the other, Bolingbroke dined with M. de Torcy, who, though French minister for foreign affairs, was corresponding with the pretender, and forwarding his views as much as the policy of his court would permit. Bolingbroke then wrote to his new master, to assure his majesty that things were not yet ripe in England, or that, at least, he could not tell with certainty whether they were so or not. "At present," says Bolingbroke, "the correspondence wants that preciseness and exactness which is indispensably necessary."[2] But, shortly after, he received from England something more concise and exact in the shape of a memorial drawn up by Lord Lansdowne, Lord Mar, the Duke of Ormond, and other great Jacobite lords, who, though they urged the importance of procuring the assistance of an armed force from the French king, thought that the pretender might venture without it, provided only he brought with him a train of artillery, arms for 20,000 men, 500 officers, and a good sum of money. With this memorial in his hand, and with assurances that the plot was a good plot, and would not fail, Bolingbroke again waited on De Torcy and other French ministers, whom he found ready enough to embroil England, but yet fearful of openly committing themselves and of provoking another war, which France was ill able to bear. Bolingbroke was much disconcerted by the constant discovery of some of his secrets, and by the alarm that had begun to spread in England of a design of invasion this summer; but he was apparently still full of hope when two events occurred to derange everything. The first of these was the flight from England of the Duke of Ormond; the second was the death of Louis XIV., who died at last, and in a very contemptible manner, on the 1st of September.[3] "He was," says Bolingbroke, "the best friend the chevalier had; and when I engaged in this business, my principal dependence was on his personal character. . . . My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired." The dissolute Duke of Orleans, who obtained the regency of France in spite of the opposition of Madame de Maintenon, Louis's last mistress and left-handed wife, and of the bastards which that old king had left behind him, was more averse even than Louis to a new war, and had far less consideration for the cause of legitimacy in the abstract, or for the pretender in person. Orleans had, on the contrary, friends among the present English ministers, who, it should appear, made him offers of money and troops to secure his regency; and he was particularly on a footing of intimacy with the new secretary-of-state, General Stanhope, whom he had known well in Spain. The Jacobites now hardly knew to whom they could apply without risk of having their propositions and schemes divulged in England. The fugitive Ormond, however, hit upon a scheme that was quite suitable and in character. Mrs. Olivia Trant, the intriguing lady we have mentioned, was very beautiful—the regent the most lascivious of men. Ormond, doing the part of Sir Pandarus of Troy, brought the precious couple together; and Mrs. Olivia became, for a time, the mistress of the regent of France. But the Duke of Orleans was too thoroughly a man of the world to disclose his state secrets to his mistresses, and he changed them too often, and kept too many at a time, to allow any one lady to acquire any great influence over him; so that Ormond's scheme and Mrs. Trant's prostitution were little better than thrown away.

---

[1] *Stuart Papers.*

---

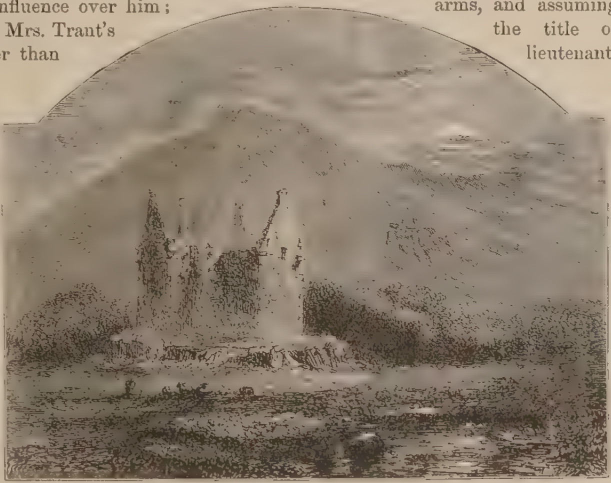
[1] Letter to Sir William Wyndham.

[2] *Stuart Papers.*

[3] "The health of Louis XIV. had for some time been declining. That sun, so bright in its meridian, so dim and clouded at its setting, was now soon to disappear. It would be a melancholy task to trace the changes in his fortunes and his character during sixty years—from his joyous and triumphant manhood, to his cheerless and sullen old age. To be stripped of his hard-won conquests—to see the fabric of power, raised in fifty toilsome and victorious years, at last crumbled into dust—to hear the exulting acclamations which used to greet his presence, transformed to indignant murmurs or mournful silence—to be deprived by a sudden and suspicious death of nearly all the princes of his race, and left with no other male descendant for his successor than an infant great-grandson—to be a prey to grasping bastards and to the widow of a deformed baboon; such was the fate reserved for the vaunted conqueror of Mons—for the magnificent lord of Versailles!"—Lord Mahon's *Hist. Eng.*, vol. i.

"The intrusion of any popular voice was not likely to be tolerated in the reign of Louis XIV.—a reign which has been so often celebrated as the zenith of warlike and literary splendour, but which has always appeared to me to be the consummation of whatever is afflicting and degrading in the history of the human race. Talent seemed, in that reign, robbed of the conscious elevation, of the erect and manly port, which is its noblest associate and its surest indication. The mild purity of Fenelon, the lofty spirit of Bossuet, the masculine mind of Boileau, the sublime fervour of Corneille, were confounded by the contagion of ignominious and indiscriminate servility. It seemed as if the 'representative majesty' of the genius and intellect of man were prostrated before the shrine of a sanguinary and dissolute tyrant, who practised the corruption of courts without their mildness, and incurred the guilt of wars without their glory. His highest praise is to have supported the stage trick of royalty with effect: and it is surely difficult to conceive any character more odious and despicable, than that of a puny libertine, who, under the frown of a strumpet, or a monk, issues the mandate that is to murder virtuous citizens, to desolate happy and peaceful hamlets, to wring agonizing tears from widows and orphans. Heroism has a splendour that almost atones for its excesses; but what shall we think of him, who, from the luxurious and dastardly security in which he wallows at Versailles, issues with calm and cruel apathy his order to butcher the Protestants of Languedoc, or to lay in ashes the villages of the Palatinate? On the recollection of such scenes, as a scholar, I blush for the prostitution of letters; as a man, I blush for the patience of humanity."—Sir James Mackintosh, *Vindiciæ Gallicæ.*

Bolingbroke had been all along of opinion that the Scottish Jacobites could do little or nothing without the co-operation of the English, and that they ought to be kept quiet till the insurrection was fully organized south of the Tweed. He despatched a trusty messenger to Lord Mar; but when that messenger arrived in London, he learned from Erasmus Lewis, a very active member of the conspiracy, that Mar had already gone to the Highlands to raise the standard of the Stuarts. This seemed a strange want of judgment and of concert: but the fact, as stated by the Duke of Berwick, the party most likely to know the truth and least disposed to speak ill of his half-brother, the pretender, was, that that personage, unknown to Bolingbroke, who believed that nothing was or would be done without his advice, had sent orders to Mar to begin the insurrection at once in Scotland. "The Earl of Mar," says Berwick, "who had been secretary of state for Scotland in the time of Queen Anne, and had been removed from that post by George, received, in the month of September, a secret order from *the king*, to go immediately into Scotland and take up arms. Neither Bolingbroke nor I knew anything of this, although we were his principal ministers." Mar had set out by sea from London, and taken with him Lieutenant-general Hamilton, who had served with distinction in Holland and Flanders, and who had been second to the Duke of Hamilton in his unfortunate duel, one Colonel Hay, another good officer, and two servants. At Invercauld, where he stayed about eight days, Mar held conferences and concerted something like a plan for future operations; and then he went to Aboyne, where he met Lord Huntly, Lord Tullibardine, the earl-marshal, the Earl of Southesk, Glengarry, and others, and received messages from the Earl of Breadalbane and General Gordon. Mar pressed for an immediate rising, and the rest were absurd enough to follow his advice: and on the 6th of September (o. s.) Mar, who had collected an insignificant force, not exceeding 500 men, erected the standard of the Stuart at Braemar. On the 9th he issued a declaration, calling upon the people to take arms, and assuming the title of lieutenant-general to King James.[2] But thanks to the vigilance of Lord Stair and the many imprudences of the conspirators at home and abroad, the government was not taken by surprise. By an act of parliament just passed, the king was empowered to summon all the chiefs of the clans to Edinburgh by a certain day. The order had been sent down, and, though many of the Highland



Braemar Castle.[1]—From an old drawing in the British Museum.

---

[1] Braemar Castle, near which the standard of rebellion was raised in 1715, was founded in the sixteenth century, by the Earl of Mar. It was burned in the reign of William III.; but was afterwards repaired, and is now occupied by a detachment of military for the suppression of smuggling.

[2] MS. in the possession of Lord Rosslyn, as cited by Lord John Russell, *Hist. Europe from Peace of Utrecht.*

chiefs hesitated and eventually joined Mar, others repaired quietly to the capital, where an attempt by the insurgents to surprise the castle failed completely, because the persons employed neglected their business and sat drinking whisky in a public-house till it was too late. As soon as the government received intelligence that Mar was up in the Highlands, other orders were despatched to Edinburgh for apprehending suspected persons; and the Earls of Hume, Wigton, and Kinnoull, Lord Deskford, Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, and Mr. Hume of Whitfield, were soon laid fast in Edinburgh Castle. Major-general Whetham was ordered to march with all the regular troops that could be spared to Stirling, where he was to occupy positions so as to secure the bridge and the passages of the Forth. The Duke of Argyle went down as commander-in-chief, and the Earl of Sutherland hastened to his part of the Highlands to raise his clans for the service of the house of Hanover.

But at this moment the attention of the government was distracted and its anxiety greatly increased by the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy in England, and by intelligence that the Duke of Ormond was expected on the coast of Devonshire to head a formidable insurrection. Ormond, it appears, was betrayed by one of his most active agents, by a certain Maclean, whom Bolingbroke sets down as a villain.[1] Forthwith the titular Duke of Powis, a Roman Catholic, Lord Lansdowne, and Lord Duplin were arrested, and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of the Earl of Jersey. At the same time a royal message was sent down to the commons, informing them that his majesty, having just cause to suspect that Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Edward Hervey, senior, Mr. Thomas Forster, junior, Mr. John Anstice, and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, were engaged in a design to support the invasion of the kingdom, had given orders for apprehending them. The messengers sent to apprehend Sir William Wyndham at his house in Somersetshire, not far from the place where Ormond had appointed to land, found him in bed: upon the baronet's coming out in his dressing-gown, he was arrested, but, craving permission to return and take leave of his lady, he escaped by a secret door. Some important papers, however, were secured, and a few days after, Wyndham, finding it impossible to escape, repaired to the house of his father-in-law, the Duke of Somerset, and surrendered himself. The duke offered to be his bail, but his offer was refused, and, for the violence of his language, and probably for other reasons, his grace was deprived of his high court office of master of the horse. Sir John Packington was taken, examined, and then discharged. Mr. Hervey and Mr. Anstice were secured in prison; but Mr. Forster rose in rebellion in Northumberland, and Mr. Kynaston made his escape. Troops were hurried down to the west, Bristol was secured by the Earl of Berkeley, the lord-lieutenant of the county, who discovered and seized there several cases of fire-arms and about 200 horses prepared for the use of the insurgents. Exeter was looked to, and Plymouth well guarded; and Sir Richard Vivian, a stirring Cornish gentleman, was sent up to London in the custody of a king's messenger. Other west-country gentlemen were either watched or made fast; and this occurred also in other parts of the kingdom, where the lately insulted dissenters were active in making discoveries and directing the vengeance of government.[2]

---

[1] Extract from the *Stuart Papers*, in Appendix to Lord Mahon, *History of England, from Peace of Utrecht.*

[2] Mr. Hallam, and afterwards Lord Mahon, unite in reprobating the cowardice and selfishness by which the noisy Jacobites of the south virtually betrayed the Scotch on this occasion. It seems amazing that a party which proved so deaf to the calls of honour and consistency in 1715 as to have left their northern compatriots to perish, should have had so much power to frighten the friends of the Revolution under William and Mary, and Anne, and, by their treasonable intrigues, to perpetrate so much mischief in their mode of closing the war. "The strong symptoms of disaffection which broke out," says Hallam, "a few months after the king's accession, and which can be ascribed to no grievance, unless the formation of a Whig ministry was to be termed one, prove the taint of the late times to have been deep-seated and extensive. The clergy, in very many instances, were a curse rather than a blessing to those over whom they were set; and the people, while they trusted that from those polluted fountains they could draw the living waters of truth, became the dupes of factious lies and sophistry. Thus encouraged, the heir of the Stuarts landed in Scotland; and the spirit of that people being in a great measure Jacobite, and very generally averse to the union, he met with such success as, had their independence subsisted, would probably have established him on the throne. But Scotland was now doomed to wait on the fortunes of her more powerful ally; and, on his invasion of England, the noisy partizans of hereditary right discredited their faction by their cowardice. Few rose in arms to support the rebellion compared with those who desired its success, and did not blush to see the gallant savages of the Highlands shed their blood that a supine herd of priests and country gentlemen might enjoy the victory."—*Const. Hist. Eng.*, chap. xvi. "Who," says Lord Mahon, "that reads of the lofty forgetfulness of self, of the chivalrous attachment of the fallen, that shone forth in the three rebellions of 1689, 1715, and 1745, and that notwithstanding repeated reverses—'for all that, and all that, and twice as much as all that,' in the words of their own spirit-stirring song—still stood firm and undismayed, does not feel inclined to cry shame upon the charges of mean selfishness, and calculating caution, so often cast upon this brave Scotch people? Who will not own that they have generous actions to show against the empty words of their maligners? Never, in my opinion, did any nation combine in a more eminent degree the sense and shrewdness, which are sometimes thus unfairly urged as their reproach, with the highest courage and most unconquerable fidelity."—*Hist. Eng.*, chap. v. It must be some consolation to the Scotch, that an English nobleman should thus deliberately give his testimony in refutation of the slanders against the country of his paternal ancestors, with which, in *his History of England*, Lord Macaulay seems to endeavour to expiate if possible the sin of his descent from "a people of the highest courage, and most unconquerable fidelity."

The Catholics in the north of England were more hardy and far more difficult to deal with. The Mr. Forster, junior, who had escaped from the warrant, began the movement in Northumberland, his native county; and he was soon joined by the young and gallant Earl of Derwentwater, who was descended from an illegitimate daughter of Charles II., and who had been also marked out for arrest. Both Forster and Derwentwater had intended to take up arms, but not so soon. As, however, the king's messengers were hunting for them, they thought there was nothing left for them to do but to fight for it, and they met at the small town of Rothbury, with a joint force not exceeding sixty horse. But proceeding to Warkworth they were joined by Lord Widdrington, another Catholic peer, with about thirty more horse. Forster was appointed general of this army of ninety men, and, in disguise, he proclaimed the pretender at Warkworth, with sound of trumpet.[1] From Warkworth the insurgents marched by Alnwick to Morpeth, which they entered with about 300 horse.

By this time these north of England insurgents had opened a correspondence with the Earl of Mar, who remained undecided and inactive on the skirts of the Highlands, and with Lord Kenmure, who had undertaken to head another insurrection in the south-west of Scotland, and who, on the 12th of October, proclaimed the pretender at Moffat. Forster and Derwentwater had also their friends in Newcastle, and they seemed to have expected an easy capture of that important city; but they were cruelly disappointed; and Forster moved off to Hexham, to wait for reinforcements from the disaffected parts of Lancashire and from Lord Mar, who had promised to send some Scottish foot towards the Borders. It appears that the Papists from Lancashire and Cheshire were not very alert in taking the field; but the insurrection continued to grow in the south-west of Scotland, where Kenmure was joined by the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, and by other Jacobites of name and influence. Kenmure having failed in an attempt to surprise Dumfries, resolved to unite his *army* —it amounted to some 200 horsemen—with that of Mr. Forster, and, passing through Jedburgh, he crossed the Borders and effected the junction near Rothbury. The united force, which is differently rated at from 600 to 800 horse, then faced about, crossed the Tweed, and entered the pleasant little town of Kelso, whither Mar had bargained to send Brigadier Mackintosh with 2000 foot. That rash earl, being joined by a considerable force under the Marquis of Tullibardine, was, some weeks before this, at the head of 6000 or 7000 men, nearly all foot, for he had scarcely more than three or four squadrons of horse. This infantry consisted solely of Highlanders, active, indefatigable, and as brave as steel; but sadly deficient in discipline, in arms, and even in gunpowder. As for the squadrons of horse, they were composed of Jacobite gentlemen and their dependants from Perth, Fife, and Angus, of men that were as ignorant of war as they were blind or short-sighted in their politics —and every laird among them considered himself entitled to dictate and command. On the other side, however, the Duke of Argyle and General Whetham could at first scarcely muster 2000 men—the whole regular force in Great Britain at the moment fell short of 8000—and if Mar had at once led his Highlanders to battle, victory could scarcely have been doubtful. But Mar was an incompetent commander, and, we apprehend, deficient in courage. According to the Duke of Berwick, who would have made the struggle a far more serious one if he himself had had the command, "A man may have a great deal of understanding, a great deal of personal bravery, and be a very able minister, without having the talents requisite for an enterprise of this nature. It is certain that Mar had them not; and we must not therefore wonder that he did not succeed. After he had drawn the

HEXHAM, by Moonlight.—From a sketch by H. G. Hine.

---

[1] Forster was put at the head of the affair, not because he had any military experience or genius, but simply because he was a Protestant, the insurgents thinking it unwise to excite popular animosity by putting an avowed Papist at their head.

sword, he did not know in what manner to proceed, and by that means missed the most favourable opportunity that had presented itself since the Revolution in 1688."[1] But it should appear that by this time the pretender had become suspicious and jealous of his able half-brother; and that, having never trusted him fully and frankly, he was now disposed wholly to withdraw his confidence and friendship from him. At last, when the Covenanters in the low country had had good time to recover their spirits and sharpen their broadswords, Mar began to do something: he detached General Gordon to seize the Duke of Argyle's town and castle of Inverary, to check and chastise the Campbells, and then turn upon the English force from the west; and he threw 2000 men across the Forth, as promised, under the command of Brigadier Mackintosh, of Borlum, a veteran distinguished by bravery, zeal, and military talent. Mackintosh's passage of the Frith of Forth, almost under the guns of three English men-of-war, was the brilliant episode of this campaign. Edinburgh, unprovided with troops, was thrown into consternation; and, though Mackintosh had no orders to attack it, he was tempted by what he heard and saw, and, instead of pushing southward for Kelso, where Forster and Derwentwater expected him, he marched straight to Edinburgh, and occupied an eminence called Jock's Lodge, within a mile of that city. But he had stopped a night at Haddington to refresh his men; and Sir George Warrender, the provost of Edinburgh, a zealous Whig, and a man of courage and ability, had made good use of the time allowed him in barricading the gates, in arming the citizens, and in sending to the Duke of Argyle for succour. And Argyle, leaving a part of his force to watch the bridge at Stirling, was in full march with the rest upon the capital, and arrived there almost as soon as Mackintosh reached Jock's Lodge. The Jacobite brigadier therefore turned aside to Leith, and took up his quarters in a citadel which had been built in Oliver Cromwell's time, but had been since allowed to fall to ruin. On the following morning the Duke of Argyle appeared before the citadel with 1200 men, consisting of regular troops, the city guard, and volunteers from Edinburgh; and he summoned the Jacobites to surrender, threatening them with a refusal of quarter if they should oblige him to take the place by assault. A fiery Highland laird—the Laird of Kinnachin—answered this summons by a bold defiance. Surrender, he said, was a word they did not understand—quarter they were determined neither to take nor to give—and, as for an assault, if his grace were ready for that, they were no less prepared to receive him. Argyle marched back to Edinburgh to obtain some artillery; and Mackintosh, instead of taking that capital, was fain to steal out of the citadel of Leith under cover of night, and to direct his march, as originally intended, upon Kelso. He entered Musselburgh before midnight, and early on the following morning—Sunday, the 16th October—he arrived at Seaton Place, the mansion of the Catholic and Jacobite Earl of Winton. Here, however, he was only seven or eight miles from Edinburgh, and, fearing that Argyle would give pursuit, he examined the house and grounds, and fixed upon a strong garden wall as a covering for his men. In the meanwhile Mar had been informed of Mackintosh's movements, and, in order to prevent the pursuit in that direction, he advanced towards Stirling. General Whetham, who remained there with a very inferior force, was presently alarmed by the shrill sound of bagpipes and the appearance of loose columns of Highlanders; and he despatched a messenger with breathless speed to entreat Argyle to return to Stirling as soon as possible. This messenger, late on Sunday night, found Argyle preparing to attack Mackintosh at Seaton House on the following morning; but it was far more essential to prevent the rout of Whetham, and the approach upon Edinburgh of Mar, than to crush Mackintosh; and the duke quitted the capital between night and morning, and, with the whole force he had brought thence and a considerable number of volunteers, made a forced march back to Stirling. If Mar had been a Montrose or a Dundee he would have annihilated Whetham some hours before Argyle could come up; and with troops elated with victory he would have met the duke on his march, defeated him, and then taken possession of the capital. But, though this course was pointed out to him, Mar stayed deliberating and see-sawing at Dumblane, six miles from the English camp, till Argyle arrived at it; and then he called in his advanced divisions, wheeled round, and retreated upon Perth without striking a blow. For nearly a month Mar lay at Perth, and Argyle at Stirling. In the meanwhile Mackintosh, after staying two days at Seaton House, marched across the hills of Lammermuir, and by the 22d of October reached Kelso, where he found Lord Kenmure, Forster, and Lord Derwentwater. The insurgent force, Scotch and English, thus united, exceeded 2000 men. But they no sooner joined than they began to quarrel, the Scots proposing one plan of operation, the English another; and, while they were making a useless promenade along the Cheviot Hills, General Carpenter, who had been sent to the north by Stanhope with 900 horse, got close in their rear, and watched their senseless proceedings. Mackintosh, who was not to blame for these blunders, halted at Langholm, and, seeing no hope of carrying the town of Dumfries, a project warmly recommended by the Scots, he was induced by the English insurgents to march southward and invade Lancashire, where they assured him of the co-operation of the numerous Roman Catholic gentry. Upon this decision 500 Scots, refusing to cross the Borders, abandoned Mackintosh, and returned, some to the camp of the Earl of Mar, and some to their own houses in the mountains. By the 2d of November, Mackintosh and Forster, with those who had chosen to follow them, were at Penrith in Westmoreland, where the *posse comitatus* had been called out to oppose them by the Bishop of Carlisle and Lord Lonsdale. But from 8000 to 10,000 unwarlike rustics fled in a panic before the insurgents, leaving a great many of their horses and rude weapons behind them. From Penrith the insurgents marched by Appleby and Kendal to Kirby-Lonsdale, proclaiming the pretender as they went, and seizing all the public money they could find. They were, however, disappointed at not being joined by the Catholic gentry of Cumberland and Westmoreland. The government had arrested the most considerable of these, and they were now fast in Carlisle Castle. But at Kirby-Lonsdale a considerable number of the Roman Catholic gentry of Lancashire, with whom Forster had been corresponding, came up and enrolled themselves. They then pushed forward for Lancaster, which abounded with Papists. The notorious Colonel Charteris commanded in the town for King George: he proposed stopping the march of the rebels by blowing up the bridge over the Loyne, but the inhabitants prevented this, forced the colonel to retire, and then opened their streets and spread their tables for the insurgents. From Lancaster they advanced to Preston, a town equally Jacobitish and Catholic, from which Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and a body of militia thought it prudent to retire. At Preston nearly all the Roman Catholic gentry of the districts joined, with their servants and tenantry; and Forster began to assume the airs of a conqueror, in spite of the misgivings of the veteran Mackintosh, who knew the value of such an undisciplined rabble.

---

[1] *Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick.*

In the meantime General Carpenter, leaving the range of the Cheviots behind him, had turned back into Northumberland, and by forced marches had reached the city of Durham, where he combined with General Wills, another distinguished officer, who had been sent down to the northwest some time before to quell the many riots and disorders that were the prelude to this insurrection. Wills presently concentrated six regiments of cavalry, for the most part newly raised, but commanded by experienced officers, at Manchester, whence he moved to Wigan. There it was arranged that Wills should march straight upon Preston, while Carpenter, advancing in another direction, should take the insurgents in flank. As the royalists approached, Mr. Forster, or General Forster as he was called, gave very satisfactory proof that he was no soldier: he fell into a fright and confusion, and betook himself to his bed. But Lord Kenmure roused him, and in a hurried council, where all the gentlemen had a voice, and where those spoke loudest who knew least of war, a plan of defending Preston was adopted. But this plan, at least as executed, consisted merely in erecting a few barricades in the streets of the town, and in posting the men in the centre of it. Brigadier Mackintosh either knew not the ground, or his better judgment must have been overruled; for Preston offered many advantages as a defensive position, which were all entirely neglected. In the front of the town there was a bridge over the Ribble, that might have been held by a handful of men; and from the bridge up to the town the road, for the distance of about half a mile, ran in a hollow between two high and steep banks. But river, bridge, and road, were all left open to the assailants. When Wills rode up to the bridge and saw that it was not protected by so much as a musket, and that the road beyond it was unoccupied, he could scarcely believe his own eyes; and then he concluded that the insurgents must have abandoned Preston and began their retreat to Scotland, so that there would be no fighting that day. But as he came up to the outskirts of the town he heard a tumultuous noise within, and saw the barricades which Forster had ordered to be thrown up, and he was soon saluted by a shower of musket-balls. He ordered his dragoons to dismount and attack two of the barricades. This service was gallantly performed: but the regulars were sorely galled by a fire from the houses as well as from behind the barricades; and as night began to fall, Wills withdrew them, after they had suffered considerable loss. Early on the following morning General Carpenter came up with a part of his cavalry; and then Forster, who had scarcely lost a man, and whose force more than doubled that of all the regular troops, lost heart entirely, and, without consulting his friends, sent Colonel Oxburgh to propose a capitulation. General Wills, irritated by the loss he had sustained on the preceding evening, seemed at first disposed to reject the proposition altogether; but at last he agreed "that if the rebels would lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion, he would protect them from being cut to pieces by the soldiers until further orders from the government." When Oxburgh's mission was known in the town, and the result of it, the more warlike portion of the insurgents were indignant and furious against the coward Forster, who, according to an eye-witness, would, if he had ventured out into the streets, have been slain though he had had a hundred lives. The brave Highlanders, seeing that nothing was to be expected from the Lancashire boors that had joined them, proposed rushing out, sword in hand, and cutting their way through the king's troops; but this would have now been a most desperate enterprise, and many of their chiefs thought it better to surrender. They gave up Lord Derwentwater and Colonel Mackintosh as hostages, and induced the clans to lay down their arms and submit. Including English and Scotch, only seventeen men had been killed in the defence of Preston. The Lancashire peasants and others got out of town or escaped recognition; but 1400 men were made prisoners by 1000, or at most 1200 English horse. The most distinguished of these captives were Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Winton, Carnwath, Kenmure, Nairn, and Charles Murray; and members of the ancient northern families of Ord, Beaumont, Thornton, Clavering, Patten, Gascoigne, Standish, Swinburn, and Shafto.

Thus ingloriously ended the insurrection in England. On the very same day the banner of the pretender was struck to the dust in Scotland. On the 10th of November Mar seemed to awaken from his long slumber, and moving from Perth, he was joined by General Gordon, who had been very unsuccessful in his expedition into Argyleshire, but who brought, in addition to the forces he had carried with him, some reinforcements from the Western Highlands. When Mar counted his forces after this junction, he found that they amounted to some 10,000 men, including about 1500 foot, and two squadrons of horse that had been brought up by Lord Huntly. But of this force a considerable number had no proper arms; and the whole of the cavalry, whether composed of Lowland lairds or of Highlanders, was contemptible, and an object of ridicule, even with their associates. In the interval the Duke of Argyle had received reinforcements of a very superior quality—veteran troops from Ireland. Mar, however, having begun, continued his advance, and on the 12th of November he halted at Ardoch, about ten miles from Argyle's position at Stirling. Argyle, upon learning his approach, boldly quitted the passes of the Forth, where his cavalry could not act, crossed the river, advanced to and occupied Dumblane, and resolved to give battle in the plain, though in so doing he must have the disadvantage of fighting with a river in his rear. He rode over an open moor, which, from having been the place of meeting and exercise for the militia of the sheriffdom of Monteith, was called the Sheriffmuir. The ground, though somewhat rough, admitted of cavalry evolutions and charges of horse, of which, much more than of any other arm, the wild Highlanders stood in dread; and therefore he resolved to make that place his battle-field. Mar did not keep him long waiting, though it appears somewhat doubtful whether that timid and unskilful general was either confident of success or disposed to fight at all. Upon coming in sight of Argyle's columns he called a council of war, and spoke of retreat; but the Highlanders cried out with one voice, "Fight! fight!" Then, without heeding the warning voice of Huntly, orders were given to form the field. "We were no sooner got to our posts," says one of the Highlanders, "than a huzza began, with tossing up of hats and bonnets, and it ran through our whole army, on the hearing we had resolved to fight. No man who had a drop of Scots blood in him but must have been elevated to see the cheerfulness of his countrymen on that occasion."[1] The infantry formed in admirable order, for at that work the Highlanders were peculiarly apt and quick. "I never," says General Wightman, "saw regular troops more exactly drawn up in line of battle, and that in a moment." But the horse was all wrong; three squadrons mistook the left for the right, abandoned an important position with which they had been intrusted, and began a confusion even before a shot was fired. The right of the insurgents was commanded by the Earl of Mar and Lord Drummond; the left by Gordon and Huntly; and General Hamilton, the best tactician on that side, acted as chief of the staff, and kept an eye on the whole line. Argyle had not more than 3500 men; but this number included three good cavalry regiments. The duke commanded the right, General Whetham the left, and General Wightman the centre. The battle began on Sunday morning, the 13th of November, with an attempt made by the Highlanders to outflank the king's troops, and by a tremendous fire opened by the Highlanders on the Duke of Argyle and his right wing. The duke suffered severely; but his tried soldiers kept their ground, extended their lines, and leaned upon a morass. Upon examining this swamp, which was usually impassable, Argyle perceived that it was frozen over by the last night's frost; and he instantly threw Major Cathcart and a squadron of horse across it; and, while Cathcart took the Highlanders in flank, the duke, leading the attack in person, charged them full in front with the rest of his cavalry. After a desperate resistance, the clans thus assailed gave way; but there was no running, and not much disorder; for they retreated slowly, with their faces to the enemy, and in the short distance of two miles they attempted ten times to rally. But at length, when the battle had raged nearly three hours, the Highlanders were driven beyond the river Allan, in whose waters not a few of them perished. But while Argyle had been gaining these advantages, his left wing had been signally defeated by the right of the insurgents, who rushed upon the English infantry before they were well formed. This headlong ardour of the Highlanders was somewhat cooled by an English bullet, which mortally wounded their chief, Clan Ronald, a brave veteran who had served abroad under the Duke of Berwick, and who was famed at home for his hospitality and feudal state: but Glengarry, who had carried the royal standard at Killiecrankie, throwing his bonnet into the air, cried out in Gaelic, "Revenge to-day and mourning to-morrow;" and then the Highlanders rushed forward to the muzzles of the English muskets, pushed aside their bayonets with their light targets, fell upon the infantry with their broadswords, and drove them from the field; and in a very few minutes the whole of Argyle's left wing was broken and routed, General Whetham galloping from the field in such a panic as never to draw rein till he got to Stirling. Argyle was away with the right; but General Wightman kept the centre in tolerable order, though even there some troops turned their faces towards Stirling, and ran after Whetham. If the insurgent horse had charged this wavering centre at the proper moment, it must have been broken; but the insurgent horse, as we have hinted, was worth nothing; the opportunity was lost, and General Wightman moved away to the right with three regiments of foot, and then followed in the footsteps of Argyle, who halted on the bank of the Allan, ignorant of the fate of his left wing. The duke, however, was soon informed of the flight of Whetham, and then he wheeled round and joined Wightman and the three regiments as they were advancing to meet him. In the meantime the Earl of Mar, equally ignorant of the discomfiture and rout of his left wing, had pushed after Whetham as far as Corntoun; but there he was brought to a halt by intelligence that his left was in full retreat, and that Argyle was following them to the Allan. He had thereupon marched back to Sheriffmuir, and taken up his position on an eminence which offered several advantages, both offensive and defensive. Mar was on that eminence when Argyle, with his tired troops, began to wind round it in the design of getting to Dunblane. Argyle and Wightman saw the danger they were in, and, fully expecting an attack down hill, they drew up their men behind some inclosures, and put two pieces of cannon in their front. "If," says Wightman, "they had either had courage or conduct, they might have entirely destroyed my body of foot." "If," says Scott, "they had but thrown down stones, they might have disordered Argyle's troops." But Mar, it appears, had had fighting enough: he neglected all his advantages, stood at gaze, and when Argyle began to move again round the foot of the hill, he descended from it in the opposite direction. One of the Highland chiefs—Gordon of Glenbucket—exclaimed, "Oh! for an hour of Viscount Dundee!"

---

[1] *Sinclair MS.*, and notes by Sir Walter Scott.

Mar fell back upon Ardoch; and Argyle, scarcely believing his own good fortune and his adversary's cowardice or stupidity, went quietly on to Dunblane, where he fixed his quarters for the night. The insurgents are said to have lost, in this strange battle of Sheriffmuir, 700 in killed, including the young Earl of Strathmore and other men of rank, and 200 in prisoners, among whom was Lord Strathallan. The Earl of Panmure and other noblemen had been taken also, but had been liberated in the affray. The loss of the king's army is stated at 400 in killed and wounded, and nearly 200 in prisoners, the Earl of Forfar and Colonel Lawrence being among the latter. On the following morning Argyle kept possession of the field of battle, and showed, as his trophies, four pieces of artillery, thirteen stand of colours, two standards, and the royal standard of the Stuarts, called "The Restoration." But he was in no condition to follow up the insurgents, who had also their trophies to show. He withdrew to Stirling, the Earl of Mar to Perth—the points from which they had respectively moved to fight the battle.

In France, the most wonderful reports had been spread of the success of the insurrection both in Scotland and in England; and it was some time before men could believe in the catastrophe of Preston, and the serious check at Sheriffmuir. Nearly every possible effort had been made to induce the Regent Orleans to espouse the cause of the pretender, and to assist him openly with troops; and more than once these efforts, being no doubt seconded by false or most exaggerated accounts of success from England, seemed to have some effect on that dissolute and ease-loving prince. He was constantly beset by the Duke of Ormond, the Duke of Berwick, the fair Mrs. Trant, and the eloquent, earnest, and persuasive Bolingbroke, who had far more influence over him than all the rest. But not even Lord Bolingbroke could convert defeat into victory, or convince Orleans that the Jacobites had a chance of success either in Scotland or England.[1]

---

[1] It is quite evident that the regent acted according to circumstances, and that a little good success, as Bolingbroke says,

It appears that, having got to the coast, for the purpose of passing over to Scotland to head the insurrection, and made so much stir, the pretender was ashamed to return to Lorraine without doing something; and that the representations of Bolingbroke and Berwick, and his anxiety to relieve himself from the imputation of cowardice, determined him to embark. He could no longer doubt the affair at Preston and the battle of Sheriffmuir; but the Scottish Jacobites continued to call for his presence, and the Earl of Mar represented that he had grown stronger since his battle with Argyle—that his army was increased to 16,000 fighting men. Therefore, after lying some time concealed at St. Malo, the chevalier resolved to embark for Scotland. At Dunkirk, attended by only six gentlemen, who were disguised, like himself, as French naval officers, he embarked immediately in a small vessel carrying eight guns; and, setting sail on a cloudy day in the middle of December, made for the little port of Peterhead, where he landed on the 22d of that month. The vessel which bore him was instantly sent back to France with letters to Bolingbroke and others.[1] From Peterhead he proceeded, in disguise, through Aberdeen to Fetteresso, the seat of his partizan the earl-marischal. Here he was soon joined by Lord Mar, General Hamilton, and some thirty other Jacobites, who scoured across the country from Perth, leaving the army behind them. As a reward for his services, the chevalier, who was very fond of such exercises of royalty, forthwith created Mar a duke. He lay for some days at Fetteresso doing nothing but giving and receiving compliments. It was reported that he was ill of an ague; but it appears that the cold fit was occasioned by his dread of Argyle, and his doubts as to the movements of the regular troops of King George. At length, on the 30th of December, he began to stir. On the 2d of January he was at Kinnaird, whence he wrote to Bolingbroke, to tell him, among other things, how he was obliged to send back to France one of his only two experienced officers, "on account of the disgust the Highlanders had got of him, which was altogether inexplicable." On the 4th he slept at Glammis Castle, the ancient and magnificent seat of the Earl of Strathmore; and on the 6th he made his public entry into Dundee on horseback, with Mar riding on his right hand, the earl-marischal on his left, and with 300 Jacobite lords and gentlemen behind him. He remained for an hour in the public market-place to allow the people to kiss his hand. On the 8th he arrived at the royal palace of Scone, near Perth, and the head-quarters of his army; and there he formed a council, and began to issue manifestoes and proclamations. It was noted that only two Presbyterian ministers in all Scotland consented to pray for the pretender; and that only two Episcopal ministers prayed for King George.[2] In fact, the Episcopalians, who had this excuse, that they were in Scotland the persecuted body, hurried to prostrate themselves at the feet of the pretender with vows of their own fidelity and affection, and with prayers for his success. Yet was the pretender a bigoted Catholic. In fact, he loathed all Protestant churches like his father James, and, like his grandfather Charles I., he had adopted as a system the practising of equivocations, half promises, and mental reservations. His prime adviser, Bolingbroke, had told him that his declarations ought to be plain and frank; but he had not been able to correct that bent of mind which was partly natural and partly the effect of a Jesuitical education. Moreover, in secular matters, he was obstinate and self-willed, and yet awkward, bashful, and timid. It was in vain that Mar sent out a circular letter to raise the affections of the people by describing the pretender as the finest gentleman he ever knew, and the most amiable.[3] People, on a nearer approach, judged for themselves. "We found ourselves," says one of the rebels, "not at all animated by his presence, and, if he was disappointed in us,

JAMES FRANCIS EDWARD, the old Pretender.
From a print by Chereau, after A. S. Belle.

---

would have inclined him the right way—*i.e.*, to support the pretender openly, and with all his might. It is equally certain that the regent was at no time sincere and earnest in stopping the chevalier: probably he would not have been sorry to be free of all the expense and trouble which the pretender cost France. If he had been determined to intercept him he might surely have done so, as nearly two months elapsed between the pretender's departure out of Lorraine and his sailing for Scotland; during which time the secret of his whereabouts was known to hundreds.

[1] *Stuart Papers.*

[2] *Patten.*

[3] Ibid.

we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him. Some asked if he could speak! His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him; I am sure the figure he made dejected us."[1] There was, in fact, a double disappointment—a universal dejection. Instead of 16,000 men in arms that Mar had talked about, the pretender found not above 5000 or 6000, and those ill armed, and in no very good humour; and, instead of a well-appointed French army, and that abundance of arms, accoutrements, and money which the Scots had expected with the Stuart, they saw that he had scarcely brought anything more than the clothes upon his back. The government, meanwhile, had been gaining strength, and employing negotiations both at home and abroad; so that several of the great Highland chiefs had listened to, or already concluded bargains advantageous to themselves, but fatal to the Jacobite cause. The devotion of the clansmen was rather to their respective chiefs than to the Stuarts. At the bidding of the chief, they were equally ready to fight against or for the pretender; and this, too, without any sense of shame, even if the chieftain shifted and changed as fast as the wind. Thus Simon Fraser, now Lord Lovat and chief of his clan, who, in his mad youth, had carried off the clansmen with bagpipes playing to join Dundee and fight for the pretender's father, having made his bargain with that powerful Whig chief the Earl of Sutherland, carried off all his clansmen to make war upon Sir John Mackenzie, who held the important town and position of Inverness for the pretender, but who was soon compelled to abandon it to Lovat; and as soon as the rest of the Frasers, who had followed a younger branch of the family to Mar's standard, learned that Lovat, the great head, had gone over to the opposite interest, they threw away their white cockades, and went in a body to the royal army. Horace Walpole, the brother of Sir Robert, had been despatched to the Hague to claim 6000 men from the Dutch, in virtue of an article in the guarantee treaty; and 5000 regular troops had been brought over from that country and sent down to Argyle. The parliament had now really set a price upon his head, by offering a reward of £100,000 to any one that should seize the pretender dead or alive. All half-pay officers had been recalled to active service, and twenty-one regiments were raised, or begun to be raised, in different parts of England. Money, arms, ammunition, and abundant supplies of provisions—all that was wanting on the other side—were put at the disposal of the Duke of Argyle. The pretender declared that, without the aid of foreign troops and money, he should not be able to hold his ground beyond the spring of the year; but Argyle did not wait for the melting of the snow, and he found himself obliged to flee even sooner than he had expected. On the 16th of January, with a countenance more dejected than ever, he held a council at Perth, and spoke like a doomed man. "For me," said he, "it will be no new thing to be unfortunate. My whole life, even from my cradle, has been a constant series of misfortunes; and I am prepared, if so it please God, to suffer the threats of my enemies and yours." A number of things were determined upon in a hurry. Perth, for example, was to be fortified; and the advance of the Duke of Argyle was to be impeded by burning and destroying all the towns and villages between Perth and Stirling, with the corn, forage, and whatsoever else might be found in the country. A proclamation to this effect was signed by the pretender, and a scene of horror ensued. Auchterarder, Blackford, and a number of small villages, were burned to the ground; and the poor inhabitants, women and children, the aged and the infirm (the able-bodied men had been forced from their homes, either into the rebellion or into the royal army), were exposed houseless to the extremities of the season, in one of the coldest winters that had been known for many generations. The poor sufferers, deprived of everything else, as well as of their cots or huts, perished in many places of cold and hunger; and mothers, with their infants at the breast, were found dead among the snow-heaps.

General Cadogan was sent down to quicken the Duke of Argyle, whose movements had been delayed chiefly by the severity of the weather, and want of artillery and reinforcements, and by protracted negotiations with those Highland chiefs who seemed willing to join him. Then a small train of artillery was brought up from Berwick-upon-Tweed, provisions and forage were procured, and put upon light waggons, and Colonel Guest was detached from Stirling with 200 dragoons, to reconnoitre the roads leading to Perth, in order to begin the march of the royal army, who, be it observed, had not been accustomed, even under the great Marlborough, and in climates less severe, to make campaigns in winter. The snow was very deep, and there happened a fresh and heavy fall; and, beyond a certain point, there were narrow and deep defiles completely blocked up with snow, and not a roof, not a bit of thatch, not a naked tree to give shelter to the troops. Nevertheless, on the 24th of January, the Duke of Argyle and General Cadogan advanced in person to survey the roads leading to Perth, and to direct the labours of the soldiers and peasants employed in clearing the roads from snow. The rebel Highlanders, advancing from Perth and from a few little garrisons they held on the borders of Fife, skirmished to interrupt these operations, which were slow and tedious in themselves, and could only go on under cover of muskets. But on the 29th a considerable advance was made, and a detachment of the royalists, with two pieces of cannon, got to the castle of Braco, which was immediately abandoned by the rebels. On the 30th the army advanced and lay all night in the open air on the snow, all but a detachment of 200 dragoons and 400 foot, which had driven the Highlanders out of Tullibardine. On the following morning the main body crossed the river Earn without opposition, and advanced to Tullibardine, which was only eight miles from Perth. That little city and the temporary court there had been a scene of confusion, despondency, and riot ever since the 24th. But on the 30th the near approach of Argyle and Cadogan made some resolution necessary; and on that day, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., the pretender got ready to quit Perth and his ancient kingdom of Scotland, in which he had been just five weeks. And on Tuesday, the last day of January, as Argyle with his main body was advancing from Tullibardine, Perth was evacuated, and the pretender and the Highlanders defiled across the broad, deep, and rapid river Tay, which was then frozen over with ice strong enough to bear both horse and foot. Having crossed the Tay, Mar and the pretender proceeded along the Carse of Gowrie to Dundee—the rapid movements of a Highland army leaving them little to apprehend from the slow pursuit of the regular troops, whose horses in many places could scarcely keep their feet. On the following morning, having secured in Perth a few of the rebel prisoners, "who, being drunk, had stayed behind the rest," Argyle followed along the Carse of Gowrie with six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions, and a detachment of 800 light foot, being still impeded by the state of the roads, as also by the provisions and artillery he thought necessary to take with him. When he reached Dundee on the 3d of February, he of course found the Highlanders all gone, the lightfooted mountaineers having struck along the road to Montrose, a road buried under the snow, and almost impassable to any other kind of troops. Argyle, however, followed, and sent Cadogan towards Montrose by another route. On the 5th of February, about the hour of noon, Cadogan, who had got as far as Arbroath, received advice that the pretender was gone for France the evening before. He had ordered the clans which had remained with him since his flight from Perth to be ready to march with him about eight at night towards Aberdeen, where, he assured them, they would find a considerable force just arrived to join him from the Continent. At the hour appointed for their march the pretender's horses were at the door of the house in which he lodged, a guard of honour was ready to see him mount, and no doubt was entertained by the Highlanders as to his remaining with them and going on to Aberdeen; but in the meantime he had slipped out on foot by a back door, proceeded to Lord Mar's quarters, and thence by a by-way to the water-side, where a boat was in waiting. Mar and the pretender got into this boat, which carried them to a French ship of about ninety tons, called the *Marie Therese*, of St. Malo, which lay in the offing with her yards bent. About a quarter of an hour later, two other boats carried on board the Earl of Melfort, the Lord Drummond, Lieutenant-general Sheldon, and ten other gentlemen, and then they spread their sails and put to sea. This cunning and paltry flight was decisive as to some important parts of the pretender's character; but there are one or two circumstances to be mentioned that do honour to his better feelings. He left behind him a letter addressed to the Duke of Argyle, with a small sum of money—probably nearly all that he had—for the relief of the

---

[1] *True Account of the Proceedings at Perth.*

PERTH.—From a view by D. O. Hill.

poor people dwelling between Perth and Stirling, whose houses and villages had been burned by his orders; and in a letter addressed to General Gordon, who took upon him the remnant of the Highland army, he acquainted his friends that the disappointments he had met with, especially from abroad, obliged him to leave the country; and, after thanking them all for their services, he advised them now to consult their own safety in the way they should think most advisable. Together with General Gordon, the Earls Marischal and Southesk, the Lord Teignmouth, son to the Duke of Berwick, and many other Jacobite noblemen and gentlemen, were left to shift for themselves. The main body of the insurgents, who remained under General Gordon, struck off from Aberdeen by Castle Gordon, Strathspey, and Strathdon, diminishing in numbers at the opening of every glen or mountain-pass which led to the homes of some of them. Colonel Grant took possession of Castle Gordon, and there halted, Argyle and Cadogan having both agreed not to risk their regular troops among the wild parts of the Highlands, where they were sure of loss, if not of destruction.

When the pretender arrived, *incognito*, in the neighbourhood of Paris, Bolingbroke waited upon him, attempted to revive his spirits, and to prescribe a political line of action. The prince professed the greatest affection, begged his lordship to follow him into Lorraine, and pressed him in his arms at parting, like a bosom friend. But, three days after this, when Bolingbroke thought his master was many a French league off, his lordship received a visit from the Duke of Ormond, who handed him two orders just written by the pretender, and stating, *sans phrases*, that he was dismissed from his post as secretary of state, and must deliver to the Duke of Ormond *all* the papers in his office! The witty profligate says that this *all* might have been contained in a moderate-sized letter-case: but the rage which this treatment excited was scarcely to be contained in any space. Bolingbroke, with all his genius, had been duped and insulted by a blockhead and a bevy of women. Instead of taking post for Lorraine, as he had promised his secretary he would do, the pretender had merely gone to an obscure house in the Bois de Boulogne, close to Paris, and had there confabulated and plotted with a set of kept-women and secretaries of foreign embassies, who used the place, and the majority of the persons assembled in it, for two kinds of intrigues. Bolingbroke says that he had in his hands matter wherewith to damp the triumph of the Duke of Ormond, who was now secretary of state as well as lord-general to the prince without state or army, but that he scorned to make use of it. But Bolingbroke instantly renounced and denounced all connection with the Jacobites; made overtures to Lord Stair, who was too conscious of his ability to despise him, and told Maria d'Este, the wretched mother of a wretched son, that he wished his arm might rot off if he ever again drew sword or pen for that cause. The Duke of Berwick saw at once the enormous blunder that had been committed in thus dismissing the only Englishman the pretender ever had able to manage his affairs, and dismissing him in such an insulting manner, as to make reconciliation impossible.

When the pretender took the road, he went to Chalons, in Champagne, where he waited for an answer from his always unwilling host, the Duke of Lorraine, touching his former lodgings at Bar-le-Duc. No refusal could be more politely worded; but still it was a refusal he received; and, instead of going into Lorraine or into the little state of Deux-Ponts, the pretender, irritated at the duke, made a long stage towards Rome, and settled himself under the wing of the pope in the city of Avignon, which the French had still allowed to remain to the holy see. In that famed old town, where Petrarca met his Laura, the pretender was rejoined by the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Mar, and other Scotch and English fugitives and outcasts. Little danger was to be apprehended from these stalking specimens of mediocrity or imbecility. The arch-minister Bolingbroke gone, the cabinet of the pretender was little better than a conclave of old women.

Avignon, the Castle of the Popes.—From Hughes' Views in the South of France.

But, in the meantime, hundreds, thousands of Englishmen and Scots were paying a severe penalty for their rash doings. In Scotland, the number of prisoners was very small, and little work was done by the courts of law; but the clans were let loose upon one another, and the troops of George were put to live at free quarters in the houses and upon the estates of the Jacobites. But, in England, Forster's imbecile conduct and dastardly surrender at Preston had filled the jails of the north with prisoners of a strange variety of conditions—nonjuring Protestants, high-church divines, Popish priests and monks in disguise, fox-hunting Jacobite squires, and Catholic officers and non-commissioned officers who had been turned out of the army on account of their religion: and mixed with these were Highland chiefs and dunnie-wassails, and Jacobite Lowland lairds, who had marched with Forster from Kelso. Upon some of these unfortunate captives military law was executed, and they were tried in bands by a court-martial, and then shot in a heap; while above 500 prisoners of inferior condition were left inhumanly to starve of hunger and cold in various castles and jails in the north. Forster and the most conspicuous of the leaders were marched off for London, where they arrived on the 9th of December. When these unfortunate gentlemen had crossed Finchley Common, and reached the brow of Highgate Hill, they were made to halt, and to submit to numerous indignities: their arms were tied behind their backs like cut-throats and cut-purses; their horses were led by foot-soldiers, and their ears were stunned by all the drums of the escort beating a triumphal march, and by the shouts, scoffs, and jeers of the multitude. Upon their reaching the city, such as were lords or noblemen were sent to the Tower—the rest were divided among the four common jails. They were not long suffered to remain there in doubt and uncertainty: the nation, the parliament which re-assembled on the 9th of January, were eager for an example, in the spirit of the time, and far too anxious for blood. Mr. Lechmere, after a long and vehement speech, impeached James, Earl of Derwentwater, of high treason. Other members of the commons, with fewer words, but equal heat, impeached Lord Widdrington, the Earls of Nithsdale, Winton, and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairn. Not a single voice was raised in opposition, not an effort made in debate to avert the doom of these incompetent revolutionists, though certainly there was still many a Jacobite in the house. On the 19th of January, these noblemen were all brought before the House of Lords, assembled as a court of justice in Westminster Hall, with Earl Cowper, the chancellor, presiding as lord high-steward. They knelt at the bar till the chancellor desired them to rise; and then they all, but one, confessed their guilt, and threw themselves upon the mercy of King George—a prince neither unmerciful nor cruel, but far indeed from possessing either a tender heart or a lively imagination. Sentence of death, as traitors, was forthwith pronounced upon Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Carnwath, Kenmure, and Lord Nairn; and preparations were ordered for the trial of Lord Winton, who had pleaded not guilty. Secretary Stanhope, who *was* a man of feeling, interposed and saved the life of Lord Nairn, who had been his schoolfellow: but the united interest and earnest supplications of the Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton, of the young Countess of Derwentwater pleading with tears for the husband she tenderly loved, and of many other ladies of rank, failed in moving the rough and sturdy king, who admitted them to an audience, but adhered to his purpose, which was the purpose of the majority of his ministers. Bribes, which had succeeded before in like circumstances, were offered now without effect. Sixty thousand pounds were tendered for the single pardon of Lord Derwentwater, for whose present hard fate tears were shed and lamentations raised in every valley and on every hillside in Cumberland. Some of the best of the Whigs in the commons, and among them poor Steele, would have saved life without money or bribe; but Robert Walpole, who in after-life was certainly not a cruel minister, was on the present occasion perfectly obdurate: he expressed his horror and disgust at the leniency of these Whigs, whom he called "unworthy members of this great body," since they could, "without blushing, open their mouths in favour of rebels and parricides." As, however, favourable circumstances had arisen for the Earl of Carnwath and Lord Widdrington, and as some respect was due to the opinion and feeling of the House of Lords, those two noblemen were respited. The three remaining victims were left for execution, and, to prevent any further interference, orders were sent to the Tower to have the block ready on the following morning. But during that night the conjugal affection and heroism of Lady Nithsdale robbed the block of a head. She dressed her lord in her own clothes, and he escaped by night, and in that disguise, out of the Tower. There thus remained only two victims—the English Lord Derwentwater and the Scottish Lord Kenmure; and they, at an early hour the next morning—the 24th of February—were brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill.

Lord Winton, who had pleaded not guilty, embarrassed his prosecutors, for, though he seemed at times crazy or half idiotic, he managed his business with considerable craft and skill, and on his trial, struck one of the first of Whigs and ministers with a sharp repartee. He was not put upon his trial till the 15th of March, having gained time by petitions and other devices. He was found guilty of high treason, and sent back to the Tower; but it appears that there was no real intention to proceed to execution, and, after lying some time in that state prison, he effected his escape.

In the beginning of April a commission for trying the rebels of inferior rank met in the Court of Common Pleas. Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, and twenty of their confederates, were found guilty on indictments for high treason. Forster and Mackintosh were both fortunate enough to break their prison and escape, and seven others followed their example, and got safe to the Continent. But four were executed in London, and twenty-two in Lancashire, where above a thousand submitted to the king's mercy, and petitioned to be transported to the colonies in America. The amount of punishment and of blood seemed in those days unaccountably and imprudently small. As the English Catholics, driven by persecution, and intolerance, and insult, into disaffection, had in some places shown so warm a zeal for the pretender, it was resolved to increase those very evils which had been the cause of their disaffection. On the 17th of April a bill "to strengthen the Protestant interest in Great Britain, by enforcing the laws now in being against Papists," was finally passed without opposition.

CHAPTER XIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1716—1720.

GEORGE I.

The king's dislike of the Tories—Efforts used to keep them out of parliament—The septennial bill passed—State of affairs on the Continent—The king repairs to Hanover—His negotiation with the French minister—A treaty proposed—Obstacles arising to it from the proceedings of Charles XII. of Sweden—Intrigues in the British cabinet—The treaty called the "Triple Alliance" signed—Meeting of parliament—Jacobite scheme of Baron Gortz, minister of Charles XII.—Its detection—Resignation of Walpole and other ministers—Formation of a new cabinet—The Walpole and Stanhope parties—Trial of the Earl of Oxford—His acquittal—State of Spain—War between Spain and Austria—The members of the triple alliance interpose—Energetic proceedings of Cardinal Alberoni—Dissensions in the family of George I.—The king desires the army to be increased—A naval armament sent to check the Spanish aggressions—The "Quadruple Alliance" formed—Its conditions—Spain rejects it—Movements of the British and Spanish opposed fleets—The Spanish fleet destroyed—Death of Charles XII.—Conspiracy in Paris for the overthrow of the Orleans regency detected—British parliament assembled—Proposals for further toleration to the dissenters—Bill to that effect passed—Bill for a limitation of the peerage rejected—Alberoni adopts the cause of the pretender—The pretender and the Jacobites repair to Spain—An invasion of Britain planned at Madrid—Preparations in Britain to resist it—Failure of the invasion—War between France and Spain—Successes of the French under the Duke of Berwick—Co-operation of the British—Effectual services of the British fleet in Sicily—Curious controversy about Spanish ships at Messina—The controversy ended by destroying the ships—Difficulties of Admiral Byng at Naples—Surrender of Messina to the Imperialists—Dangerous position of Alberoni—He is displaced—Submission of Philip, King of Spain—Palermo invested by the Imperialists—It is evacuated by the Spaniards—The Duke of Savoy put in possession of Sardinia—Peace restored to Europe.

IN the last general election the Whigs had secured a most triumphant majority; but extreme changes in opinion had of late years been both frequent and sudden; and it was seriously apprehended by the new king and his ministers that circumstances had been and were at work among the people which would render another general election very uncertain in its issue—perhaps return a strong Tory majority. With the first George the word Tory was, and could be little better than a synonym for Jacobite or traitor: it was scarcely possible for him to be impartial, and to look coolly on the struggle of the two parties for power and pre-eminence. In his eyes, and in the opinion of a vast portion of the nation, it was not a mere party contest, a dispute about general principles, but a life and death conflict for dynasties and entire systems. But for the Whigs, George would never have got to England, and notwithstanding the Hanoverian Tories, whose number had been reduced since his accession by the disappointment of their hopes in obtaining high places and rewards, he firmly believed that, but for the Whigs, the Jacobites, Tories, and high churchmen would send him back to Germany in the course of a single session. It therefore became the great object of his majesty, of his best adviser Robert Walpole, and of all the present Whig cabinet, to keep by all means in their power the Jacobites and Tories out of parliament; and to effect this, they resorted to the very questionable measure of passing an act not only extending the limit of the duration of future parliaments from three to seven years, but even so far disregarding the act of 1694, under which the members of the existing House of Commons had been returned, as to give to the present parliament also the benefit of the extended term. If the act of 1694 were to continue law, the present Whig parliament must rise in little more than a year, when the nation was likely to be threatened with invasion from abroad, insurrections at home, plots, intrigues, and manœuvres of all kinds; but if, on the contrary, four years could be added to its existence, there was a probability that the political atmosphere might clear up in the interval—the Whigs would have time to complete their work, and the new king to become somewhat better acquainted with his subjects, among whom at present he was moving and acting like a strange man in a strange country. Ministers resolved that the septennial bill should originate in the House of Lords, where neither a failure nor the unpopularity of the measure could do any direct mischief; and, on the 10th of April, the Duke of Devonshire, lord-steward of the household, and son of the nobleman who had been one of the principal promoters of the triennial act, brought in the new bill for repealing it. His grace was supported by the Duke of Argyle, Lords Dorset, Carteret, Cowper, and other peers attached to the ministry; and the measure was opposed by the Duke of Buckingham, Lords Peterborough, Nottingham, Anglesey, and all the Tories. On a division the commitment was carried by ninety-six votes to sixty-one. When the bill had finally passed the lords, it was sent down to the commons by the hands of two of the judges. The septennial bill was read a third time on the 26th of April, when the Tory minority could muster no more that 121 votes; and, with the applauses of some and the curses of others, it became the law of the land. The great Somers, whose complicated disorders had ended in a paralysis which affected both mind and body, died on the very day the bill was passed. The equally conspicuous Whig, Halifax, had died some months before him. It is said that Somers on his deathbed, expressed his hearty approbation of the septennial act; but those who love shorter parliaments doubt whether he was in a state competent to give an opinion. On the 8th of June Stanhope and Cragg's separate bill, disabling any person from being chosen a member of the House of Commons, or sitting or voting in the same, that held any pension during pleasure, or for any number of years, from the crown, was passed; and on the 26th of June the parliament was prorogued.

As his majesty now considered himself in a state of security, and as he had been relieved by a subsequent statute from the embarrassing clause in the act of settlement restraining him from leaving the kingdom, he intimated that he was going to revisit his dominions in Germany, the state of affairs on the Continent demanding serious attention. And, in fact, the elements of strife and hostility seemed to be combining in a very alarming manner against this first prince of the house of Hanover, who, beyond Holland and the states-general, had scarcely a single ally upon whom he could depend; for even his own son-in-law, the King of Prussia, a capricious, wrong-headed prince, was frequently tempted to quarrel with him, and even to proceed to the extremity of joining the confederacy against him. The Emperor Charles, who was invested with the fanciful function of preserving harmony throughout the Germanic confederacy, was, upon several grounds, exceedingly jealous of George I., whom he personally disliked; and he had also a strong antipathy to the Dutch—the Hanoverian's best allies—on account of their conduct at the peace of Utrecht and in the barrier treaty. The emperor, however, was not in a condition to provoke open hostilities with England and Holland; and though he declined any direct engagement for compelling the pretender to remove to Rome, and remain there quiet upon an English pension allowed by the occupant, or, as he considered him, the usurper of his throne, he consented to a defensive alliance with England in case of aggression from France or any other power, with a mutual guarantee of territory. This alliance was concluded a month before the English king prorogued his parliament; but still there remained the difficult business of the pretender's removal beyond the Alps, and many other serious questions which would be best settled on the Continent. Lord Stair, after the miserable failure of the expedition into Scotland, had acquired a great influence over the French regent, who was himself surrounded by many difficulties. According to the arrangement of the peace of Utrecht, the Duke of Orleans, by the death of the boy Louis XV., would be promoted from his condition of regent to that of sole and absolute sovereign of France. Philip V. of Spain, indeed, stood nearer to the French throne; but, in accepting the Spanish, he had made that solemn act of renunciation about which so much has been said. It was, however, well known to Orleans that, in case of this sickly boy's death, Philip would get absolved from his oaths, set the act of renunciation and the treaty of Utrecht at defiance, and claim the French kingdom. And, indeed, as if to facilitate his seizure of the throne, Philip had endeavoured and was at the moment endeavouring to deprive the Duke of Orleans even of the secondary and temporary honours and advantages of the regency. Orleans doubtless felt the value of the friendship of King George, but neither party had or could have much confidence in the other. Lord Stair, however, made smooth many difficulties and doubts, and established such a degree of confidence between the two princes, that they agreed to proceed to a treaty. As a national object, which had been proposed before, in the latter days of Louis XIV., Orleans was anxious to obtain the erasure or modification of that clause in the treaty of Utrecht which had bound France to demolish Dunkirk and fill up its port. That port, indeed, had been partially destroyed; but, to get an equivalent, the French had begun to dig a new basin and a new canal at Mardyke, upon the same coast, and at a very short distance from Dunkirk. If George would consent to this making of a new Dunkirk—a scheme which had been vehemently denounced even under Queen Anne — he (the regent) would bind himself to other compliances. Here, perhaps, the negotiations would have come to a stand-still if it had not been for the increasing difficulties of Orleans, and his conviction that, after all, it was better to keep the regency than to get permission to make a new port. Accordingly he removed the negotiations from the Hague, took the management out of the hands of Chateauneuf, and placed it in those of his prime adviser, the Abbé Dubois, who was equally his minister of state and the minister of his pleasures and debaucheries. The abbé, properly instructed, went into Holland, and found himself at the Hague—ostensibly only to buy pictures, and books, and porcelain—just as King George was to pass through that town on his way to Hanover. There it was easy for the abbé to talk, as if merely for the sake of conversation, with the English ministers and courtiers who were following their new sovereign to his own dominions; as also to discover that Secretary Stanhope was thinking very seriously of a definitive treaty with France, separate from, and independent of the general arrangements of Utrecht. Upon receiving this information, the Duke of Orleans instructed Dubois to continue his travels, even unto Hanover, where he was to appear in a private capacity, but at the same time with ample authority to treat. Secretary Stanhope received the abbé, who arrived at Hanover on the 19th of August, in a friendly manner. Dubois, following the general practice of diplomatists and horse-dealers, who always ask more than they expect and are ready to take, began by asking Stanhope for Mardyke; but the English secretary told him at once that that point would never be yielded—that England would never consent to the continuance of the works there. But, on the other matter or matters which the abbé's pupil and employer, Orleans, had far more at heart, Stanhope was as ready, as courteous, and complying as could be desired. England, he said, would not only support the duke in his regency, but would also guarantee to him his succession to the throne, in case the young Louis should die. The abbé not only said nothing in favour of the pretender, but actually suggested himself several methods for driving him from Avignon beyond the Alps. When the preliminaries were signed by Stanhope and Dubois, they were forwarded to London for approval, and to the Hague for a further accession to the treaty, it being the intention of George all along to include his best allies, the Dutch.[2]

The Palace of Herrenhausen.[1]—From a view in the King's Collection, British Museum.

Matters were in this state by the month of September (1716), when the treaty itself was drawn up and prepared for ratification. But at this point George's anxiety as Elector of Hanover to extend his dominions on the Continent, and the desperate spirit of Charles XII. of Sweden, cast a damp on the negotiations, and for some months greatly embarrassed George and his English and Hanoverian advisers. At the peace of

---

[1] Near Hanover lies the Palace of Herrenhausen, built by George I. for his mistress, the Countess Platten, and a favourite residence of himself and of his son, George II. In the gardens attached to it the Electress Sophia, mother of George I., and grand-daughter of James, while taking a walk, dropped down dead.

[2] Secretary Stanhope's despatches, in Coxe's *Memoirs of Walpole*.

Westphalia the rich districts of Bremen and Verden, which had formerly been bishoprics and separate states, were secularized and ceded to Sweden, which continued to possess them in quiet till Charles XII. carried his victorious arms so far as to be conquered by Russian serfs at Poltawa. Then Danes, Norwegians, Prussians, Saxons, and all the nations that had crouched at his feet rose up for revenge; and while he was detained a captive at Bender, in Turkey, whither he had fled, they commenced helping themselves to his territories. His Danish majesty had seized upon Verden and Bremen, and conquered Schleswig and Holstein. But in November, 1714, Charles XII. suddenly arrived in Sweden; and then the enemies he had so thoroughly beaten and humiliated in former days began to tremble anew. Frederick of Denmark, in order to secure part of the prey he had made, offered to relinquish another part to George; and in the month of July (1715) George had concluded a treaty, not as King of England, but as Elector of Hanover; and, upon condition of keeping Bremen and Verden for himself, he had engaged to join the coalition against Sweden, and to pay his Danish majesty a sum equal to about £150,000 sterling. Instantly some of the ill effects of having for King of England a prince that was sovereign of another country were made manifest: a British squadron under Sir John Norris was sent in the autumn of that year (1715) to the Baltic. Nearly at the same time that Sir John Norris appeared in the Baltic with the ships of England, 6000 Hanoverians marched into Pomerania, and there joined the Danes and Prussians, who reduced the islands of Rügen and Uledon, and attacked Stralsund, into which place Charles XII. had thrown himself, but from which he was now obliged to retire. The heroic madman was furious at the conduct of George and of the English cabinet: he taunted them as cowards for thus falling upon one already beset by so many enemies; and, adopting at once, with his constitutional daring, a bold and immense scheme, he put himself in communication with the Jacobites of England and Scotland, and engaged to back the pretender in a new war in Great Britain with 12,000 veteran Swedes. At this very moment Charles's rival, Peter the Great, who on many points was as mad as himself, stretched forth his rude arm to grasp a part of Denmark and a portion of the Germanic empire, showing thus early the ambitious purpose of Russia to become mistress of the Baltic. Unexpectedly an army of Muscovites marched into Mecklenburg, where great dissension prevailed between the reigning duke and his subjects. Peter had given his niece in marriage to this little potentate of Mecklenburg; and could challenge, if necessary, a sort of family right to interfere. The King of Denmark took the alarm, and remonstrated: the semi-barbarous czar told him to take heed or he would quarter his Muscovites in Denmark. Frederick poured out his sense of these wrongs and insults to his close ally, King George, who was himself deeply interested as a German prince, and who, moreover, bore an inveterate hatred to Peter.[1] George, in the heat of his rage, sent his favourite Bernsdorf to Stanhope with a project to crush the "czar immediately; to secure his ships, and even to seize his person, to be kept till his troops should evacuate Germany."[2] Stanhope, as an English minister, was startled at this daring proposal, and though fond of daring enterprises, would not take upon himself to do more than instruct Norris to join his remonstrances with those of his Danish majesty.

During the height of these alarms at the proceedings of the czar, Stanhope and his master were equally impatient to finish their affair with the Abbé Dubois, and to remove some obstacles which the French treaty had encountered on the part of the states-general. The Muscovites, however, were not then quite so powerful as they seemed to be; and Peter, who was beset by the diplomacy of nearly all Europe, and remonstrated with, if not threatened, by the English admiral, withdrew the greater part of his troops, and for the present gave up his alarming projects upon Mecklenburg and Northern Germany. After this the French treaty languished again; and in the discussion and management of it Stanhope and Townshend disagreed and quarrelled, and thus gave origin to the noted schism in the great Whig administration. The king, who considered himself insulted by Townshend, took part with Stanhope. Walpole stood by Townshend, who, besides displeasing the king, had made an enemy for life of one of the German mistresses, Mademoiselle de Schulemberg, who was soon after created Duchess of Munster in Ireland, and Baroness Glastonbury, Countess of Feversham, and Duchess of Kendal in the English peerage. He had also provoked her colleague Bothmar, who, according to the minister's own declaration, "had every day some infamous project or other on foot to get money." A most active court intrigue was set on foot; Sunderland repaired to Hanover, where he made a wonderful progress in the favour of his sovereign, and in the friendship of Stanhope, the favourite minister; both Sunderland and Stanhope gratified the king by engaging to assist him in his continental projects; and the king was induced to suspect that during his absence at Hanover, Townshend had been caballing with his undutiful and impatient son, the Prince of Wales. A trap was laid for Townshend, and he fell into it. The effect was an increase of dislike and suspicion on the part of the king. At last it was proposed that Townshend should accept the post of Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and that Sunderland, who held that post, and liked it not, should have a greater share of authority in England. Lord Townshend was at the time exceedingly popular in England, being esteemed as essentially an *English* minister, above all foreign influences, opposed to continental connections, and patriotic, blunt, and thoroughly honest. To resign he was obliged; but the acceptance or the non-acceptance of the lord-lieutenancy was a matter of free choice, and he indignantly rejected it. In the meantime George had left Hanover for England, and arrived at the Hague. Here he was detained several days by important business with the states-general, who feared, and who had reason to fear, the effect of any serious division in the Whig cabinet—for through such a gap the Tories might get back to office, and then the whole scheme of foreign policy so recently laid down would be inevitably deranged. Some of the ablest and best of the Dutch ministers were the personal friends of Townshend; and, while they endeavoured to soften the animosities of the king, they laboured to remove the obstinacy of the minister, and entreated his lordship not to decline the offer of the lord-lieutenancy, and so close the avenue to his returning favour. Nearly a month before the king's arrival at the Hague, the treaty with the French regent had been signed for England and France; and a few days after George's departure thence for London, it was finally settled for Holland, and then became "THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE."

---

[1] There was no love lost between the two royal brothers; "the czar hated King George mortally." "This hatred," says St. Simon, "lasted all their lives, and in the greatest bitterness."

[2] Stanhope's despatches to Lord Townshend, in Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.*

George reached London by the end of December, and, as his first passion had abated, he received Townshend very graciously, and even confessed to him that he had been over-hasty. He afterwards represented to the fallen minister, that, though he had perhaps proceeded too hastily, and, though he could not with due regard to his own dignity and consistency immediately restore him (Townshend), he was ready and willing to give him every other possible satisfaction: and, in the end, Townshend condescended to accept the lord-lieutenancy, and to pocket its profits without going over to perform its duties. He was continued a member of the cabinet; and his conduct was not merely excused, but applauded by his party and friends as the only course that could prevent a fatal schism among the Whigs. Thus the Walpoles, the Pulteneys, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Orford, and the rest of the men in place, continued as they were, the only change being the appointment of Methuen to be one of the principal secretaries of state. But from this moment Sunderland was suspected to be the secret mover of the royal counsels. Owing to these difficult negotiations, and to discoveries made of alarming plots, and the correspondence of the Jacobites with Charles XII., the meeting of parliament, which had been fixed for the king's return, was put off for many weeks.

A.D. 1717. At length parliament met, on the 20th day of February, when the king informed the two houses of the happy conclusion of the triple alliance; and of the actual danger the nation had been in of an invasion from Sweden, and of a conspiracy at home, which, however, had been discovered in time and prevented. And in a day or two, copies of letters and papers which went to prove the madness of the Jacobites and the audacity of the Swedes were laid before the houses. The principal manager of this strange intrigue was Baron Gortz, a clever but desperate adventurer from Franconia, who had become Charles's principal adviser and most trusted minister.

This Gortz was a notorious coward, but he was shrewd and quick, and was, according to Voltaire, equally ready with gifts, promises, oaths, and lies.[1] He put himself in direct communication with the pretender and the Duke of Ormond, and carried on a secret correspondence both with London and Paris. As he became better acquainted with the state of England and France, and with the views of the Czar Peter, Gortz enlarged his scheme, and proposed nothing less than a lasting peace and a close alliance between Charles and Peter, the overthrow of the regent in France by means of a conspiracy, and the overthrow of George I. by an insurrection in England and an invasion of Scotland by the hero of Narva in person. As Sweden was a very poor country—as Charles was actually cutting up his soldiers' boots to coin into mock money —Gortz was obliged to ask for cash to carry on the mighty scheme; and the little court at Avignon, poor as it was, offered £60,000, while the prime minister of Spain, Alberoni, actually sent to Spaar, the Swedish minister at Paris, 1,000,000 French livres as a subsidy. The Jacobites were wonderfully elated. Perhaps, as usual, it was these extravagant and injudicious plotters that first let out the secret. Be this as it may, hints were dropped in London; and in the preceding month of October some letters from Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador at St. James's, to the main plotter, Gortz, at the Hague, were stopped and deciphered by the English government, which, therefore, in all probability, had been previously furnished with a key to the cipher used.

---

[1] *Histoire de Charles XII.* Voltaire knew Gortz personally and well. Indeed, at one time, when Gortz was residing at the Hague, and corresponding with London, he wished to engage the witty Frenchman as a secretary and travelling companion.

This discovery was made before George's return, and other information was obtained after his arrival. Stanhope on the 29th of January had laid most ample information before the privy council, and proposed the decisive step of arresting Gyllenborg and seizing his papers. Some members of the cabinet were startled; but as it was clear that the Swede had lost his character of ambassador in that of a conspirator with the subjects of the prince to whom he was accredited, it was presently resolved to follow Stanhope's advice; and Gyllenborg was arrested on the same day. General Wade, who was charged with this commission, found the count making up some despatches: he told him he was his prisoner, seized the papers that were on the table, and demanded the keys of the escritoire. Gyllenborg stormed and swore about this violation of the law of nations, and then begged to be permitted to send for and consult with Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador. Wade, a stanch old soldier, accustomed to execute his orders to the letter, told the Swede that he should speak with nobody, and again demanded his keys. Gyllenborg refused the keys, and his wife coming in assured the general that the escritoire contained nothing but her plate and linen. Wade then caused the doors to be burst open; and he found in it a great heap of papers. These he sealed up and carried with him, leaving a guard upon the count, who was thus constituted a prisoner in his own house. In the course of the same day Mr. Cæsar, "a creature of Lord Oxford's,"[1] and a member of parliament for Hertford, was arrested, as was also Sir Jacob Banks, formerly member for Minehead, and who was equally suspected by government. Soon after, Gortz himself was arrested at the Hague, at the instance of the English government. Intelligence of these rapid events was conveyed to the Swedish king, who neither owned nor disowned the proceedings of Gortz and Gyllenborg. As a retaliation, he ordered the arrest of Mr. Jackson, the British resident at his court, and forbade the Dutch resident his presence.

When this business was laid before parliament, the commons most vehemently expressed their indignation. In the month of April, Stanhope delivered a royal message, informing the commons of the danger which still impended over the nation from the designs of Sweden, and demanding an extraordinary supply to enable his majesty to make good such engagements as it might be necessary for him to contract with other powers, in order effectually to avert the storm. The debate that arose instantly proved that the seeming reconciliation between the Townshends and Walpoles, and the Stanhopes and Sunderlands, was hollow and unreal: Robert Walpole spoke coldly in favour of the motion; and all his and Townshend's friends and adherents voted against the supply (fixed at £250,000), which in consequence was only carried by a majority of *four*. Neither the king nor Stanhope could for a moment separate Townshend and Walpole from their party in the house; and on that very evening Stanhope announced to Townshend that he was no longer Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Robert Walpole did not wait to be thus humiliated: at a very early hour of the next morning he waited on the king and resigned his places of first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. Methuen and Pulteney also resigned in the course of the same morning; but Lord Orford and the Duke of Devonshire clung to office two or three days longer, and the Lord-chancellor Cowper and the Duke of Kingston did not resign at all. Secretary Stanhope, who was departing farther and farther from his original profession of a soldier, was appointed first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; the Earl of Sunderland and Joseph Addison became secretaries of state, the Earl of Berkeley first lord of the admiralty, the Duke of Newcastle lord chamberlain, and the Duke of Bolton Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. This new cabinet was presently christened "the *German* ministry," and Robert Walpole, who, more than Townshend, had been the head of the displaced administration, became terrible in opposition. He complained of breaches of friendship, of political treachery, and betraying of private confidence in conversation. As the facts were too notorious to be denied, he owned that while he was in place he had endeavoured to serve his friends and his relations, but this he said was nothing but what was reasonable and just. From this time the parties of Walpole and Stanhope were as violent against each other as the Whigs and Tories; but many even of his personal adherents thought that Walpole had gone too far in letting out the money-secrets and jobbings of the court.

The new administration, anxious to secure popularity, recommended a reduction of the army, and an act of grace to extend to many persons concerned in the late insurrections in Scotland and the north of England. It was not intended that this act of grace should cover the ex-premier, Lord Oxford, who had been now lying nearly two years in the Tower without any progress being made in his trial. The lords fixed the 24th of June for the trial, intimating to the commons that they must by that day make good their charges. But the leaders of the secret committee, who had drawn up the accusation while in office, were by no means anxious to press it now that they were out of office: *then* the salvation of the nation depended upon the condign punishment of the minister, but *now* the nation could be saved without it. Robert Walpole, who had formerly been so hot, was now perfectly cool, and, as he almost always absented himself from the committee, it became necessary to appoint another chairman. Walpole and Lord Townshend both came to a secret understanding with the Jacobite Chancellor Harcourt, the bosom friend of Oxford, and with the Tories. On the 24th of June the peers, with the king and the rest of the royal family and the members of the *corps diplomatique* as spectators, assembled in Westminster Hall, which was properly prepared for the trial, and crowded by other persons anxious to witness the scene. Oxford was brought from the Tower, and stood bare-headed at the bar, with the executioner and axe at his side—an old formality in cases of treason. And, after the articles of impeachment had been read, together with Oxford's answers to them, and the replication of the commons, Sir Joseph Jekyll stood up to make good the first article. But here Harcourt signified to their lordships that he had a special motion to make, which could only be done in their own house. The peers adjourned accordingly to their own house, where the ex-Jacobite chancellor represented that to go through all the articles of impeachment would take up a great deal of time to very little purpose; for if the commons could make good the two articles for high treason, the Earl of Oxford would forfeit both life and estate, and there would be an end of the matter. The lords presently voted that no evidence on the charges of misdemeanour should be received until after the charges of high treason had been heard and determined. The commons refused to comply. The lords at length declared that they would admit of no further conferences or delays, and they appointed the 1st of July for the trial. The commons resolved not to proceed with the prosecution on those terms; and on the appointed day no prosecutors appeared in Westminster Hall. The lords sat silent, and as if in expectation, for about a quarter of an hour. They then returned to their own house, where a motion was made and carried, that, as no charge had been maintained against Robert, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, he should be acquitted; and the ex-prime minister, after his long detention, stepped forth a free man, to the infinite mortification of Marlborough and his vindictive duchess, who had certainly desired exile and confiscation, if not blood.[1] The people, who at the beginning of the impeachment would probably have seen the plotting minister executed with much pleasure, now hailed his liberation with loud acclamations; but the king forbade Oxford the court. Did George know or suspect the fact, which has been since proved, that Oxford, during his detention in the Tower, had written to the pretender promising his services, and giving him his advice as to the best means of managing his affairs?[2] At the close of the session Stanhope was raised to the peerage by the title of Viscount Stanhope. By this ill-timed promotion the affairs of the new administration in the commons were left in the somewhat incompetent hands of Cragg, Aislabie, and Addison, who had little or no power to do anything themselves, and who were frequently left ignorant as to what their principals wished to have done. This childish impatience for the peerage had contributed already more than once to weaken and destroy an administration.

---

[1] This description of Cæsar is given in one of his letters by Lord Townshend, who further notices the very significant fact that Count Gyllenborg had been passing most of the preceding summer with Mr. Cæsar, in Hertfordshire.

Charles XII. of Sweden was still silent as to the Jacobite scheme and the plotting and conspiring of his ministers; but his neighbours found him too much employment to permit the carrying his arms into Scotland, and he became anxious for a temporary reconciliation. The French regent stepped forward as a common friend, and by virtue of his mediation the English court was assured that Charles had never any intention to disturb the tranquillity of Great Britain; Count Gyllenborg was liberated on one side, and Mr. Jackson on the other. But new rumours of wars with Spain soon agitated the public mind. The court of Madrid had behaved to George in a deceitful and irritating manner, making him in public solemn declarations that they would give no assistance to his enemies, and in private sending money to the pretender. Upon the failure of the insurrection in Scotland, Alberoni, the prime minister, had discredited Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador at London, and had made new professions of a sincere and lasting friendship, declaring that, next to God, the king his master looked up to King George. But it was the most earnest wish of Philip, or rather, perhaps, of his wife and prime minister, to weaken or overthrow the Duke of Orleans' regency, and to raise up barriers to his succession to the throne in case the young Louis XV. should die; and Spanish gold and Spanish intrigue were mixed up with every plot or conspiracy against the regent, whom George had bound himself to defend. At the same time the court of Madrid was furious against the court of Vienna, as the emperor, instead of acknowledging Philip, still retained for himself the title of King of Spain, and added that of Prince of Asturias to the many titles of his infant son. But what was a greater provocation still, was the circumstance of the emperor's holding by the peace of Utrecht all the fair dominions in Italy which had formerly belonged to Spain. The national pride of the Spaniards, and the interest of many of them, encouraged the Bourbon; and it soon became a principle or an article of political faith at Madrid, that Spain would remain a dishonoured country until she had recovered Naples, Milan, everything in Italy, and everything elsewhere, which had been separated from her by the treaty of Utrecht. Thus the treaty between England and the empire which guaranteed the Italian provinces, and the recent triple alliance, which provided for a *statu quo*, and the protection of France and the regent, were both singularly distasteful to the Spanish court. Philip's minister, Alberoni, tried his hand alternately with George and the emperor, hoping to interrupt the good understanding between them. When the English court was found obstinate he suspended the execution of the commercial treaty, and permitted various vexations to be practised upon English merchants trading with Spain; and when the emperor rejected all overtures for a compromise, he insulted and almost struck his ambassadors. A war, at least between Spain and the house of Austria, was inevitable; but Alberoni wanted time to repair the finances of the country, and would have abstained from hostilities for some three or four years longer. A summary and very unjustifiable proceeding on the part of the emperor hurried on the war. The Duke of Popoli, whose family had held vast estates in that part of Italy, recommended Philip to begin with the invasion of Naples. Alberoni, in a powerfully written memorial, showed the uncertainty of the enterprise and the exceeding great danger of provoking the great maritime powers; but, finding his arguments of no avail, he pressed the requisite preparations for war with his usual zeal and ability.[1] But the Spanish armament, instead of proceeding to Naples, stopped short at Sardinia, and reduced that island, which had been granted to the emperor. Philip caused *Te Deum* to be sung at Madrid, and Alberoni drew up manifestoes and circulars to excuse this attack in time of peace, for no declaration of war had been made. On the other side the emperor called upon the members of the triple alliance to fulfil their engagements, and protect him against such aggression; and he called upon the pope to justify himself against the suspicion of having connived with Spain. Viscount Stanhope despatched his relative, Mr. Stanhope, to Madrid, to attempt to prevent a war by arranging articles of accommodation between Philip and the emperor. Alberoni fell upon the imperfect arrangements of the wretched peace of Utrecht, which by this time had become a by-word of contempt throughout Europe. "You made war," said the able and eloquent Italian, "to establish the balance of power, and you concluded a peace without any balance whatever." At length, both France and Holland adopted a decisive tone, and absolutely refused to leave to Spain her recent conquest of Sardinia. The pope, who was overawed by the Austrians, that were now by far the most powerful in Italy, and that at any time, on a few days' notice, could surround him in Rome, directed a terrible brief against Philip, threatening him with the vengeance of Heaven. But the thunder of the Vatican was disregarded, and Alberoni, though a cardinal, cared not for a suspension of the indulto. He was, however, obliged to dissemble, and to consent to open a negotiation. He hoped and trusted that, as usual, the different interests of the allies would create difficulties and delays, and he determined to make the most strenuous exertions to prepare for a war during these deliberations for a peace. He entertained a contempt for partition treaties and their framers. "There are certain men," said he, "who would cut and pare states and kingdoms, as though they were so many Dutch cheeses." Spain, that had been so long sinking into a lethargy and a slough of despond, was electrified and awakened by the rare energy of this Italian priest. Ships of war were built, cannons were cast, arms forged, sailors and soldiers engaged in all quarters; and all this, as Alberoni afterwards boasted, was done without levying any new tax upon the nation, but by enforcing economy, selling some court offices, and mortgaging some of the revenues. At this critical moment King Philip was dangerously ill, a prey to hypochondria, almost to the same extent as his wretched predecessor on that throne. His queen — who had far more of the man in her character than he had—and the cardinal, kept the entire management of affairs in their hands, and let none but their own creatures approach the royal invalid. Alberoni and the queen were in fact absolute; and the cardinal urged on his preparations for war, and extended his intrigues in all directions. He enticed the sovereign of Savoy by the most tempting offers; he encouraged the sultan to continue an unfortunate war in which he was actually engaged with the emperor; he corresponded with the emperor's disaffected subjects in Hungary and Transylvania, who were always numerous, and almost always ready to put their hands to the throat of the Austrian eagle; he took all the factious in France under his care: and he entered into the closest correspondence with the pretender, who had at last been compelled to quit France altogether, and to fix his residence at Rome. The adroit Italian even found work for the British press; and pamphlets, for which he paid, were published against the threatened war, against standing armies, against Hanoverian mistresses and ministers, and against everything else that was most unpopular.

---

[1] "My Lady Marlborough," says Erasmus Lewis, in a letter to Swift, "is almost distracted that she could not obtain her revenge."

[2] Sir James Mackintosh discovered among the Stuart Papers, deposited at Carlton House, a letter to this effect, dated September, 1715, when Oxford was in the Tower, and when the pretender was preparing his miserable expedition.

---

[1] Coxe, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon.*

In the meantime the unfortunate family dissensions in the house of Hanover continued on the increase; and on account of a ridiculous quarrel about the christening of a baby, the Prince of Wales was at first put under arrest in his own apartment, and then ordered to quit St. James's. A French writer, who knew more of the history of courts than any one of his day, affirms broadly that George I. could never bear the prince, because he believed he was no son of his.[1] However this may be, the antipathy between the king and the prince was extreme. The latter, on his expulsion from court, fixed his residence at Leicester House, which, as a matter of course, became the constant resort of the disappointed and disaffected of all classes, and the centre of an increasing turmoil and intrigue. On the 21st of November, while the nation was reflecting upon the unnatural animosity between father and son, and upon the stormy aspect of affairs abroad, the parliament assembled. The king, in his speech, spoke of his successful endeavours to preserve tranquillity at home; but ministers thought themselves obliged to demand at least 18,000 men for the service of the ensuing year. Walpole, who knew as well as any one the dangers of insurrection and the chances of invasion, insisted that 18,000 men were far too many; that 12,000 would be enough, and more than enough; that we were in danger of a standing army, and that if we wished to remain a free country we could not too carefully keep down the numbers of the military force. The Walpole and Townshend Whigs and the Jacobites all adopted and carried out Walpole's arguments, taking frequent occasion to cast reflections upon the foreign character and un-English interests of the court.

A.D. 1718. The session of parliament closed on the 21st of March. A few days before the prorogation, the king, by message, informed the House of Commons "that he had reason to judge, from the information he had lately received from abroad, that an additional naval force would be necessary;" and the commons, by an address, assured his majesty "that the house would make good such exceedings as his majesty in his royal wisdom should deem necessary for the purpose of giving effect to his unwearied endeavours to preserve the peace of Europe." Walpole observed that all this had very much the air of a declaration of war; yet the address was carried without a division.

HOLLAND HOUSE.[2]—Drawn by J. W. Archer, from his sketch on the spot.

A large armament was prepared at Portsmouth; but negotiations were not interrupted. The better to attend to them, and to foreign affairs generally, Lord Stanhope, who had many personal friends in all the courts of Europe, had given up the treasury and the chancellorship of the exchequer to Sunderland and Aislabie. Joseph Addison, that exquisite writer, had long before proved himself to be no orator, and he had since shown, as joint secretary of state with Sunderland, that he was no man of business. He retired at this time upon a pension of £1500 a-year, and he died about fifteen months after at Holland

---

[1] St. Simon; Horace Walpole (*Reminiscences*) gives an epigrammatic story of the royal quarrel.

[2] Holland House, in the west end of London, was built mostly in 1607, and afterwards completed by its subsequent proprietor, the Earl of Holland. It became the property of Addison by his marriage with the Countess of Warwick and Holland, in 1716, and finally passed into the possession of the family of Fox, and its illustrious descendant, the leader of the Whigs. This splendid building has 300 acres of domain attached to it, of which sixty-three acres are pleasure ground.

House. The loss of Addison was probably little felt by his party; but they mourned over the sudden and sullen resignation of the Lord-chancellor Cowper, which occurred this year. Parker, chief-justice of the King's Bench, and afterwards Earl of Macclesfield, got the great seal. Shrewsbury, who had played so many parts, but who on the whole had done infinite good to the cause of the Revolution of 1689, and to the Whigs, died early in the year. Another Spanish armament, now ready, was described by Spaniards as grander and more formidable than any that had ever been equipped by Spain, even in the days of the Emperor Charles V., Philip II., and the grand Armada. Twenty-nine enormous ships of the line and a host of transports had taken on board 35,000 disciplined troops, 100 pieces of heavy artillery, forty mortars, and a vast supply of ammunition and stores of all kinds. Although the destination of this fleet was a profound mystery, the British government was not unprepared, and on the 4th of June the armament at Portsmouth sailed for the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir George Byng, who had twenty-one sail of the line, and peremptory orders to attack the Spanish fleet wherever he should find it, if it were engaged in any hostile enterprise against Sicily or Naples, or any other territories belonging to the emperor in Italy. Byng on his arrival off Cadiz transmitted a copy of his instructions to Alberoni. The cardinal tore the paper, threw it on the ground in a paroxysm of rage, and returned for answer that Byng might execute the orders he had received *if he could.* The English fleet entered the Straits of Gibraltar, sailed up the Mediterranean, and came to anchor in the Bay of Naples, where Byng apparently expected to find the Spanish armament, or a part of it. There was, however, not a single Spaniard there; but the Austrian Viceroy of Naples, who received him with exceeding joy, had to inform Byng that they had landed in Sicily and were reducing Messina to extremity.[1]

In the meantime the court of Vienna had gratified King George with sundry assurances as to Bremen and Verden; had proposed a closer union of interests; and the famous "QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE" had been concluded between the courts of Vienna, Paris, the Hague, and London. By this treaty, which was concluded in July, though not finally signed till August, it was agreed that mutual renunciation should be made; that the Infant Don Carlos should have the reversion of Parma and Tuscany; that the emperor should have the island of Sicily instead of Sardinia, which had been taken from him by the Spaniards; and that Victor Amadeus of Savoy, who actually held Sicily by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, should have the island of Sardinia, from which the Spaniards were to be expelled at all costs. As Sardinia, though more convenient to the Savoyard than Sicily, being situated nearer to his continental dominions, was inferior in size, and far inferior in wealth and population, to the island of which he was to be deprived, Victor Amadeus was to be compensated by the emperor's acknowledgment of the claims of the house of Savoy to the Spanish succession, in case of the failure of Philip's issue—for, upon paper, the emperor now waived his own claims. King Philip was to be allowed three months to accede, and the same indulgence was extended to the Savoyard; but if at the end of that time they rejected the quadruple alliance, then the emperor, France, England, and Holland were to employ their whole force against them. Lord Stanhope went in person to Madrid, in the hope of subduing the stubbornness of Alberoni, by offering, if necessary, to yield the invaluable fortress of Gibraltar, which Stanhope, strange to say, considered as a place "of no great consequence."[2] But the Spanish armament had sailed from Barcelona with sealed orders before Stanhope arrived in Spain; and the cardinal, while his lordship was on his road to Madrid, received intelligence that the Marquis de Lede had landed his army in the Bay of Solanto, driven the Piedmontese viceroy before him, and made a triumphant entrance into Palermo, the Sicilian capital. Stanhope's mission was a complete failure; and it now remained for Byng's cannon to do what his lordship's rhetoric had not been able to accomplish.

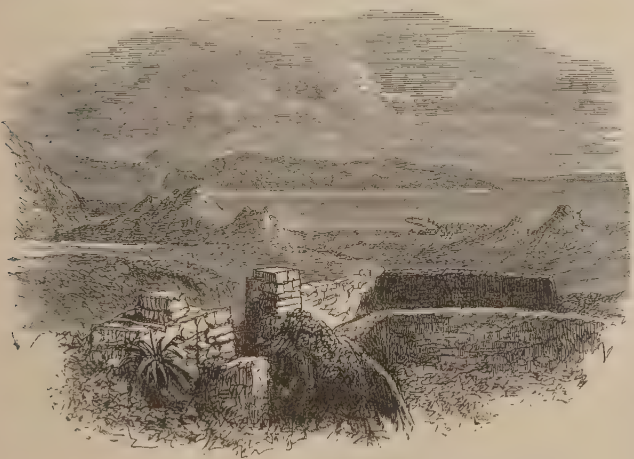
The English admiral, by the advice of Count Daun, the imperial viceroy, sailed away from Naples; but, before he could reach Messina, that weakly defended city fell into the hands of the Spaniards. The strong citadel, however, held out; and it was resolved to make every possible effort to relieve the brave garrison in it. To this end, while Byng proceeded by sea, Daun sent an army of Austrians and Neapolitans through Calabria to encamp at Reggio, almost immediately opposite to Messina, and separated from it by the narrow strait.[3] On the 9th of August Byng entered the strait and came in sight of the city of Messina, whither he despatched his own flag-captain with a message to the Spanish General Lede. Byng proposed a suspension of arms in Sicily for two months, in order that the powers of Europe, who were still negotiating, might have time to concert measures for settling all differences and restoring a lasting peace. The commander of the Spanish army answered that he could not agree to any suspension of arms, whatever proof the courage of his fleet and soldiers might be put to, but must follow his orders, which directed him to seize all Sicily for his master the King of Spain. Byng then got his ships in fighting order. He had received intelligence that the Spanish fleet had sailed from the roadstead of Paradiso, close by Messina, the day before his arrival off the strait; and this made him conclude that they had retired to Malta to seek shelter under the tremendous batteries of the Knights of St. John. Byng therefore sailed right into the Straits of Messina, in order to encourage and support the besieged citadel; and, if practicable, to land 2000 German foot which he had brought with him from Naples; but as he turned the point of Faro, towards Messina, he saw before him, in mid-channel, two scouts of the Spanish fleet; and nearly at the same moment he was boarded by a felucca from the Calabrian shore, and informed that the Calabrians from the hills behind Scylla and Reggio saw the whole Spanish fleet lying by, at the other end of the strait, in the direction of Taormina. In an instant Byng altered his design, and, sending away General Wetzell with the German infantry to Reggio under the convoy of two men-of-war, he stood right through the strait with his whole fleet. The day was beautiful, the rapid current of that narrow sea passage, and the cool strong current of air which always accompanies it, were in his favour, and he glided through, between the high mountains of Calabria and Sicily, with all sails set and flags flying. On either shore—on the hills on either side—on every prominent point in that truly magical scene, Calabrians and Sicilians gathered in crowds, even as their ancestors had done five centuries before, when Richard Cœur-de-Lion first led the fleet of England through that channel. The two Spanish scouts fled before the English towards their own fleet; and before noon Byng had a fair sight of twenty-seven sail of the line, with fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and seven galleys, drawn up in line of battle, with store-ships and provision-ships between them and the shore. Admiral Castañeta, however, did not choose to keep his position; he slipped into the current, hoisted every sail, and "stood away large." Byng followed closely all the rest of that day; but when they got beyond the influence of the current of the strait their progress was slow; and the wind went down in a dead summer calm, which allowed the Spaniards to make use of their seven galleys and a host of row boats in towing. The calm lasted during the whole night, but in the morning the regular and unfailing *vento da terra* sprung up, and carried Byng down to Cape Passaro. At ten o'clock he came up with the Spanish admiral, who began the action by firing his stern-chase guns. At about three o'clock the Spanish admiral struck his flag; but the fight—being in good part a running fight—was not ended until sunset. Byng's victory was decisive; and a few days after, a squadron which he detached under the command of Captain Walton, destroyed several Spanish ships which had escaped from the battle. Alberoni's fleet, in fact, was all but annihilated at one blow; and the short-lived pride of the Spaniards was succeeded by shame and despondency.[1]

---

[1] *An Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily*, in the years 1718, -19, and -20, under the command of Sir George Byng, Bart., collected from the admiral's MSS.

[2] *Hardwicke State Papers.*

[3] Pietro Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli.*



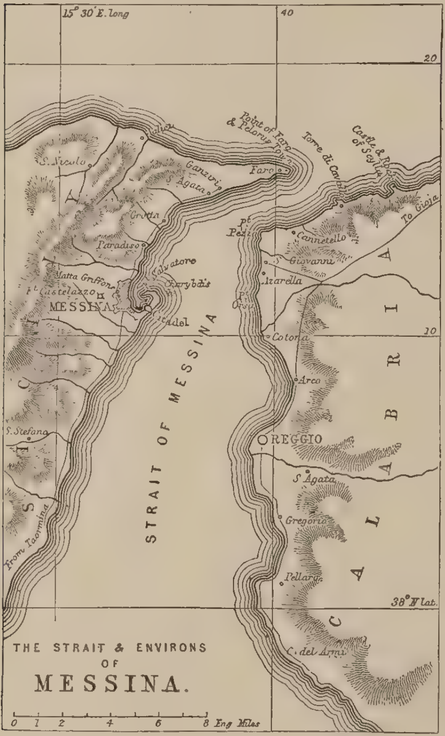
THE COAST OF CALABRIA, from Sicily.—From a view by Renmy.

Coupled with the instruction to destroy the Spanish fleet, Byng had orders to make good, if possible, such a footing in Sicily as might enable England and her allies to land an army there; and that brave and skilful officer did his best to save the citadel and recover the town of Messina. On the 23d of August he sailed from Syracuse; and on the 26th he arrived at Reggio, where he found General Wetzell with the Austrian and Neapolitan army. Wetzell proposed throwing troops across the strait, into the citadel of Messina, if the English fleet would remain in that water to co-operate. Authorized by his instructions, Byng remained. Yet at the end of the year the Spaniards were masters of the citadel of

---

[1] *Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, &c.*

Messina, and of all Sicily, except Syracuse, Trapani, and Melazzo, in which three places the Duke of Savoy had considerable garrisons. The Spanish army was numerous and well appointed; and the affections of the Sicilians seemed to incline rather to their old masters than to the Savoyards or Germans. The Duke of Savoy, who had been again trimming and again listening to the cajoling voice of Alberoni, saw that in no case could the island be kept by him or would be left to him; and at last he acceded to the quadruple alliance, and consented to put the places he held into the hands of the emperor's troops.


THE STRAIT & ENVIRONS OF MESSINA.

On the 11th of December Charles XII. was killed before the "petty fortress" of Frederickshal, in Norway, and his death put an end to Alberoni's northern intrigues, and to the sundry fears and misgivings in relation to that quarter which had agitated the mind of George I. and his cabinet. A short time before, the Duke of Ormond had been in Russia as plenipotentiary of the pretender: negotiations between Charles and Peter had been opened, and it had been agreed between those rivals that there should henceforward be peace and unity of purpose between them; that the czar should retain Livonia, Ingria, and other Swedish territories; that his Swedish majesty should conquer and keep Norway, and also Bremen and Verden; and that both should co-operate for the restoration of King Stanislaus in Poland, and of the house of Stuart in England. But the musket-ball from the unknown hand that laid the Swedish hero or madman in the grave, destroyed all these schemes. Charles's sister, Ulrica, who ascended the throne, had neither the inclination nor the power to remain at war: the whole ministry and the very form of the monarchy were completely changed; and Gortz, who, more than any one, had framed the project against England, was presently executed on a scaffold. In France there were numerous and increasing discontents against the regent. A part of the nation were incensed at what they called the unnatural alliance between France and England, and a still greater portion inveighed against the terrible profligacy and the immense power of the Abbé Dubois.

A plot was discovered at Paris, which had its ramifications in various parts of France and at Madrid. The object of it was to seize the Duke of Orleans while engaged in some of his orgies, to shut him up in the Bastile, to convoke the states-general, and to proclaim Philip, King of Spain, Regent of France, with the Duke of Maine for his deputy. The rash conspirators were betrayed—by means, it is said, of a "distinguished procuress and a young prostitute." The Duke and Duchess of Maine, the Cardinal de Polignac, and many more French were deep in the plot, as were also a number of Jesuits, French as well as Spanish; the Prince of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris; a son of the Duke Monteleone, the Spanish ambassador in London; and a young Spanish abbé. The plot, in fact, appears to have been almost entirely of Spanish origin. The Duke of Orleans was a libertine, a sluggard, a gross sensualist, but he was neither cowardly nor cruel; and he contented himself with relegating the Duke of Maine to Dourlans in Picardy, sending the duchess to the castle of Dijon in Burgundy, and exiling from Paris Cardinal Polignac, who had employed his pen in drawing up manifestoes and addresses, M. de Pompadour, the Count d'Eu, and several others, who had been engaged chiefly by the Duchess of Maine. Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador, a principal in the plot, was merely escorted to the frontiers; and not a drop of blood was shed in an affair which, under almost any other prince, would have furnished ample work for the executioner. Instead of attempting a denial, which would have been useless, Cardinal Alberoni, upon being informed that the game was up and the conspirators prisoners, prevailed upon his master King Philip to issue a manifesto, justifying all the measures that had been taken to overthrow the regency of the Duke of Orleans, which was represented as illegal in its origin and atrocious or dishonourable to France in all its proceedings. Hereupon the French regent regularly declared war against Spain, being supported by a similar declaration on the part of England, which was issued nearly at the same moment, or on the 17th of December.

The British parliament had assembled on the preceding 11th of November, and the anomalous position in which the country stood with relation to Spain had given rise to long and violent debates. Walpole, in the commons, exclaimed and declaimed with all imaginable vehemence against the whole quadruple alliance, and everything which had resulted from it. The late measures, he said, were against the laws of nations, a breach of solemn treaties, treacherous, unpardonable! and ministers, conscious of having done amiss, and of having begun a war with Spain irregularly and unjustifiably, now wanted to screen themselves under a parliamentary sanction. Walpole, however, found himself left in a minority of 155 to 216. And, when the declaration of war fell under discussion, ministers were still more triumphant. Stanhope—who had a greater mind than most of his colleagues—who was from conviction and temperament the friend of religious toleration—and who, moreover, for political purposes had professed himself the friend of the dissenters—conceived the bold idea of doing away with all religio-political distinctions whatsoever, so as to admit even Roman Catholics to their fair share of the privileges of the constitution. Walpole and the "prince's people," as the partizans of the Prince of Wales were called, were resolved to oppose any scheme of the kind, and hoped to overthrow the ministry by a new cry of the church in danger: it was known that most, if not all the Whigs in opposition, disregarding some of the foremost and best principles of their party, would join the Tories and high churchmen; and therefore it was resolved by Stanhope and Sunderland to leave the repeal of the test act to some more favourable opportunity, advising the dissenters to have patience in the meantime; and on the 13th of December, Stanhope brought forward his modified measure in the lords. It was not called, plainly, an act for the relief of dissenters, but an act for strengthening the Protestant interest. Its real object was to repeal the intolerant act against occasional conformity and the schism act, and also such clauses of the test and corporation acts as excluded Protestant dissenters from civil offices. But Stanhope soon found that, between latent bigotry and open political manœuvre, his bill, even modified as it was, would be hard to pass. The question was postponed from the 13th to the 18th, when the bench of bishops took up and supported—almost by themselves—the important debate. With great heat the debate was continued on the 19th, when the second reading of the bill was carried in the lords by a majority of eighty-six to sixty-eight. Influenced by this large minority, or by a fear of what would happen in the lower house, ministers consented in committee to strike out all the clauses which referred to the test and corporation acts. Thus mutilated, Stanhope's bill was sent down to the commons, where it was opposed by Walpole and his friends, and where it was passed by a majority of no more than 243 to 202.

A.D. 1719. In the month of March a bill, generally attributed to Sunderland, was brought into the lords, "to settle and limit the peerage in such a manner that the number of English peers should not be enlarged beyond six of the present number, which, upon failure of issue male, might be supplied by new creations; that instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty-five should be made hereditary on the part of that kingdom; and that this number, upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied from the other members of the Scotch peerage. This looked like depriving the crown of its important prerogative of making peers at will; but George, it is said, went into it in order to take vengeance upon his son the Prince of Wales, and to weaken his party; while Sunderland, who had offended the Prince of Wales beyond hope of pardon or reconciliation, was also anxious to restrain the power of that prince when he came to the throne. The bill was twice read, indeed, without a division; but, on the day appointed for the third reading, Stanhope stood up to give it its quietus, by observing "that the bill having made a great noise and raised strange apprehensions, and since the design of it had been so much misrepresented and misunderstood that it was likely to meet with great opposition in the other house, he thought it advisable to let the matter lie still till a more proper opportunity." Sunderland declared that this peerage bill had originated with the king rather than with the ministers; that the king wished well to the constitution and to the country, and therefore was anxious to limit the future government of his son, who was rash and headstrong, and quite capable of doing mad things. In a long conversation he held with Middleton, the Chancellor of Ireland, who had refused to support the bill, Sunderland was so excited that the blood gushed from his nose. On the 18th of April parliament was prorogued; and early in May the king, accompanied by Stanhope, set off for his continental dominions.

As Cardinal Alberoni had utterly failed in

France, and as he had lost his mad hero Charles XII., he determined to take up with the pretender, who had been passing his time pleasantly enough in Italy, residing alternately at Rome and Urbino. He had lately contracted a marriage with the Princess Clementina, grand-daughter of the heroic John Sobieski, King of Poland; but, as that princess was on her way to Italy, to join her betrothed, she was arrested by the emperor's orders in the Tyrol, and detained in the emperor's castle of Innspruck. This was base and dishonourable in the emperor who did it, and scarcely less so in the English government that asked it.

The pretender appears to have been apprehensive for his own liberty, as the Austrians had now the complete ascendency in the Italian peninsula, and as the English fleet was riding victorious off its shores, when he received and accepted the invitation of Alberoni to go into Spain. To delude the Austrians, he pretended to set out for Tuscany and Lombardy, as if he were going to make the whole journey by land; but in reality he lay concealed in the Papal States, while the Earls of Mar and Perth, with a part of his suite, crossed the Apennines and went into the emperor's dominions of Lombardy. The two lords were presently seized and made fast in the castle of Milan; and as people there had not the felicity of being acquainted with the person and face of the Stuart, it was reported and believed that they had got the pretender. Lord Stair joyfully announced from Paris to the ministers in London that this was the case; and then, while he was believed to be in an Austrian dungeon at Milan, where many a better man has pined away, the pretender slipped down to the pope's little port of Nettuno, near the mouth of the Tiber, and got secretly on board a vessel which carried him safely to the coast of Catalonia. There the fugitive threw off his disguise; and at Madrid he was received most royally as legitimate sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland. The palace of Buen Retiro was allotted for his residence, and he received the visits of Philip and his queen, and all the grandees that had not quarrelled with the cardinal. Before James arrived at Madrid the Duke of Ormond, disguised as a valet, had crossed the Pyrenees, to take the command of a formidable armament which the cardinal had prepared at Cadiz for the purpose of invading England and enthroning the pretender! The last time Ormond had been in Spain was with an English fleet and army to storm Vigo and bombard Cadiz for Queen Anne! Madrid and Cadiz were crowded with Scottish and English exiles, who hoped to retrieve the misfortunes of 1715, but who seem to have been divided in opinion as to whether the pretender should go with them or stay behind till they should make his path easy. But at last it was determined that James should stay in Spain, and that Ormond should have the undivided command. In the meanwhile the Abbé Dubois had obtained full and precise information as to all these Spanish schemes, and by the command of the regent he had imparted all his discoveries to Stanhope, together with the offer of some French troops. The English government politely declined receiving the French, but they accepted and brought over six battalions of Austrians from the Netherlands and 2000 Dutch. A good squadron of ships was put to sea to secure the Channel, the few English troops were cantoned in the most Jacobite districts in the north and west; both Houses of Parliament, which was then sitting, assured the king of their loyalty and determination to support him to the extent of their lives and fortunes; and a proclamation was issued offering £10,000 for the apprehension of the traitor Ormond, the commander of the Spanish army of invasion. As the Scots had paid rather dearly for their rising in "the fifteen," a resolution had been universally taken not to move in Scotland till England was fairly engaged;[1] but upon the 16th of April two frigates put into Kintail, in Ross-shire, landed about 300 Spanish soldiers, a few gentlemen, and some arms, and then instantly left the coast and put out to sea. Among the gentlemen were the Earls Marischal and Seaforth and the Marquis of Tullibardine, who concealed themselves in the country to await the arrival of the Duke of Ormond in England. But Ormond never came: a storm in the Bay of Biscay had driven him back to Spain, and had entirely frustrated Alberoni's expedition. Many of the ships were lost; others were saved by throwing overboard the guns, the stands of arms, the horses and the stores provided for the campaign; and of five ships of the line and twenty transports, and 5000 soldiers, partly Irish, only the two frigates and the 300 men with the earl-marischal ever reached the British coast. But if they had all come they would only have come to destruction. While the earl-marischal and the Marquis of Tullibardine lay close at Kintail, Lord Seaforth, in disguise, ventured up the country to confer with some of the Highland clans; and some hard-drinking Jacobite lords saw in their cups Ormond's fleet, which had gone to the bottom of the Bay of Biscay, or back to the Spanish ports, riding triumphantly on the coast of Scotland: but sleep and daylight dissipated this vision; and, as some of the Highlanders had begun to muster, and had taken one or two insignificant places, the government, which at first had thought that the two Spanish frigates had carried back in them all the persons and things they had brought, became aware that there was an enemy in the land, and that some of the Jacobite lords had not gone back to Spain. Upon this discovery, some English ships of war were brought down to the coast, and General Wightman, with about 1000 men, moved from Inverness in quest of the insurgents, whom he soon found advantageously posted at Glenshiel. They were estimated at 2000 men; but Wightman, relying on the discipline of his troops, fell upon them on the evening of the 10th of June, the pretender's birth-day, and gave them a complete defeat. The light-footed Highlanders dispersed and ran home to their mountains; the 300 Spaniards, who kept together, were obliged to surrender at discretion. The earl-marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine were fortunate enough to escape with their clans from the field of battle; and they, with other persons of note, remained lurking in the Highlands till ships were provided to carry them back to Spain.

---

[1] Lockhart, *Memoirs*.

Cardinal Alberoni, seeing that this card had failed him, was anxious to get the pretender back to Rome as soon as possible; for his stay at Madrid was rather costly, and it might also tend to embarrass negotiations if the cardinal should be obliged to lay down the sword and trust to diplomacy. Fortunately for him there arrived news that the captive bride, the Princess Clementina Sobieski, had escaped disguised as a servant-maid from Innspruck, and had reached in safety the pope's city of Bologna: and upon this news the Stuart took leave of the cardinal and Spanish court, and returned to Italy to complete his marriage.

As France had made a regular declaration of war against Spain, it was necessary for the regent to exert himself, and, if he did no more, to secure his frontier on the side of the Pyrenees. He had, in effect, raised an army of 30,000 men to serve in that quarter; and, upon the refusal of old Marshal Villars, he had given the command of it to the Duke of Berwick, the half-brother of the pretender, the victor of Almanza, the real hero, on the Bourbon side, of the war of the succession in Spain, and then the highly prized and apparently most devoted servant of his majesty King Philip.

While Berwick was lying on the frontier, King Philip put himself at the head of a very indifferent Spanish army—the best of his forces being in Sicily and Sardinia—and advanced to the Pyrenees. Philip was no soldier; he was not even gifted with the very common attribute of personal courage; but he fondly fancied that there would be no fighting, that the French army under Berwick would desert, and join him as their rightful regent, and the only surviving grandson of Louis XIV.: and for this purpose he had come to the army with his queen, his young son, his prime minister the cardinal, and a goodly stock of manifestos and proclamations to the French soldiery. But these proclamations, when dispersed in Berwick's camp, failed of their effect; and instead of going over to Philip, the French troops began to take his towns and castles almost under his eye. No part of Spain had displayed such activity and energy in seconding the great maritime schemes of the cardinal as the industrious Biscayan provinces. At every port on that coast ships had been built, or were in process of building. All this had been watched with a jealous eye by the French as well as by the English, and an important part of Berwick's instructions was that he should destroy these dockyards and arsenals. Colonel William Stanhope, who had been sent on a mission to Berwick's army, accompanied a detachment of it to Port-Passages, serving as a volunteer, and had the satisfaction of seeing one new ship of seventy guns, two of sixty guns, and some other vessels recently built, together with a vast quantity of timber and naval stores, burned to ashes. The French then invested Fuenterrabia, which surrendered on the 18th of June. An English squadron was co-operating on the coast; and now it took on board about 1000 French soldiers and sailed for Santoña, where three fine new ships of the line were on the stocks, and where materials were collected for the building of seven more. The French soldiers and the English sailors landed together, and in a few hours everything was destroyed. The loss of the Spaniards in money alone was estimated at millions of dollars; but the moral loss and depression was still more important. Berwick carried the strong town of St. Sebastian on the 2d of August, and compelled the citadel to surrender on the 17th of the same month. Philip in the meanwhile had taken the road to Madrid, helpless and hopeless. The whole of Guipuzcoa was occupied or overrun; and the states of that province, incensed by innovations on their ancient laws and usages, and by arbitrary attempts made by Alberoni to assimilate the Biscayan provinces with the rest of Spain, offered to acknowledge the dominion of the French upon condition of security to their ancient rights and liberties. In another direction the French continued their conquests without interruption: they entered Catalonia, took several forts, and made an attempt upon Rosas. Nor was the British fleet idle in other quarters; in the end of September a strong squadron with 4000 troops on board, commanded by Lord Cobham, appeared off Coruña, to take vengeance on that port, from which Ormond had sailed with his unfortunate expedition. Coruña, however, seemed too well defended, and Cobham ran along the coast to Vigo, where many of Ormond's stores still remained. The British troops landed at three miles from the town, and encountered no enemy except a body of peasants, who fired from the hills without coming near enough to hit or to be hit. The garrison of Vigo spiked their guns in the town and retired into the citadel, where they were compelled to surrender by the middle of October. Cobham found forty-three pieces of ordnance, 8000 muskets, 2000 barrels of gunpowder, and seven sloops, which were all seized and carried off. The neighbouring towns and little seaports were also sacked by the troops, who "abused themselves much with wine;" and then this "important and secret expedition," as it had been called, returned to England. As so much had been said about it, the cardinal seems to have expected that it was really destined to occupy whole provinces or kingdoms! In Sicily, for which everything had been sacrificed, the course of the war was equally unfavourable to Spain, and the services of the British navy much more conspicuous. Admiral Sir George Byng continued to act as sailor, soldier, diplomatist, statesman, and in each and all of these capacities he displayed a remarkable degree of ability. He reconciled the jealousies and quarrels which broke out among the wrongheaded generals whom the emperor had sent to drive the Spaniards out of the island; he framed himself the best plans for their operations; he supplied them with provisions when their troops were famishing; he kept open their communications by sea; wherever he could he co-operated with them on the coast; and to forward their enterprise, he or some of his fleet was constantly traversing the Mediterranean from Sicily to Naples, from Naples to the Barbary coast or to Malta, or downward to Port-Mahon and the Spanish shores. The fate of the war was indeed in the hands of Byng and his sailors: the Austrians could scarcely find a mouthful of bread in the interior of Sicily; and they had hardly any ammunition except what was given to them by the English fleet. The admiral's incessant anxieties and fatigues in the great heat of summer brought on what seemed at first a dangerous illness. His last leave-taking of Count Gallas, the emperor's viceroy at Naples, was striking. The admiral was eager to return to Sicily, where his assistance was much needed; he was ill of a fever, and the viceroy was dying of malaria. Unable to walk, and scarcely able to stand, Byng caused himself to be carried to the bedside of Count Gallas, and there they held a short conference as to the best means of carrying on the Sicilian war, and then bade each other farewell. The viceroy died in two days; but the sea-voyage restored the admiral to health. Shortly after Byng's return to Messina, the Spaniards retired into the citadel, and the townpeople threw open their gates to the Austrians. As soon as the city was taken, Byng landed some English sailors and grenadiers, who took the tower of the Faro, and opened a free passage for his ships. The admiral then came round to anchor almost at the mouth of the fine harbour of Messina, where he saw the Spanish men-of-war striking their masts and removing their rigging. It was quite clear that these Spanish ships could never get to sea; but they were, nevertheless, well nigh being the cause of mischief to the allies. The case was curious: an officer of the Duke of Savoy, whom we may henceforth call by his new and lasting title of King of Sardinia, claimed for his master two of the best ships which had formerly belonged to him, and which had been seized by the Spaniards in the port of Palermo: Byng, on the other hand, declared that he could not think the King of Sardinia had any shadow of title to them; that the ships had been taken by the Spaniards, had been fitted out and armed at their expense, and had fought under their colours; that even now they could and would most assuredly put out to sea, if the English fleet did not hinder them; and that he could not consider them in any other light than as the ships of an enemy, that were, or at least presently would be his fair prize. But while these conflicting claims were irreconcilable, De Mercy put in a third claim for his master, the emperor, pretending that, as those ships would be found within the port of a town taken by his

Admiral Sir George Byng.—After Sir G. Kneller.

master's arms, they must, according to the law of nations, belong to his imperial majesty. To this claim of the Austrian general the English admiral replied that, if it had not been for his two squadrons which he had employed on purpose and at a great hazard, there could have been no blockade of Messina, and there would have been no ships at all within the port to dispute about; adding that, if, even now, he were to withdraw his fleet, the Spaniards would be able to get to sea and out of the reach of the emperor's land forces; though he (Byng) with his ships would, in that case, have a good chance of falling in with them and capturing them all. Both Savoyards and Austrians, however, stuck to their claim; and the English admiral reflected that, possibly, the Spanish garrison in the citadel of Messina might capitulate for the safe return of those ships to Spain, "*which he was determined never to suffer*"—that the right of possession might lead to very inconvenient disputes, and that, if it should turn out "that they did not belong to England, *it were better they belonged to nobody:*" and, as the proper undoing of this Gordian knot, he proposed to De Mercy to set up a good battery and destroy the ships in the harbour as they lay. The general did not like this plan, and wanted time to write to Vienna for instructions; but the admiral, with some heat, assured him that no instructions were wanting to destroy everything that belonged to the enemy; and he insisted so firmly, that De Mercy, notwithstanding the representations and protests of the King of Sardinia's agent, consented to the erecting of a terrible battery, which, in a brief space of time, sunk and destroyed the much-disputed ships, and completed the ruin of the naval power of Spain. Five days after the surrender of the city, the port of Castellazzo and the old Norman castle of Matta-Griffone were reduced by the Imperialists, aided by the British sailors and grenadiers. But the strong citadel was exceedingly well provided, the Germans were slow in their operations, and everything seemed to promise a long siege. In many cases Byng in this war anticipated the exploits which Nelson performed in the same sea during the early part of the war of the French Revolution. The difficulties, the obstructions, the apathy of the people, and the inertness and corruption of governments, were nearly the same in 1719 as in 1799. De Mercy, the emperor's general, had no proper siege artillery with him. Byng returned to Naples to procure guns there. The new viceroy, instead of being a soldier, like Count Gallas, was a priest—and a priest totally unacquainted with business of any kind. He told the English admiral that there was no artillery or ammunition to spare at Naples; that he would send to Mantua for some cannon, which might be transported down the Po into the Adriatic, and so round by sea to Messina, where, possibly, if no cross accidents happened, they might arrive in *two months' time*. Byng happened to know that these cannon at Mantua were unprovided with carriages; but the cardinal thought to make him easy on this point by telling him that he would send some carpenters up into the forests of Abruzzo to cut down timber for gun-carriages. The viceroy, however, called together a number of Neapolitan and German officers, and bade them consult and do their best with Byng. These officers said that guns were guns at Naples, and not to be risked in Sicily. The English admiral told them that De Mercy had not above twenty cannon in battery; that he was within 200 paces of the counterscarp of the citadel of Messina, and would certainly be forced to stop for want of necessary supplies. At last he told them that he would be contented if they could but send ten or twelve cannon, with a proportionate quantity of powder and ball. The Neapolitan who had charge of the ordnance said that perhaps eight guns might be spared from the mole and battery in that city; but, upon inquiry, Byng found that these guns were fifty and sixty pounders; some without ball to fit them, others without carriages, and all of them unwieldy and unfit for battery! And, upon further examination, the general officers assembled declared, one and all, that the whole kingdom of Naples could not furnish the paltry supply of cannon and ammunition which De Mercy wanted. "This," says the narrator of these events, who we believe was one of Byng's sons, "was such a declaration of weakness as was not to be expected in so fine a kingdom." As the only resource, the British admiral stripped his Spanish prizes; sent De Mercy twenty-four eighteen pounders, with powder and shot; and wrote to Genoa and Leghorn to purchase 1000 barrels more powder, engaging his own credit for the payment. In other directions Byng had to contend with obstinacy, stupidity, and corruption, and to deplore "that his good intentions were ill seconded by the sloth or knavery of the emperor's commissaries." The temper with which he bore these disappointments and mortifications was truly admirable and rare. But for him the siege of Messina must have been given up, and the besieging army starved. Having at last procured provisions and reinforcements, the admiral, on the 8th of October, arrived before Messina, which so elevated the spirits of the besiegers that they instantly attacked a half-moon and carried it. Byng landed while this work was doing, and was received with infinite joy by De Mercy and his troops. The siege was prosecuted with vigour. On the 18th the governor of the citadel, who had acquitted himself with great honour, beat a parley, and surrendered upon articles; on the 19th the emperor's grenadiers marched in and took possession of a gate of the citadel; and on the 21st the brave Spanish garrison marched out through the breach, and were transported by sea, under an English convoy, to Augusta. And thus ended the siege of Messina, which had lasted three months, and which had occasioned the Germans a tremendous loss in killed and wounded. The Spanish army under the Marquis Lede fortified themselves in a strong and advantageous post at Castro-Giovanni, in the centre of the island.

MESSINA.—From a view by W. L. Leitch.

The Imperialists could not or would not move from Messina, in full force, until the month of January; nor would they have moved then but for the English admiral. Lede and his Spaniards retired within the walls of Palermo, where they must have been reduced to a capitulation if the Imperialists had only been a little more active and daring.

But while these events were in progress in Sicily, Alberoni, the father of the expedition as of the war, had been thrown from his high post in Spain. That very remarkable churchman was soon convinced that he had embarked in schemes which far exceeded the power and the means of Spain; but he had the honour of the country at heart, and a spirit that revolted at the idea of sneaking meanly out of a conflict which he had provoked. When the arms of Spain were yet in a hopeful posture in Sicily, he signified that he was ready to consent to a peace upon fair conditions; and he sent his countryman, the Marquis Scotti, on a mission to Paris and the Hague. Scotti told the French regent that Spain wished to appoint the states-general her mediators, and that she would relinquish both Sicily and Sardinia if the French would restore the conquests they had made in her Biscayan provinces, and if the English would give up Gibraltar and Port-Mahon. The Duke of Orleans, in reply, told Scotti that he could do nothing without consulting his allies the emperor and the King of England. The Abbé Dubois wrote instantly to Stanhope, who was with King George at Hanover. Stanhope had himself gone to Madrid with the offer of restoring Gibraltar, but he was now resolved that nothing should be restored and nothing done in the way of peace, until Alberoni was removed from the ministry. "We must make his disgrace an absolute condition of the peace," says Stanhope in his answer to Dubois, "for, as his unbounded ambition has been the sole cause of the war which he undertook in defiance of the most solemn engagements, and in breach of the most solemn promises, if he is compelled to accept peace, he will only yield to necessity, with the resolution to seize the first opportunity of vengeance. It is not to be imagined that he will ever lose sight of his vast designs, or lay aside the intention of again bringing them forward whenever the recovery of his strength, and the remissness of the allied powers, may flatter him with the hopes of better success. . . . Let us, therefore, exact from Philip his dismissal from Spain." A prince of spirit would have risked twenty battles rather than submit to this dictation; but Philip, almost as soon as it was known that he might purchase a peace by sacrificing his minister, made up his mind to that price. As for the grandees of Spain, they had long been indignant at the rule of the son of an Italian gardener. The king's confessor, the lord-chamberlain, the courtiers of all degrees and of both sexes (the ladies were particularly incensed by the cardinal's economy in the palace), united in one general and sincere effort to work his ruin; but it was an English lord—the strangest of all our many eccentric peers—and the Regent of France that struck the decisive blow. Lord Peterborough, who had again put on his travelling boots, and who was determined to do something in great state affairs, though he was neither employed nor trusted by the English government, had entered during the preceding summer into a private correspondence with the Duke of Parma, uncle of the Queen of

Spain, and this correspondence had led to an invitation to the court at Parma. Peterborough, whose object it was to induce the duke to use his influence with his niece, who had always been Alberoni's warmest friend, to make her abandon that minister, declined going in person to the duke's court, but agreed to meet a private agent from Parma in the little town of Novi, at the foot of the Bocchetta, between Genoa and Turin; and in consequence of this meeting the Duke of Parma actually wrote pressing letters to his niece the Queen of Spain for the removal of the cardinal, as being the great obstacle to the peace of Europe and the greatest enemy of Spain. Almost at the same moment the French regent bribed Alberoni's agent, the Marquis Scotti, with 50,000 crowns, and sent him back to Madrid to intrigue against his countryman, his friend, and employer. If the war in Sicily had been more successful, the cardinal might perhaps have been spared a little longer; but the capture of the citadel of Messina, the occupation of Trapani, the fears entertained for Palermo, and every article of news that arrived from that country seemed to prove to the Spaniards that they had made enormous efforts only to sacrifice and throw away the finest fleet and army they had possessed for many a year; and even the highest minded among them, who had clung to the cardinal as a minister likely to regenerate Spain and rouse her from her long slumbers, now began to renounce him as a rash and unlucky man. On the evening of the 4th of December he transacted business as usual with Philip, and the king treated him with his accustomed kindness and consideration; but on the very next morning he was by a royal decree dismissed from all his employments, and commanded to leave Madrid in eight days, and the territory of Spain within twenty-one. He endeavoured to obtain an audience of the king or the queen, to justify his conduct with ministers and public men; but neither the king nor the queen would receive him, nor would the public men listen to him with a decent show of patience. The cardinal, therefore, took the road back to his native country, and quitted Spain for ever, within the time prescribed by the royal decree, a poorer man than when he entered it, and pursued insidiously, and, as they hoped, to his utter destruction, by the court he had served.[1]

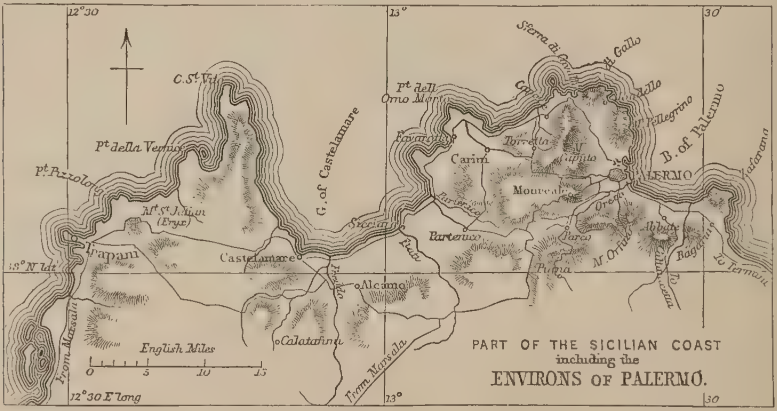
A.D. 1720.

Philip now hoped that he had dissipated the jealousies and apprehensions of the allies, and that he should obtain favourable terms of peace; but he continued to refuse his accession to the quadruple alliance, and on the 19th of January (1720) a declaration was signed at Paris not to admit of any conditions contrary to the sense of that treaty. This declaration, aided by artful representations made by the Marquis Scotti and other intriguers in the pay of Dubois and Stanhope, prevailed over the Queen of Spain; and she, as usual, prevailed upon her husband, who, before the end of the month, issued a decree announcing his intention to accede to the quadruple alliance. Philip, however, declared that he was thus making a sacrifice of his rights and possessions; and it was agreed beforehand that some of these his claims should be discussed at a congress to be held as soon as convenient at Cambrai. He solemnly renewed his renunciation of the French crown, and promised to evacuate both Sardinia and Sicily within two months.

A courier despatched from Paris by Lord Stair informed Sir George Byng of most of these circumstances; and De Mercy received a despatch from the emperor's minister, acquainting him that Spain had acceded to the quadruple alliance. The English admiral and the Austrian general had a conference with Lede, who still remained in a hostile attitude at Alcamo and Palermo. Lede confessed that he knew the king his master had signed the quadruple alliance, and he added that he did not doubt of his sincere intention of evacuating Sicily; but he declared at the same time that he had received no positive orders from Spain. During the debate one of the English ships cruizing off Palermo took a felucca with packets of letters from Spain to Lede; and Byng, seeing the King of Spain's seal upon the letters, generously sent them unopened to the Spanish general, and liberated the felucca and crew. Immediately after the conference Byng returned to his fleet at Trapani, and De Mercy marched towards Alcamo with the resolution of attacking the Spaniards. The Imperialist reached Alcamo on the 8th of April; but Lede had retreated the night before, leaving some of his sick behind him, and scarcely resting till he got between the heights of Monreale and the city of Palermo. De Mercy instantly determined to invest Palermo. Byng readily agreed to coast along the shore, to furnish provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries, and to co-operate with the land army as though his fleet were its left wing. On the 18th of April both fleet and army were in motion, and De Mercy got as far as Scala-di-Partenico, near the foot of the Monreale heights, where he found that Lede had fortified the passes that led through the hills or round by the sea-shore into the narrow but beautiful plain of Palermo. He then divided the Imperialists into two bodies, sending one round to the sea-side with orders to force the pass of Sferra-Cavallo, and enter that way into the plain of Palermo, whilst he himself with the rest of the army ascended the difficult mountains near Carina, in order to get down that way into the same plain. In the meanwhile Byng had come to anchor off Mondello at the head of the Bay of Palermo, and had taken possession of the tower and landing-place there. He had also landed some of his men, who established a communication between the shipping and De Mercy's camp. Lede now withdrew under the walls of Palermo, ranging his troops across the plain with their left to Monte-Caputo, and their right on the sea near the mole-head: the Spaniards were thus in a manner covered with the cannon of the city, and they had strong intrenchments in their front, lined with forty pieces of artillery. They were well provided with all things, and seemed determined to stand the chance of a battle. De Mercy encamped on the same plain in their front and within a mile and a half distance. Lede, who left nothing untried, and who seems up to the last moment to have been most reluctant to leave that fair island, sent off one of his aides-de-camp with a letter to Admiral Byng, inclosing a Spanish gazette, which published a treaty of suspension of arms *at sea*, concluded at the Hague between the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain, and which had commenced on the 10th instant; and, as it was now the 22d, Lede insisted that the English fleet ought to cease hostilities on the instant. But Byng replied that he could give no regard or credit to a pretended convention published in a foreign newspaper; that the time for *beginning* the evacuation of Sicily was elapsed, and that he could not separate himself from the emperor's army until the Spaniards were more compliant. De Mercy then determined to bring on a general engagement in front of Palermo as soon as possible. Byng co-operated most vigorously by detaching three ships to cannonade the posts on the sea-side, where the Spaniards were soon driven from their guns. Several sanguinary attacks were subsequently made along the Spanish lines; and on the 2d of May, while the Spanish guards were taking their *siesto*, the Germans surprised a redoubt, and pushed the Spaniards out at the point of the bayonet. This redoubt, though so badly guarded, commanded the whole of the Spanish line, and Lede resolved to retake it at any cost. On the other hand, De Mercy was quite as resolute to keep it; and both armies were in motion, and on the very point of engaging in a decisive battle, when a little felucca shot into the bay and landed a courier from Spain with positive orders to Lede to agree about the evacuation and the transportation of the army into Spain.

---

[1] "Temporal enemies were not the only ones roused against Alberoni by the conquest of Sardinia. The pope, swayed by Austrian counsels, and indignant at having been duped by the Spanish minister, launched forth an angry brief against Philip, threatening him 'with the Divine vengeance,' and assuring him that 'not only your reputation but your soul also is at stake;' and he backed these spiritual remonstrances by a suspension of the *indulto*, or ecclesiastical tax, in the peninsula. This brief was publicly circulated throughout Spain, but was treated with utter contempt by the minister, and the *indulto* was strictly levied as before. It is remarkable that one of the very few serious differences between the Spanish court and the holy see, should have occurred with a cardinal as prime minister; and it is still more strange that in a country so blindly devoted to the Catholic faith as Spain, the Papal indignation should have produced so little effect. Is it that the Spaniards are still more zealous for their country than their religion, and even in matters of faith look rather to Madrid than to Rome? I find it stated that at this period even the statues of the saints did not please them unless attired in the true Spanish habit."—*Lord Mahon.*



PART OF THE SICILIAN COAST
including the
ENVIRONS OF PALERMO.

Nothing now remained to be done in the Mediterranean, but to put the Duke of Savoy in possession of Sardinia. In this operation the English admiral played a principal part, and at the instance of the court of Turin, he did not leave that island until he had seen the whole treaty of surrender fully executed, the Spanish troops returned into Spain, and his majesty of Sardinia quietly possessed of this his new kingdom.[1]

---

[1] *Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily, &c.*

CHAPTER XIV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1720—1727.

GEORGE I.

State of the continental powers at the return of peace—Bill for limiting the peerage again introduced into parliament—Walpole opposes it—His speech on the occasion—The bill rejected—South Sea Company bill confirmed—Origin and history of the South Sea Company—Rivalry between it and the Bank of England—The South Sea Company outbids the bank—Passing of the bill—Difficulties of the company in fulfilling the conditions—The progress of the South Sea bubble—Objects of its joint-stock associations—Excitement of 'Change Alley—The enthusiasm succeeded by a panic—Depression of the South Sea stock—Ruinous consequences—Similar fate of Law's Mississippi scheme in France—Walpole brings the South Sea failure before parliament—His remedial plan—Directors of the South Sea Company apprehended—Death of the Earl of Stanhope—Frauds of the South Sea Company detected and exposed in parliament—Punishment of the culprits—Walpole becomes premier—Treaty of defensive alliance between Great Britain, France, and Spain—Deaths of the Earl of Sunderland and Duke of Marlborough—Birth of a son and heir to the pretender—Plot for a revolution in favour of the pretender—Its plans and purposes—Its detection—Arrest of its principal agents—The Papists taxed as the chief supporters of the plot—The penalty extended to nonjurors—Trial and punishment of the leading Jacobites—Banishment of Bishop Atterbury—Lord Bolingbroke recalled from exile—He returns disappointed to France—Opening of parliament—Impeachment and punishment of the Earl of Macclesfield—Spanish affairs—Abdication of Philip, King of Spain—He re-ascends the throne—Louis XV. repudiates his Spanish affianced bride—The peace of Europe threatened by the rejection—The King of Spain and the emperor combine against France and England—Conditions of their alliance—Counter-alliance formed by England and France—British naval operations against Russia and the West Indies—The coalition of Spain and the emperor broken up—George I. departs for Hanover—His death during the journey.

THE quadruple alliance and the friendly union of France and England gave a twelve years' peace to Europe. A storm, provoked in the North partly through the predilections of King George for continental possessions, had necessitated the presence of an English fleet in the Baltic, and at one moment had threatened a fierce war between England and Russia. The new Queen of Sweden had gladly concluded a peace by yielding Bremen and Verden to the King of England, or rather to the Elector of Hanover, and Stettin and some other places to the King of Prussia. But the Czar Peter and the King of Denmark sought the total ruin and dismemberment of the Swedish monarchy. The English king and the French regent united their pacific efforts, and offered themselves as mediators; but Peter received their overtures with rudeness; and as he was strongest on the Baltic he scoured those seas and committed frightful ravages on the Swedish coast. As an English ambassador—Lord Carteret—could make no impression on Peter, it was resolved to try what an English admiral could do; and Sir John Norris was despatched to the Baltic with eleven sail of the line to protect the Queen of Sweden, who had thrown herself upon the protection and generosity of England. Norris joined the Swedish men-of-war at Carlscrona, and proceeded in search of the Russians. If his Danish majesty had been bold enough to join his ships with those of the czar, a combat might have been a very serious affair to England, and of doubtful issue; but he had neither faith in nor affection for his ally, and he not only withdrew his fleet, but entered into negotiations with England and Sweden. Peter had then the good sense to recall his fleet with all possible haste; by which he probably saved *his* infant navy from entire destruction. The King of Denmark accepted a sum of money as an equivalent for the conquests he had made or was making; and, with the exception of the Czar Peter, all her enemies made peace with the Queen of Sweden, in terror of the arms of England and France, who, in the words of the treaty, had bound themselves and their allies to contribute "*ad coercendum Czarum Russiæ.*" All the recent transactions in the North were severely criticized in England, because the negotiations had been principally intrusted to Hanoverian ministers and favourites, and because they bound George to a complicated system of alliances and guarantees.

The king had returned to London in the autumn of the preceding year (1719), and had opened the parliament on the 23d of November. Two days after the commencement of the session the bill for limiting the peerage was again introduced; the king having strongly recommended the passing of it in his speech, and having urged parliament particularly to secure that part of the constitution which was most liable to abuse. Lord Cowper, more decided than ever in his opposition, said, "that, besides the reasons which induced him last session to oppose the bill, another now existed equal in weight to all the rest; and that was the earnestness with which it was recommended. Precipitation was always dangerous, and in many cases suspicious; and he could not help being of opinion that, if there were no secret meaning in this bill, it would not be pressed upon the house in this extraordinary manner." Sunderland inveighed against this insinuation, protested the singleness and integrity of his own motives, and declared that the bill was favourable to the honour and dignity of the peerage, and so ought to pass that house. As no one rejoined—as Cowper was left alone—the bill *was* passed on the 30th of November, and sent down to the commons on the 1st of December (1719). During the recess, Walpole had called a meeting of the leaders of the Whigs in opposition at Devonshire House, and had endeavoured to organize a resistance to the bill in both houses. But he had found that several of the Whig peers, though in opposition, secretly favoured a measure which would increase their importance; whilst others, commoners as well as peers, had declared that it would be inconsistent in them, as Whigs, to object to a bill which tended to prevent the repetition of an abuse of prerogative (the sudden making of peers for a given purpose) against which they had so often arrayed themselves in the Tory times; and at this Devonshire House meeting, many of those who disliked the bill as much as Walpole did, had declared that they would only expose themselves to defeat, and to a lamentable exhibition of weakness as a party, if they attempted to throw it out of the house. But Walpole, who was never easily moved from his purpose, and who well knew how odious the bill was to many rich country gentlemen and ladies, persisted in recommending a trial of strength upon it, assuring the meeting that he would put it in such a light as to excite the indignation of every independent commoner. He told them that he had already overheard a country gentleman, a member of the lower house, who possessed an estate of not more than £800 a-year, declare, with great warmth, that, although he had no chance of being made a peer himself, yet he would never consent to the injustice of giving a perpetual exclusion to his family from the honours of the peerage. This sentiment, Walpole insisted, would have a strong effect upon the whole body of country gentlemen; he declared that if his party deserted him on this question, he would stand forth single-handed against it; and, in the end, though the Whig lords gave him little to hope, he prevailed upon his party in the commons to agree that an opposition should be made in that house.[1] Accordingly, when this memorable bill came to be read a second time in the commons, on the 8th of December, Sir John Packington, Sir Richard Steele, Methuen, Smith, and others joined Walpole in denouncing it as invidious, treacherous, and dangerous. Walpole hardly ever indulged in metaphorical display, his speeches being as plain and unornamental as a *compte rendu;* but on this occasion his speech was highly figurative, and enriched with classical allusion. He said, in the opening of his speech—"Among the Romans, the temple of Fame was placed behind the temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the temple of Fame but through that of Virtue. But if this bill is passed into a law, one of the most powerful incentives to virtue would be taken away, since there would be no arriving at honour but through the winding-sheet of an old decrepit lord, or the grave of an extinct noble family." "When," he continued, "great alterations in the constitution are to be made, the experiment should be tried for a short time before the proposed change is finally carried into execution, lest it should produce evil instead of good; but, in this case, when the bill is once sanctioned by parliament, there can be no future hopes of redress, because the upper house will always oppose the repeal of an act which has so considerably increased their power. The great unanimity with which this bill has passed the lords ought to inspire some jealousy in the commons; for it must be obvious that whatever the lords gain must be acquired at the loss of the commons, and the diminution of the regal prerogative; and that, in all disputes between the lords and commons, when the House of Lords is immutable, the commons must, sooner or later, be obliged to recede. . . . The principal argument on which the necessity of it is founded, is drawn from the mischief occasioned by the creation of twelve peers during the reign of Queen Anne, for the purpose of carrying an infamous peace through the House of Lords—that was only a temporary measure, whereas the mischief to be occasioned by this bill will be perpetual. It creates thirty-one peers by authority of parliament: so extraordinary a step cannot be supposed to be taken without some sinister design in future. The ministry want no additional strength in the House of Lords for conducting the common affairs of government, as is sufficiently proved by the unanimity with which they have carried through this bill. If, therefore, they think it necessary to acquire additional strength, it must be done with views and intentions more extravagant and hostile to the constitution than any which have yet been attempted. The bill itself is of a most insidious and artful nature." The Scottish peerage had merited a terrible rebuke by their general political baseness and subservience to all ministries—and they got it. "The sixteen elective Scotch peers already admit themselves to be *a dead court weight*, yet the same sixteen are now to be made hereditary, and nine added to their number. These twenty-five, under the influence of corrupt ministers, might find their account in betraying their trust." After declaring that the bill would make the lords masters of the king, and shut up the door of honour to the rest of the nation, Walpole said:—"If the pretence for this measure is, that it will tend to secure the freedom of parliament, I say that there are many other steps more important and less equivocal, such as the discontinuance of bribes and pensions. That this bill will secure the liberty of parliament I totally deny: it will secure a great preponderance to the peers; it will form them into a compact impenetrable phalanx, by giving them the power to exclude, in all cases of extinction and creation, all such persons from their body as may be obnoxious to them." Steele also delivered a remarkable speech against the bill, which, indisputably, would have brought more dangers to the constitution than it could have removed from it. Walpole, in the words of Speaker Onslow, "bore down everything before him." The bill was rejected by a majority of 269 against 177.

---

[1] *Coxe; Speaker Onslow.*

It was during this session of parliament that the memorable South Sea Company bill received the royal assent. Nine years before the date at which we are arrived, Harley, in the straits and difficulties in which he found himself by the decline of public credit consequent on the sudden dismission of the Whigs, formed a project which was called his master-piece. He found that the floating debt of the nation amounted to about £10,000,000, and to settle a fund for paying the interest of six per cent., he rendered permanent all the duties upon wines, vinegar, tobacco, India goods, wrought silks, whale-fins, and some other commodities; and to allure the creditors with the hopes of inestimable advantages from a monopoly of the trade to the South Sea, he proposed that the proprietors of this funded debt, or those to whom the money was owing by the nation, should form themselves into a company, to be called "The South Sea Company." The project took wonderfully with the holders of the debentures and capitalists, and under the auspices of the ministry, they were incorporated by act of parliament as the "Governor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain trading to the South Seas and other parts of America." But the Bourbon Philip, who was allowed by the peace of Utrecht to retain Spain and the Indies, was far too jealous to admit the British to a free trade in the South Seas, or to any part of his dominions; and all that the company obtained was the nationally dishonouring Assiento, or contract, by which they had the privilege of supplying Spanish America with negroes torn from Africa, for thirty years to come, with permission to send one ship annually with a cargo of goods for sale—which privileges had been secured to England at the peace of Utrecht, and were now made over to the new company by the government. But circumstances occurred which prevented the South Sea Company from reaping any advantages even from this foul monopoly in human flesh and this limited adventure in goods. Their first annual ship did not sail till 1717, and the very next year the trade was suppressed in consequence of Byng's operations in the Mediterranean and the open war with Spain, which led to the total suppression of the factories of the company, and the seizure and detention of their servants. We were now, indeed, at peace with Spain, but the commercial jealousies of that country remained unaltered and unalterable; and, unless by way of conquest and permanent occupation, there was scarcely a hope of securing any considerable share of the advantages of a trade in the South Seas and with her colonies; or, rather, there was no hope of being able to make a trade—for, under the miserable system which had been pursued, all commerce had remained stinted, or had died away of an atrophy, the mother country herself deriving the least possible advantages from the rich regions she possessed, and representing to the letter the fable of the dog in the manger. Yet, with these certainties before them, with a blindness even greater than that of the wildest followers of Paterson, British ministers now conceived that the South Sea Company might, by an extending trade, pay off in a trice all the national incumbrances, which, in reality, were only to be cleared off by slow degrees by an inviolable sinking-fund. Sir John Blunt, a leading South Sea director, a financier well read in the school of Law and Paterson, exhibited the many advantages which would result from consolidating all the funds into one; and he persuaded Stanhope, Sunderland, and Aislabie, the chancellor of the exchequer, that his company could do the business of the government and the nation in the surest and best manner. The great object was to get rid of the irredeemable annuities which had been granted in the two last reigns, mostly for terms of ninety-nine years, and which amounted at present to nearly £800,000 a-year; and Blunt and his company undertook to do this, and to liquidate the entire national debt in the course of twenty-six years, provided only that all the different public securities were reduced to one aggregate fund in their hands, that they were vested with certain commercial privileges, and authorized to take in by purchase or subscription both the redeemable and irredeemable debts of the nation, at such rates and prices as should be agreed upon between the company and the respective proprietors. Aislabie, as chancellor of the exchequer, opened this business in the commons in the month of February, and declared that, if the proposal was accepted, the prosperity of the nation would be marvellously increased and all her debts be paid. Secretary Craggs was equally sanguine, and thought that every member of the house must be ready and willing to embrace the proposal which had been explained to them in so clear and intelligible a manner by the chancellor of the exchequer. But when there had been a doubting silence for nearly a quarter of an hour, Mr. Thomas Broderick, member for Stockbridge, ventured to say that he quite agreed with ministers; that until the national debt was discharged, or at least in a fair way of being so, we were not to expect to make the figure we formerly had made — that, till this was done, we could not, properly speaking, call ourselves a nation; but that it was to be hoped that, in order to obtain the best bargain for the nation, every other company, or any other society of men, might be at liberty to deliver in their proposals. Ministers who had closed with Blunt and the South Sea Company before bringing the matter under discussion, were disconcerted by this almost inevitable suggestion; and, not knowing what to say, they lost their temper and talked nonsense. The chancellor of the exchequer declared that to admit of a competition would be like setting the nation up to auction; that things of this nature should be carried on with spirit. Here he was interrupted by Jekyll, who observed, "It is this spirit which has undone the nation! Our business is to consider thoroughly, deliberate calmly, and judge of the whole upon reason, not with the spirit alluded to." Walpole strongly recommended an open competition, and the receiving of proposals from other companies or capitalists. After a very passionate debate, the house agreed to receive all proposals that might be offered. As the principle of competition was thus allowed, the Bank of England stepped in with proposals:[1] as soon as the offers of the bank were known, the South Sea Company called a meeting, and, at a general court, the directors were instructed to obtain the preference, *cost what it would.* Upon this the Bank of England raised its offers, and then the South Sea Company raised theirs; and in this manner they went on bidding against each other like two angry clowns at a country sale. When, however, the company had risen to the enormous offer of £7,500,000, which they represented as a gratuity to be paid to the public, the bank stopped its bidding, and the South Sea directors remained in possession of their rash bargain. It appears that the chancellor of the exchequer thought at one time of sharing the bargain between the bank and the company, and that Sir John Blunt, referring to Solomon's judgment, said, "No, sir, we will never divide the child!" The South Sea bill, however, was still opposed in the commons by Walpole, who apparently foresaw that the extravagant terms of the contract would never be fulfilled; that the project would only extend the pernicious practice of stock-jobbing, by diverting the genius of the nation from trade and industry, and exciting a contempt for slow profits and careful economy. He insisted that, if the proposal of the South Sea Company were accepted, the rise of their stock should be limited; that every care ought to be taken to prevent the artificial rise of the value of the stock by keeping up a general infatuation, and by promising dividends out of funds which would never be adequate to their payment. He endeavoured to introduce a clause

THE OLD SOUTH SEA HOUSE.—From a print by Wale.

---

[1] The chancellor of the exchequer (Aislabie) afterwards said that the bank had before "shown great backwardness in undertaking anything to reduce the public debts, and had treated the scheme with much contempt."—Aislabie's second speech before the House of Lords; Sinclair's *History of the Public Revenue.*

into the bill, fixing how many years' purchase should be granted to the annuitants by the South Sea Company: but the jobbers on the other side —for it is pretty certain that from the beginning there was a corrupt spirit of jobbing as well as folly and a vertigo—represented that it was the evident interest of the company to take up the annuities; and, as the annuitants were free to come in or not, there could be no doubt but that the company would offer advantageous terms; and that, therefore, the whole affair might safely be left to itself, or to be settled between the annuitants and the company. The South Sea bill was finally passed in the commons, on the 2d of April, by a majority of 172 to 55; and on the 4th it was carried triumphantly through the other house, where only seventeen peers opposed it, and where little attention was paid to Lord Cowper, who compared the project to the Trojan horse, which was ushered in with pomp and acclamations, but contrived for treachery and destruction. On the 7th of April the bill received the royal assent, and, a few days after, Walpole published a critical pamphlet, entitled, *The South Sea Scheme Considered.* Yet at this moment Lord Townshend and Walpole were both negotiating with the Earl of Sunderland, whom they had charged with having treacherously supplanted them; and both were on the very eve of accepting office. Walpole, as we have said, found he was not strong enough to overthrow the ministry; and Sunderland and Stanhope, who were dreadfully hampered by the Hanoverian favourites, found that they were scarcely strong enough to do without him. The objections of the king were removed in consequence of a reconciliation, effected chiefly by Walpole's means, with the Prince of Wales.[1] This reconciliation of father and son took place in May; and on the 4th of June Walpole was appointed paymaster of the forces, and on the 11th Lord Townshend was named president of the council. The parliament was prorogued, with more talk about the national prosperity; and on the 14th of June George departed for Hanover, adding, before he went, Lord Townshend and the Duke of Devonshire to the council of regency.

Walpole, though re-admitted to place, retired to pass the summer at Houghton. His solitude was soon disturbed by the verification of his sinister predictions about the South Sea Company. The company, in order to fulfil its engagements with government, had recourse to a system of artifice and exaggeration, representing, among other things, that they had made sure of inestimable markets and acquisitions in the South Sea; that they had discovered mines of hidden treasure; that they should be able to pay dividends of fifty per cent., &c.; and the people, in their cupidity, were dazzled by these visions, and, believing them all to be true, rushed with their money, like water through a flood-gate, to invest it all in the company. Men of good estate sold house and land in order to become great shareholders; merchants of eminence neglected their established traffic to reap fifty per cent. of profit; and the whole nation became intoxicated with percentages, dividends, and transfers. As there was plenty of invention on one side, and the most abundant credulity on the other, it was not wonderful that the company's funds should rapidly rise from 130 to above 300. The strange and exciting drama which John Law had got up at Paris in the autumn of the preceding year (1719) was re-performed in London upon a grander scale, and with numerous additions; for, though the French were quite as sanguine and gambling as the English of that period, they had not quite so much money to throw away. Subscription succeeded subscription, each mounting above the other till the stock rose to above 1000 per cent. And the insolence and arrogance of the governor and directors rose in proportion, until it was said by a member of the House of Commons—"We have made them kings, and they deal with everybody as such." Stanhope and his colleagues, on the rising of parliament, had issued a royal proclamation forbidding the formation of companies or bodies corporate, and any raising of stocks or shares, without legal authority; but it was absolutely impossible, in the present frenzied state of the public mind, to prevent the formation of the bubble companies which sprung up and grew round the mighty original like mushrooms round a rotten tree. Among the objects for which joint stocks were proposed were the following:—To make salt water fresh—to make oil out of sun-flower seeds —for extracting silver out of lead—for transmuting quicksilver into a malleable and fine metal —for trading in human hair—for importing a number of large jackasses from Spain, in order to propagate a large breed of mules—for fatting of hogs—and for a wheel of perpetual motion![2]

---

[1] Walpole, who had scarcely been able to keep terms with the prince when he was in power, courted his highness's friendship when he was out of place, and became, to all appearance, a personal favourite and the prince's chief adviser. A submissive letter which the prince wrote to his father was in all probability dictated by Walpole.

[2] "But the most strange of all, perhaps, was 'for an undertaking that shall be in due time revealed.' Each subscriber was to pay down two guineas, and hereafter to receive a share of 100, with a disclosure of the object; and so tempting was the offer, that 1000 of these subscriptions were paid the same morning, with which the projector went off in the afternoon. Amidst these real follies, I can scarce see any difference or exaggeration in a mock proposal which was circulated at the time in ridicule of the rest—'For the invention of melting down saw-dust and chips, and casting them into clean deal-boards without cracks or knots.' Such extravagances might well provoke laughter; but unhappily, though the farce came first, there was a tragedy

But every day brought forth a new project, till all trade was suspended save this gambling in shares—till 'Change Alley was crammed from morning till night with dukes, lords, country squires, parsons, dissenting ministers, brokers and jobbers, and men of every possible colour and description—nay, the very ladies appeared there at times, in their eagerness to transact their own business. The highest personage in the land in the king's absence, the Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne of three kingdoms, joined in the general scramble, and put his name down as a governor of a Welsh copper company! As soon, however, as the prince got notice that a prosecution would be instituted against the company, he retired; but, in withdrawing his name, he took care to withdraw also a gambling profit of £40,000! The prosecutions with which these unauthorized companies were threatened proceeded from the jealousy of the South Sea Company, who, desiring to monopolize all the folly and all the money of the nation, obtained writs of *scire facias* against the managers of the lesser bubbles, and thus put an end to most of them. But, in thus exposing the cards of others, they drew attention to their own game: they wanted only to let in a bit of the truth; but through the breach they had made, the whole truth burst in, and people began to suspect, and then to be certain, that they had been playing their solid gold against bits of paper, which represented little or nothing, save the matchless impudence of financial projectors. The South Sea stock, that had been going at 1000 in August, sunk below 300 in September, and no exertions could ever get it up again. Bankers, brokers, merchants, goldsmiths, began to break and flee the country, each ruining hundreds or thousands of others in his own ruin. In the height of the panic Walpole was applied to by men who had rejected and despised his advice, but who now implored him to come up to London and make terms with the Bank of England, or persuade the governors of it to accede to a proposal made by the South Sea Company to keep them from breaking, by circulating some of their bonds. Walpole left Houghton, and was present at several conferences between the committee of the South Sea Company and the committee of the bank; but, after consenting to a proposal made by him for circulating £3,000,000 of bonds for one year, the bank, seeing more clearly the desperate situation of affairs, withdrew, and refused to keep its bargain. And just at this moment news came from France that John Law, the real parent of the scheme—Law, the Scots financier or stock-jobber who had turned the heads of the Duke of Orleans, Dubois, and well nigh every man in France, making stock-jobbers of them all—was fleeing for his life from an enraged and beggared people; and that an edict, signed by the regent, had come out, depriving his paper-money of all value. If Englishmen had been cool enough to observe the course of events abroad, they might have seen, several months before, that Law's system was falling more rapidly than it had risen, and was crushing in its ruins the credit and resources of their continental neighbours. If the Parisians, who had once cut his carriage to pieces and almost murdered his coachman, had caught John Law, in all probability they would have made as many pieces of him as they had done of his coach. The Londoners were not quite so ferocious; but they heaped execrations upon the South Sea Company, and all that had been concerned in it; and "the very name of a South Sea man grew abominable in every country." The directors, the ministers, the royal family, the king himself, were all assailed; and nearly all of them had profited by the bubble while it lasted, or lost large sums when it burst. So general had been the gambling, that one who took the pains to count the exceptions among ministers and noblemen of the highest rank, could only name Lord Stanhope and the Dukes of Argyle and Roxburgh as not having been "in the stocks." It was said and believed that his majesty and his ill-favoured German mistresses, by buying at the lowest and selling out at the highest, had realized enormous sums, which were carried over to Hanover, to be hoarded or spent there. It was also said that these rapacious sultanas, and some of the king's ministers as well, had received large sums in stock from Sir John Blunt, the projector, and others, to recommend the project. The courage with which Walpole came forward, at the call of the king, to face the storm, and the ability and address with which he weathered it, are altogether indisputable; nor is it too much to say that he was the restorer of public credit, and the minister that saved the nation from the worst kind of bankruptcy. While others—Englishmen as well as Hanoverians—were completely bewildered, and doing their best or their worst to increase the alarm and confusion of the king, Walpole looked with a confident eye to the resources of the country, and to the energy of the commercial world; and he wrote consoling letters to Hanover to cheer George, and to advise his speedy return to England. Accompanied by Stanhope, his majesty landed at Margate on the 9th of November.

Between the 9th of November and the 8th of December, when parliament assembled, Walpole matured his scheme for meeting the difficulties

---

behind."—Lord Mahon, *History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht*, vol. ii. p. 17.

of the case, and held numerous conferences with the Bank of England and the East India Company, whom he brought into a plan for engrafting a certain portion of the South Sea stock upon their stocks. In the House of Commons, however, all the good which Walpole devised ran a risk of being frustrated by the vehement passions of those men who were more anxious for revenge, and for the downfall of Sunderland and Stanhope, than for the recovery of their country. It was long since so gigantic a mischief had been presented to the oratory of opposition; and the Whigs that were out of place, and the Tories and Jacobites that could hardly hope to get into place except by a revolution,[1] joined in one thick and noisy phalanx. On the 12th of December, or four days after the opening of parliament, it was moved that the South Sea directors should forthwith be called upon to lay before the house a full account of their proceedings. The motion was hotly seconded. Sir Richard Steele declared that this nation, which two years before had possessed more weight and greater credit than any other in Europe, was reduced to its present distress by a few ciphering cits, a species of men of equal capacity, in all respects (that of cheating a deluded people only excepted), with those animals who saved the capitol. Walpole again urged that they ought first to consider his remedial plan—that any delay would be dangerous; and the motion was reduced to a vote, declaring "that nothing can tend more to the establishment of public credit than preventing the infamous practice of stock-jobbing." And on the 21st Walpole brought forward his remedy, which was in substance to ingraft £9,000,000 of the South Sea stock into the Bank of England, and the same sum into the East India Company, on certain conditions, leaving a remainder of £20,000,000 to the South Sea Company.

A.D. 1721. After a long opposition, and several alterations, this project was adopted by both Houses of Parliament, and a bill embodying it received the royal assent; but from various circumstances it never came into operation. The cry for vengeance continued; and after the Christmas recess a bill was brought in by Jekyll, for restraining the South Sea directors from leaving the kingdom, and obliging them to deliver in upon oath the strict value of their estates. The directors petitioned to be heard by counsel in their defence, as the common right of British subjects; but their prayer was rejected, and Jekyll's bill was carried. A committee of secrecy, consisting chiefly of members that were most violent, was appointed to examine the company's accounts and other papers. Knight, the cashier of the company, and the man that knew most of its secret transactions, took the alarm, or was induced by the fears of others, to whom he had been an agent, to flee out of England, and to take with him the register called the Green Book. When his escape was reported to the house the excitement was as great as it could have been at the arrival of the pretender in the city of London: the doors were ordered to be locked and the keys to be laid upon the table; and General Ross, a member of the committee of secrecy, declared that they had discovered "a train of the deepest villainy and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation." Without waiting for any proof, four of the South Sea directors, who were members of parliament, were expelled the house, taken into custody, and had their papers seized. The other directors were seized with their papers shortly after. Nor was there less heat in the House of Lords than in the House of Commons. Their lordships had brought five of the directors before them, and had made them either confess or admit by implication that South Sea paper had been liberally distributed to procure the passing of the act which had enabled them to do such fatal mischief. Upon this Lord Stanhope expressed great indignation, and moved a resolution that the transfer of stock for the use of any person in the administration was a dangerous corruption. On the 4th of February Sir John Blunt refused to answer their lordships, upon the ground that he had already given his evidence before the commons' secret committee. A vehement debate ensued, in the course of which the Duke of Wharton, who had just come of age, and who to splendid abilities united the wildest profligacy, fell with fury upon Stanhope, whom he compared to Sejanus, that evil and too powerful minister who had sown division in the imperial family, and rendered the reign of Tiberius hateful to the Romans. Stanhope replied, and reminded the young libertine of the example of Brutus, who, to assert the liberty of Rome, had sacrificed his own degenerate and worthless son: but in his transport of rage the blood rushed to his head; he was led out of the house, and on the next day the brave and accomplished Earl of Stanhope was a corpse. The youthful president of the "Hell-fire Club," having killed the minister, hardly ever spoke again in the house, but gave himself up to debaucheries which disgraced and shortened his own life, and involved him in difficulties which led him to treason and attainder.

Lord Townshend became secretary of state in the room of Stanhope; and as Aislabie was crushed by popular opinion, Walpole was again made chancellor of the exchequer. Meanwhile the secret committee continued their labours, sitting nearly every day from nine in the morning till eleven at night; and on the 16th of February they presented their report to the house. It was astounding, and calculated to destroy all remaining confidence (the *all* was very small) in ministerial honesty. The committee stated that their inquiry had been attended with many difficulties, as the company's books were full of false and fictitious entries, blanks, erasures, and alterations, while some of their books had been destroyed altogether or secreted. They had, however, ascertained by the cross-examination of the directors and accountants, and by other means, that before the South Sea bill was passed, and in order to get it passed, the directors in the secret management had disposed of fictitious stock at various prices, amounting in the whole to rather more than £1,200,000, to be esteemed as holden of the company for the benefit of the pretended purchasers, who made no agreement, deposited no money, and gave no security for payment—a contrivance by which the holders of the stock could sustain no loss if it should fall, and would receive all the gain if it should rise. Sir John Blunt, Mr. Gibbon, Mr. Chester, Mr. Holditch, and Mr. Knight, the cashier, who had fled, had the disposal of this stock; and they had given to the Earl of Sunderland, at the request of Mr. Craggs, senior, £50,000, to the Duchess of Kendal £10,000, to the Countess of Platten, another of the king's mistresses, £10,000, to the Countess of Platten's two nieces £10,000, to Mr. Craggs, senior, £30,000, to Charles Stanhope, esquire, secretary of the treasury, £10,000, to the Swordblade Company £50,000, &c., &c. This report was succeeded by six others, in the last of which the committee declared that the absconding of Knight, who had the key to the darkest secrets, and who had often been solely intrusted, had left them in the dark as to many particulars. While this report was reading in the house one of the ministers accused, James Craggs, secretary of state, died of the small-pox, which was then raging. It is supposed that anxiety of mind contributed with the loathsome disease in killing this accomplished friend of Alexander Pope. As to his father, the postmaster-general, who was accused of similar peculation, he took poison and died of it a few weeks after. The first public man the house proceeded against was Charles Stanhope, a near relation of the late minister; but, chiefly through the esteem felt for his deceased relative, Lord Stanhope, he was declared innocent by a majority of three. Aislabie's case came on next, and it was so bad as to admit of scarcely any defence or palliation; he was unanimously expelled the house, and committed to the Tower, to the great joy of the city of London, where bonfires were lit in all directions. The greater part of Aislabie's property was also seized. The house next charged Lord Sunderland, who had repeatedly shown a noble disinterestedness in money matters. Sunderland was acquitted by the large majority of 233 against 172. It appears, indeed, that one of that minister's bitterest enemies accused Sunderland not of having been the confederate but the dupe and victim of the directors;[1] and instead of making money, he lost large sums by the South Sea scheme. Against the mistresses and court ladies the commons did not proceed; but they fell with the whole weight of their vengeance upon the directors, who, as "monsters of pride and covetousness"—"cannibals of 'Change Alley"—and traitors to their country, were deemed unentitled to fair play, and to the ordinary decencies of legal procedure. They were for ever disabled from holding places, sitting in parliament, or becoming members of any companies; their estates were confiscated for the relief of the beggary they had caused, and they were themselves allowed little better than a beggar's pittance out of their confiscated property. No distinction was made as to degrees of guilt or folly, and no attention paid to the fact that several of these directors left off poorer than when they had begun.[2]

---

[1] Some of the determined Jacobites flattered themselves that the South Sea calamities would bring on or greatly favour a revolution. Bishop Atterbury was of opinion that if the Duke of Ormond could only make a move, and land with a small army from Spain, the disorder of our finances would do wonders for the pretender.—*Stuart Papers.*

In spite of his acquittal, Sunderland found himself so unpopular that he resigned the treasury and premiership, and was succeeded by Walpole, who thus obtained the summit of his ambition. He shared his power for a time with Lord Townshend, who got the secretaryship of state vacated by the death of Lord Stanhope; but Sunderland continued to be a sort of favourite or prime adviser with the king, and to have considerable influence at court. Walpole's commission, as first lord of the treasury, was dated the 2d of April, 1721; and from this date down to the year 1742 he held the reins of government in England, often in circumstances of peculiar embarrassment and difficulty. His first care now was to dissipate the popular panic and restore credit and confidence; and this he effected as far as the difficulty of the circumstances, and the clamour with which his measures were encountered, would permit. After the fall of Alberoni and the evacuation of Sicily and Sardinia, all obstacles to a peace with Spain seemed to be removed, and a treaty between that country and Great Britain was signed at Madrid on the 13th of June, one of the conditions being that restitution should be made of all the effects taken on both sides. And on the very same day, to the surprise of all who were not acquainted with the motives of King George, a treaty of defensive alliance was signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain. In this treaty Great Britain engaged, by a secret article, not to oppose the views of Spain in Italy; and by another secret article France and Spain guaranteed to Hanover the possession of Bremen and Verden, a guarantee which had been obstinately refused by the emperor, who thereby had lost the friendship of George, and exposed both the dominions he held, and the others he coveted in Italy. Numerous differences were referred to the congress agreed to be held at Cambrai, which met, and disputed, and dissolved without settling anything. George in his eagerness to procure the guarantee of Spain for Bremen and Verden, had again made an offer, "touching the restoration of Gibraltar," promising in a letter to Philip "to regulate this article with the consent of parliament;" but when the secret proposal became known it excited so much indignation that he was obliged to withdraw it.[1] In the month of August a definitive treaty was concluded, under the mediation of France, between the Czar Peter and the Queen of Sweden, by which the fertile provinces of Livonia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Carelia were confirmed to Russia, and nothing but the barren deserts of Finland restored to Sweden.

---

[1] Letter from Mr. Broderick to Lord Middleton.

[2] "Several of the directors," says Macpherson, "were so far innocent as to be found poorer at the breaking up of the scheme than when it began."—*Hist. Commerce.*

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, afterwards Earl of Orford.
From a picture by A. Pond.

The first septennial parliament of Great Britain met for its last session on October the 19th, this year. The king, in his speech, set forth the happy event of peace being restored to Europe.

A.D. 1722. On the 7th of March the parliament was prorogued, and, as it had sat for nearly seven years, it was dissolved on the 10th by proclamation. The Earl of Sunderland, who had continued to support ministers and to intimate publicly the large share he still held in the confidence of his sovereign, died suddenly on the 19th of April. As he had many enemies, as he was suspected of dark designs, and as it was known he was feared as well as hated, a report arose that he had been poisoned; but the surgeons opened his body and discovered an organic disease in the heart which was quite sufficient to account for his death. In less than two months he was followed to the grave by his great father-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough, who, after suffering a paralytic attack in 1716, and living for six years in a state little removed from dotage, expired at Windsor Lodge, immensely rich, on the 16th of June, in the seventy-second year of his age.[2]

While Marlborough was lying on his deathbed the nation was agitated by fresh rumours of plots and conspiracies. A star had risen in the South that revived the hopes of the Jacobites: the Polish wife of the pretender had given birth to a son at Rome at the end of the year 1720. This child of exile, this heir to a crown that was no longer allowed to go by inheritance, was ushered into the world in the presence of seven cardinals, deputed by the pope; and at a most royal christening he received the name of Charles Edward Louis Casimir. The happy event was proclaimed by the Jacobites in all parts of the United Kingdom; and fresh comparisons were drawn between the Stuarts and the Guelphs—the family of love and the family of hate—the legitimate exiles and the illegitimate occupants of the throne. Attention was again directed to the oldness and ugliness of King George's mistresses; and their rapacity, and the unengaging qualities of the king, and everything that dissatisfied and disgusted the nation were put together as a dark background to the beauties and graces and amiabilities of King James and Queen Clementina, and the sweet innocent young prince. While these things were producing their effect upon unthinking masses, men of deep thought and cool deliberation were laying positive schemes for a revolution. At the head of these plotters were the Earls of Arran and Orrery, Lords Lansdowne, North, and Gower, and Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester; and these men of mark were in communication with Queen Anne's Tory prime minister, Lord Oxford, and numerous others who were too timid to take decisive steps at first, but ready to join might and main when the opportunity should seem free from danger. But of the bold—though there were veteran soldiers like Lord North—not one was so bold as Bishop Atterbury, who, in addition to hardihood and daring, had ability and genius of a rare order, and a truly classical mind. Atterbury's great object was to obtain a foreign force under the exiled Duke of Ormond; and he fondly fancied that if that nobleman could land with only 5000 men, the enthusiasm of the Jacobites and the dissatisfaction of the people would do the rest. As long as England was engaged in war the bishop and his brother counsellors hoped that Spain or some other country might fit out such an expedition, and, favoured by circumstances, effect an invasion; but, now that the kingdom was at peace with all the world, such an armament was scarcely to be expected. But instead of being deterred, these resolute men resolved to proceed with that less kind of assistance that might be procured clandestinely from abroad; and they trusted sufficiently in the insincerity of treaties to believe that not only Spain, but also France, would gladly contribute to light a fire in Britain by sending, or *permitting* to be sent over some of their disbanded troops, money, and arms. While the Duke of Ormond intrigued to this end at Madrid, General Dillon, an Irish Catholic, and an exile from his country ever since the victories of William III., laboured in the same vocation at Paris. Atterbury and his friends in England engaged on their side to get possession of the Tower, the bank, the exchequer, and other places where public money was deposited, and to proclaim King James III. simultaneously in different parts of the country. But in the month of May the English government was informed by the Regent of France, upon condition that no one should die for it, that there was a formidable design against the person and government of King George. This opened wide the eyes of Walpole, which probably had not been altogether closed before; and the minister ascertained that the pretender had actually left Rome, and that the Duke of Ormond was on his way from Madrid to the Biscayan coast. He instantly persuaded George to give up his continental journey, and to form a camp in Hyde Park, to which all military officers were ordered to repair. He also despatched General Macartney to bring over troops from Ireland, apprehended some suspected persons in Scotland, applied to the states of Holland to have ships and land troops in readiness, sent Colonel Churchill to Paris to deal with the regent, and obtained from the court of Madrid an order to prevent the embarking of Ormond. As Walpole had now the names of the chief conspirators and proofs of their guilt, warrants were issued for the apprehension of some of them. On the 21st of May, Kelly, a nonjuring clergyman, was seized at his lodgings in Bury Street, St. James's, by two messengers. The messengers took his sword and some papers; but while they were looking out for other papers Kelly recovered his sword, and, threatening to run them through if they approached him, he burned his most important paper at a candle, holding it with his left hand, while he pointed his sword with his right. As soon as the important manuscript was burned its spirited owner surrendered. Neynoe, an Irish Catholic priest, on his arrest, tied the blankets and sheets of his bed together, and descended from a window two stories high to a garden-wall that abutted on the Thames: he then leaped into the water, but not being able to swim was drowned. Layer, a young barrister of the Temple, escaped, but was presently recaptured. Thomas Carte, the learned and industrious Jacobite historian, who was deep in the plot, fled betimes and got safe into France; Plunket, an Irish Jesuit, who had been active in many plots, was seized with his papers. Lord North, upon learning the arrest of the young Templar, Layer, his friend or confidant, fled in disguise to the Isle of Wight; but before he could get away to the Continent he was discovered, and was soon made fast in London. Subsequently Lord Orrery, who was indisputably a principal conspirator, and the Duke of Norfolk, were sent to the Tower; but in both cases there was either a

---

[1] *Hardwicke State Papers;* Coxe, *Memoirs.*

[2] His sister, Arabella Churchill, whose dishonour promoted his first rise, survived Marlborough eight years. By James II. she was the mother of the celebrated James Fitzjames, Duke of Berwick; of Henry Fitzjames, who became Grand-prior of France; of Henrietta, who was married to Lord Waldegrave; and of another daughter whose name is not preserved, but who is said to have taken the veil. Some time after her connection with James, Arabella Churchill married Colonel Charles Godfrey, comptroller of the household, and master of the jewel-office, by whom she had two daughters. She died in May, 1730, at the age of eighty-two.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Bishop of Rochester.
After Sir G. Kneller.

want of evidence, or of a wish on the part of government to spare them; and they were liberated after a short confinement. There seems to have been an intention or a desire to overlook the plotting bishop altogether, but proofs accumulated upon proofs, and it was judged indispensable to commit him. The warrant, however, was not executed till the 24th of August, when Atterbury was arrested at his deanery at Bromley, in Kent, and sent a prisoner to the Tower.

On the 9th of October the second septennial parliament assembled, to all appearance calm and confident in the midst of that general alarm and excitement. The elections had been most favourable to Walpole and the Whigs, and the opposition was rather loud-toned than formidable. The royal speech disclosed the particulars of the late Jacobite plot. After voting a highly complimentary address, the commons at once proceeded to that always questionable measure, the suspension of the habeas corpus act. Walpole, in some unusual vision of poetical justice, conceived that the Papists were at the bottom of the late plot, and that those ought to pay for the mischief who had made it. He accordingly brought in a bill for raising £100,000 by a tax upon the real and personal estates of all Papists, or persons educated in the Romish religion, to go towards defraying the expenses occasioned by the late attempt. The good sense and feeling of many revolted at this indiscriminate punishment, which savoured of the dark ages; but the motion was carried, nevertheless, by a triumphant majority of 217 to 168. As, however, there was no concealing the fact that priests of the Church of England had been as busy in the plot as priests of the Church of Rome, it was deemed but fair to lengthen the lash, and by a subsequent motion the bill was extended to all nonjurors. To save their purses, or to escape further persecution, or to get into that House of Commons which, in spite of every effort, continued to contain a small knot of Jacobites, many hundreds of men were made to commit perjury by act of parliament. "I saw a great deal of it," says Speaker Onslow; "and it was a strange as well as ridiculous sight to see people crowding at the quarter-sessions to give a testimony of their allegiance to government, and cursing it at the same time for giving them the trouble of so doing, and for the fright they were put into by it."

A.D. 1723. The young Templar, Mr. Layer, was tried and convicted in the Court of King's Bench, of having enlisted men for the pretender's service, in order to stir up a rebellion. He was reprieved, and examined by a committee of the House of Commons; but as he would confess nothing, he suffered at Tyburn, and his head was fixed up at Temple Bar. Pulteney, who had been chairman of the committee that examined Layer and others, presented a report to the house on the 1st of March. It appeared that the names of Lords Scarsdale, Strafford, Craven, Bathurst, Gower, Bingley, and Cowper had been mentioned in the depositions. All these noblemen repelled the imputation in the House of Lords, though there is ground for believing that all were more or less implicated, with the single exception of Lord Cowper; and even he, as known to be discontented with the ministerial arrangements, had received solicitations from the Earl of Mar and the pretender.[1] With respect to others of the Jacobites, the report of the committee was far more clear. Bills of pains and penalties, subjecting them to imprisonment during pleasure, and to confiscation of property, were carried through both houses by large majorities against Plunket the Jesuit, and Kelly the Protestant nonjuring clergyman: and another bill, enacting banishment and deprivation, but without forfeiture of goods, was brought into the House of Commons against Bishop Atterbury.[2] The bill having passed through the commons without a division, was sent up to the lords; and the bishop was brought to the bar of the upper house on the 6th of May. When the evidence against him was gone through, the bishop produced his counter-evidence. Alexander Pope, his bosom friend—the Catholic poet, who loved the Protestant prelate, and has preserved the memory of his social qualities and domestic virtues in more than one undying verse—was among Atterbury's witnesses. But the poet was nervous and confused; he stammered and blundered; and all that he really had to say was, that he could never consider his friend as a conspirator—that their social, happy hours at Bromley had been spent in discussing matters very different from plots and revolutions. Most of the bishops were silent or adverse to their brother; but that profligate layman, the young Duke of Wharton, stood up in his defence; and Lord Cowper also maintained his innocence, and declared that parliament was not competent to pass sentence of deprivation upon a bishop. But, upon a division, the bill was carried through the lords by a majority of eighty-three to forty-three, and within a few days it received the royal assent. The bishop took an affecting leave of Pope and his other friends, who, somewhat strangely, compared him to Cato; and on the 18th of June he was embarked on board a king's ship and conveyed to Calais. Atterbury threw himself at once into the service of the pretender, and became his confidential agent, first at Brussels and afterwards at Paris; and all the while he represented to the quiet part of his friends and admirers at home that he was eating the bread of poverty and exile with a meek and enduring spirit, and finding consolation for the wrongs of princes and politicians in religion and divine philosophy. Upon his first landing in France he learned that Lord Bolingbroke, who, after long bargaining, and making a pointed exposure of the weakness of the pretender's character and the hopelessness of his cause,[1] had just received his pardon from King George, was on the point of returning to England, which the bishop had left for ever. The ex-prime-minister or chief secretary of the luckless Stuart had obtained his pardon through the sagacious Lord Stair, who had told his court that no man could do so much injury to the Jacobite cause, and through the rapacious Duchess of Kendal, who had been bribed to remove impediments. Walpole, who afterwards accused Bolingbroke of baseness and ingratitude, got the pardon passed under the great seal. This pardon, however, merely secured the person of Bolingbroke in England, and comprised no reversal of the attainder in relation to his estates and his seat in the House of Lords, which could not be granted by the king without a special act of parliament. Upon his arrival at London, in the month of June, he applied all his energy and ability to recover his seat; but the king had already departed for Germany, and was not expected to return for some time; and, what was worse, he had taken the Duchess of Kendal with him. As he had made money in France in Law's Mississippi scheme, and as he had recently married a rich French lady, Madame de Villette, a niece of Madame de Maintenon, the last and unctuous mistress of Louis XIV., Bolingbroke had cash and to spare; and, though money had been already paid to the Schulemberg, it appears that he brought over more for that grasping sultana. He renewed his connection with his friend Sir William Wyndham, who was still the leader of the Tories in the House of Commons; and, waiting upon Walpole, whom he envied and hated, he attempted to persuade that minister, that his allies, the Tories, might, upon conditions, be brought to coalesce with him. But Walpole sternly rejected any such union; he told Bolingbroke that, as his entire restoration to his property and his seat in the House of Lords must depend upon a Whig parliament, he would do well to shun any new engagement with the Tories; and that ministers would not hazard the king's affairs by proposing his restoration rashly. The Anglo-Frenchman then returned to France, where he was more at home than in his native country, and where he remained till September, 1724, mixing in fresh political intrigues, and amusing his leisure with writing philosophical letters to his friends, in which he denounced in good set phrases the crimes and follies of ambition. The profligate Abbé Dubois, who had risen to be a cardinal and prime minister of France, died in the month of August, and in the following month of December his more profligate pupil, the Duke of Orleans, the regent, expired at Versailles, a worn-out man, at the age of fifty. As the young Louis XV. was nominally of age, no other regent was appointed, but the Duke de Bourbon in reality assumed the reins of government, and was regent under the title of minister. Bourbon had neither the extreme vices nor the abilities of his predecessor Orleans: he was a weak man, governed by his mistress, Mademoiselle de Prie; and Bolingbroke flattered himself that in his own person, and in that of his accomplished and thoroughly court-trained French wife, he could rule both the mistress and the new prime minister, with whom he had been on the most intimate terms for many years.

---

[1] Lord Mahon, *Hist. Eng.*, who refers to letters he has seen in the unpublished Stuart Papers.

[2] The bill also declared that it should be felony to correspond with the exiled bishop without the king's license; and that the king should never pardon him without consent of parliament.

A.D. 1724. The houses met on the 7th of January. "I cannot," said George, in a well-written speech, the production of Walpole, "open this session without congratulating you upon the success of your endeavours last year for the safety, interest, and honour of the kingdom. The rise of the public credit, the flourishing condition of our trade and manufactures, and the general tranquillity of my people are the happy consequences of your prudent resolutions." The commons, following the king's recommendation, made provision for the liquidation of a part of the public debts out of the surplus arising from the sinking-fund. They granted all the supplies that were demanded; voted 10,000 men for the navy, and agreed to maintain 4000 additional land troops, which had been raised in the preceding year on the alarm of invasion and insurrection. The standing army thus allowed amounted altogether to 18,200 men.

The misdoings of Parker, Earl of Macclesfield and lord-chancellor, had gone to such an extent that it was imperative to check and punish him. Warned by the public voice, he resigned the great seal, hoping thereby to save his iniquitous gains and escape punishment; but Sir George Oxenden carried his impeachment in the commons, and he was brought to the bar of the lords, charged with having made unusual and exorbitant profits by the sale of masterships in Chancery, &c., with having abused his trust in using the money of suitors, and of widows and orphans, to whom he was the legal guardian, and with other enormous abuses. He was unanimously found guilty by his peers, and sentenced to pay a fine of £30,000, and to be imprisoned in the Tower till he paid it. Sir Peter King, one of the justices of the Common Pleas, now created Baron King, succeeded Macclesfield in the chancellorship.

---

[1] In a letter to his friend Sir William Wyndham, which Bolingbroke sent *unsealed* to the postmaster-general of King George!—Coxe, *Memoirs of Walpole.*

Lady Bolingbroke was now in England, with a well-filled purse, to work out her husband's full restoration. She got introduced at court, where the king did not like her; but the Duchess of Kendal took her money, and through that means Walpole was constantly assailed for a bill to restore Bolingbroke both to his property and to his seat. Walpole, who would as soon have had Satan himself in the British parliament, resolutely maintained that Bolingbroke ought never to be restored to his seat in the lords; but he willingly enough consented to a bill for putting him in possession of his forfeited estates. This bill was brought in by Lord Finch, and seconded by Walpole himself; but it was opposed by the hottest of the Whigs, and by the few decided Jacobites in the house, who could never forgive what they considered Bolingbroke's treachery to the pretender. The bill, however, was carried through the commons by a majority of 231 to 113; and the lords acceded, notwithstanding a strong protest signed by five peers. Presently after this Bolingbroke came back again and fixed his residence in England, much less thankful at what parliament or ministers had given him than furious at what they withheld.

A.D. 1725. In the beginning of the preceding year the hypochondriac Philip of Spain had retired with his queen to the country palace of Ildefonso, and there carried into effect a design which he professed to have long meditated. In a message to the council of Castile he announced his intention of abdicating in favour of his son Don Louis; in order, as he said, to lead, at St. Ildefonso, a private life with the queen, that, freed from all other cares, he might serve God, meditate on a future life, and devote himself to the important work of salvation. The council, which had been properly warned and prepared, raised no objection to this partial imitation of the conduct of the great Charles V., and the act of abdication was formally passed. On the 15th of January Don Louis announced his acceptance of the crown, expressing his veneration and astonishment at the piety and self-denial of his father. The juggle was imposing, but still it appears to have been little more than a state trick. The young French king, Louis XV., was again in a precarious state; and Philip, who had never been happy in Spain, who had conscientious scruples about his right to the Spanish throne, and an inward conviction that his renunciation of the French crown was illegal and invalid, entertained a hope of succeeding to the inheritance of Louis XIV. By transferring Spain beforehand to one of his sons, he fancied that the opposition of the great powers would be removed; and he was ready to give fresh pledges that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on one head. On the other side, his abdication was in reality very incomplete, for he had established an administration which depended entirely upon himself, and which would receive its orders from him, though his son was nominally king; he had made deposits of large sums of money at Segovia; and had altogether so arranged matters that he could exercise the authority of a King in Spain as well at St. Ildefonso as if he were at Madrid, and seat himself upon the throne again whenever he chose. The boy Louis, eldest son of Philip by his first wife Maria Louisa of Savoy, was only in the seventeenth year of his age, without talent or the promise of it—a complete piece of royal inanity: he was frivolous and indolent rather than vicious; but his wife, third daughter of the regent, Duke of Orleans, was inclined to be dissolute, capricious, and arrogant, and she hated and despised her husband, who, it is said, out of aversion to her person, never consummated his marriage. The business of government, divided between two courts—St. Ildefonso and Madrid—was managed as if state business had become a game of riddles and cross-questions. The old Marshal Tessé, the French ambassador, was obliged to declare that this farce of king and no king could not last much longer. It was ended in seven months by the death of Don Louis, who fell a victim to the small-pox; and thereupon Philip re-ascended the throne of Spain, almost despairing of that of France, as the occupant of it had not only recovered, but had been declared likely to live and beget children. The death of Don Louis alone saved his young queen from the humiliation of a divorce; the recovery of Louis XV. led to the rupture of the marriage contract between his most Christian majesty and an Infanta of Spain, who, on the conclusion of peace and Philip's accession to the quadruple alliance, had been affianced and sent to Paris, though only four years of age, at the same time that Don Louis's young wife had been sent from Paris to Madrid. The Infanta Mary Ann was even now little more than six years old, and the French court was anxious for immediate issue, while Louis XV. had conceived a strong dislike to the person of his Spanish cousin. The Duke of Bourbon and his mistress Madame de Prie resolved at all hazards to gratify the young king, to send the infanta back to Madrid, and to procure another bride of more acceptable person and maturer years.

At last Mary Leczinska, daughter of Stanislaus, the dethroned and exiled King of Poland, was fixed upon as a proper wife for Louis XV.; and having made this choice, they sent the affianced infanta back to Spain in the month of March of the present year (1725). This insult threw the court and the whole kingdom of Spain into a frenzy. Philip himself, in spite of his thin blood, declared that all the blood of Spain could not wipe out the insult, and that he would never be reconciled to France till the Duke of Bourbon came to Madrid to implore pardon on his knees. When the match-making and interchange of princesses had been at its height, Mademoiselle Beaujolais, another daughter of the late Regent Orleans, had been betrothed to Don Carlos and sent into Spain; but now that young lady was hurried across the Pyrenees, along with the widow of the late Don or King Louis. If the welfare or tranquillity of millions of people had not been mixed up with these contemptible family squabbles and spites, we might laugh at them as at the intrigues of a comical romance! But the treaties of Europe, the complicated relations of numerous and great states, were influenced by these dissensions. The court of Madrid had agreed to leave France the power of arbitrating at Cambrai; but now Philip and his queen sent for the English ambassador, Mr. Stanhope, and declared their intention of throwing themselves entirely into the arms of England.[1] King George, however, declined this extreme overture, which might have involved him in a war with France; and he not only refused to break with the French government, but also urged that Spain stood greatly in need of French countenance and assistance in order to be safe from the pretensions and attacks of the emperor. Upon this the court of Madrid, blinded by their fury, dissolved the congress of Cambrai by recalling their plenipotentiaries, professed their readiness to abandon all the points they had been contesting with the court of Vienna, and "proposed to the emperor a close alliance *against France and England.*" The emperor, who had never been satisfied with the conditions of the late peace—who was jealous of France—who detested George and his continental schemes—and who had involved himself in a quarrel both with England and Holland by establishing an East India Company at Ostend, gladly closed with his old rival Philip; and by the 30th of April, 1725, a treaty between Spain and his imperial majesty was concluded at Vienna. It was agreed between these two princes, whose rivalry had deluged Europe with blood for so many years, that the ties of alliance and friendship should be of the closest kind—that the King of Spain should sanction the Ostend Company, and allow it all the privileges of the most favoured nations; that he should acknowledge the emperor's right to Naples, Sicily, the Milanese, and the Netherlands, and abandon all pretensions to every part of the territories dismembered from Spain at the peace of Utrecht; and, finally, that he should guarantee THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION, which provided that the succession of all the hereditary states of the house of Austria should, in default of males, be secured and rest in the female line—an important point with the Emperor Charles, who had no sons to succeed him. The two sovereigns further bound themselves to support each other against any hostile attack from any other power or powers. The Emperor Charles, as a matter of course, repeated his renunciation of the Spanish throne: but it was soon discovered that he had also pledged himself in a private agreement to secure Philip more solid advantages—to demand Gibraltar for Spain; and should George refuse the precious rock, to combine with his Catholic majesty in recovering it and the island of Minorca by force, and in placing the pretender on the throne of Great Britain. As soon as the treaty was signed at Vienna, the strange allies looked round to see what princes might be induced to join in their confederacy against France and England; and their eyes soon rested with confident hope upon Russia. The Czar Peter the Great had died suddenly in the preceding month of January; and had been quietly succeeded by his widow Catherine, who carried out his plans and continued his animosity to George, and to his ally the King of Denmark. Money—for Spain, though languishing, had still some gold to spare—was sent from Madrid to St. Petersburg; and Catherine began to equip a fleet and recruit her army. Philip now assumed very high and haughty language, insulted the British ambassador, and presently demanded the restitution of Gibraltar. But in the meantime England and France had not been idle, and a treaty in opposition to that of Vienna was signed at Hanover on the 3d of September, between Great Britain, France, and Prussia; and to this treaty Denmark and Holland acceded shortly after.

A.D. 1726. Parliament met on the 20th of January; and then Pulteney and the dissatisfied Whigs, and Shippen and the still plotting Jacobites, assailed the treaty of Hanover as unnecessary, unjust, unnational—as tending to destroy the balance of power in Europe, undo the trade of England, and engage her in a dependence upon France. But Walpole was ready with his overwhelming majority, and an address in approval of the treaty was carried by 285 against 107. The parliament was prorogued on the 24th of May, when a strong English fleet, under Sir Charles Wager, was riding in the Baltic. Wager, being joined by a Danish squadron, ran up the Gulf of Finland, and on the 29th of May appeared before the Russian port of Revel, with positive orders not to suffer the Russian fleet to put to sea till the empress had removed all ground of suspicion, and declared her pacific intentions. Catherine was compelled to temporize: she denied any intention of war, or of giving any encouragement or assistance to the pretender; but at the same time she prepared for war, and formally acceded to the treaty of Vienna. Sir Charles Wager continued to blockade Revel and other ports till the month of October, when the ice and storms of the North warned him to retire. During the course of the summer English diplomacy and English gold detached Sweden from the alliance which she had so recently formed with Russia; but, on another side, the capricious and violent King of Prussia broke suddenly off from the treaty of Hanover and acceded to the treaty of Vienna. Two other English fleets sailed in the spring—one for the West Indies, under Rear-admiral Hosier, who had orders to take or block up the Spanish galleons; and the other, under Sir John Jennings, for the coast of Spain, where it was apprehended that a new armament was preparing to carry the pretender into England or Scotland. Jennings, who had some land troops on board, scoured the Spanish coasts, where no armament was ready, and, after causing great alarm and doing some mischief, returned safely home; but Hosier and a considerable part of his fleet perished miserably of yellow fever and other diseases off Porto-Bello and the Spanish main. A more fatal expedition than this last had rarely left the English shore. As was but too usual in these inordinately corrupt and jobbing times, the ships had been badly provisioned and appointed, that profits might be put into the pockets of government men and contractors; and some of the ships, scarcely seaworthy when they left England, became rotten in the West Indies.

---

[1] Despatches and letters cited by Archdeacon Coxe, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain*, &c. Philip's fiery Italian queen exclaimed before the English minister—"This one-eyed scoundrel has sent back my daughter because the king would not create the husband of his harlot a grandee of Spain." The Duke of Bourbon had the misfortune to be blind of an eye.

A.D. 1727. The parliament assembled on the 17th of January, when an essentially warlike speech was delivered from the throne. George informed the two houses that a most formidable alliance against English interests had been concluded between Spain and the emperor, and that the King of Spain had ordered his ambassador to quit England, leaving a memorial containing a formal demand for the restitution of Gibraltar. Pulteney and the *patriots*, Sir William Wyndham and the Jacobites, who were furnished with arguments, wit, and sarcasm by the ever-busy Bolingbroke, got up a loud and long debate against a war. The original address of the commons, expressing their determination to stand by and support his majesty with their lives and fortunes against all his enemies, to raise the supplies necessary for the present exigency, and to enable his majesty to make good his engagements with his allies, in order to preserve the balance of power in Europe and the undoubted rights of the crown of Great Britain, was, however, carried by a majority of 251 against 81. Twenty thousand seamen and 26,000 soldiers were voted.

Spain commenced hostilities by laying another fruitless siege to Gibraltar, expecting to be joined by an Austrian army; but the emperor was in no condition to fulfil the engagements he had contracted in the treaty of Vienna: he saw that the confederacy he was forming in Germany was not likely to come to anything without money; that England had taken into her pay 12,000 Hessians; that Sweden had been detached from Russia; that troops had been subsidized by England both in Sweden and Denmark; that the French were collecting an army on the Rhine; and that the czarina, though she had concluded a strict alliance with him, was wavering and uncertain. The death of Peter's widow, which happened in the month of May, completed the emperor's despondency; and, after vapouring like a bully, he seized on the first overtures of peace like a coward, and sacrificing his rash ally Spain, he accepted the mediation of France; and on the 31st of May his ambassador at Paris signed the preliminaries of peace with England, France, and Holland. In twelve preliminary articles it was agreed that hostilities should immediately cease; that the emperor should suspend for seven years the charter of the Ostend East India Company, and confirm all the treaties previous to the year 1725; that a general congress should be opened within four months at Aix-la-Chapelle, for settling all differences whatsoever, consolidating the peace of Europe, &c. Nothing was left for Philip to do but to accede as quickly as possible to this treaty; his minister at Vienna signed the preliminaries a week or two after; and then the Spaniards raised the siege of Gibraltar, and the English recalled their shipping from the blockade of Porto-Bello, which allowed the Plateships to return to Spain. Philip, however, did not ratify the preliminaries or relinquish any of his pretensions; and England and Spain continued in a dubious state between peace and war.

Even at this very moment, when Walpole and his friends had brought the country out of an incipient war without any loss of honour or dignity, George's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, bought over by Bolingbroke and his party, was endeavouring to ruin the minister in the king's opinion, and to reinstate Bolingbroke, not merely in the House of Peers, but also in the cabinet. Walpole, who had his eyes everywhere, discovered the intrigue, and counterworked it for the time; but he was fain to confess that, as his rival had the duchess entirely on his side, he knew not what must or might in time have been the consequences. But Bolingbroke, who had already seen all his ardent hopes dashed by one sudden royal death, was destined to another disappointment of the same kind by the same cause. George set out for Hanover on the 3d of June, attended by the Duchess of Kendal and Lord Townshend. He was apparently in his usual health; but on the forenoon of the 10th, as he was travelling along the road, he was seized with apoplexy in his coach, and on reaching Ippenburen he was quite lethargic. His mistress and his minister Townshend had been both left behind at different places on the road; but his attendants proposed that his majesty should stop at Ippenburen, and obtain medical assistance. The king, however, recovered speech enough to say, "Osnabrück! Osnabrück!" several times, and the attendants, trained to implicit obedience, got the carriage in motion for that place; but before they reached Osnabrück George was dead. His unfortunate wife, who never saw England, and who never bore the title of queen, had died just seven months before him. George, who expired on Sunday, the 11th of June (o. s.), was in the sixty-eighth year of his age. In spite of many vices and infirmities of character, he had, on the whole, submitted admirably well to the restrictions of constitutional monarchy, and had on many occasions displayed very considerable ability as a ruler and a politician. In private life he seems also to have had some attractive qualities.

CHAPTER XV.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1727—1737.

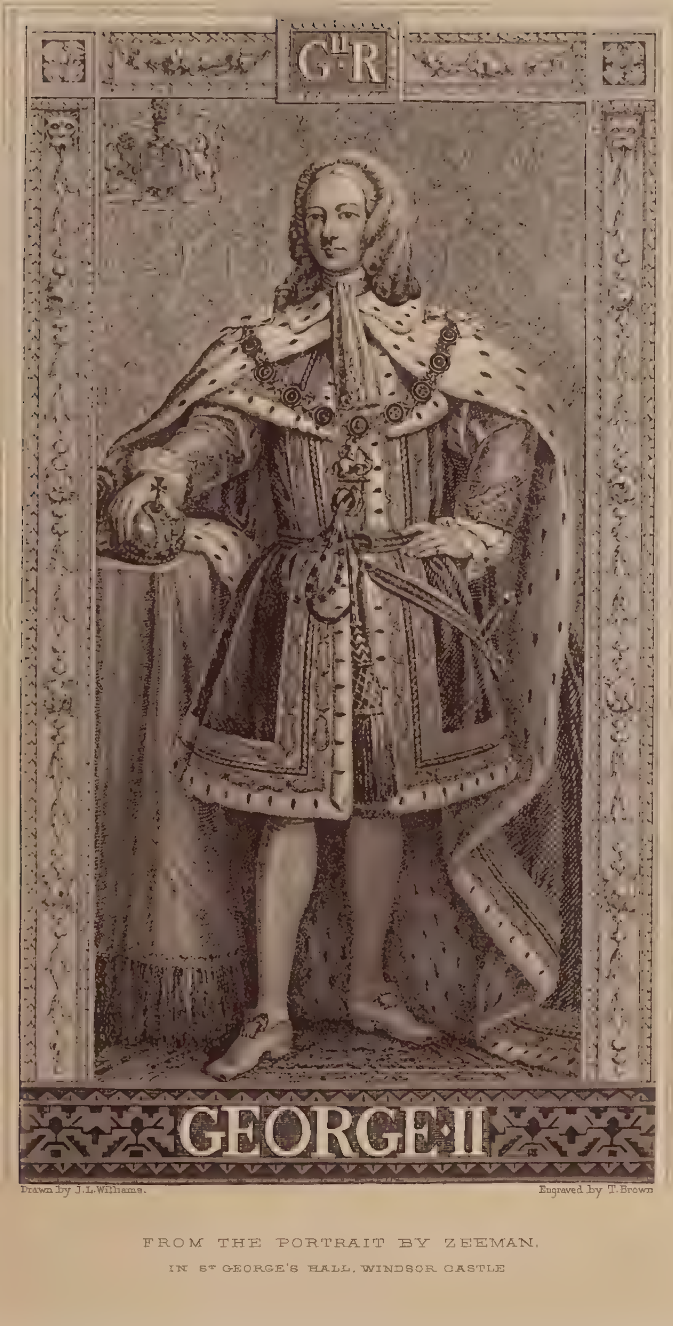
GEORGE II.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1727—DEATH, A.D. 1760.

Succession of George II.—Sir Spencer Compton chosen by the new king as premier—Character and habits of George II.—Account of Queen Caroline—Her varied accomplishments and occupations—Lady Suffolk, the royal mistress—Compton superseded as premier by Walpole—The pretender's hopes from the death of George I. disappointed—Character of the pretender's court—Proceedings of his chief adherents—Parliament opened —Warlike proposals and preparations—Arrival of Frederick, Prince of Wales, in England—Complaints against Spain—The treaty of Seville concluded—The "Pension Bill" proposed in parliament—It is thrown out by the lords—Walpole's ascendency in the government—Complaints against the connection of Britain with Hanover —Prosperous state of England—Parliamentary remonstrances—Financial measures—Walpole's excise scheme —Opposition to it in parliament—Walpole compelled to drop the bill—Popular rejoicings at its defeat—Dismission from office of its chief opponents—Competition for the crown of Poland—Russia interposes an armed interference—Augustus III. made King of Poland by the Russian armies—The Polish election originates a war of France and Spain against the emperor—Proposals in the British parliament to take part in the war—Conflict in parliament between the two leaders of the Whigs and the Tories—Walpole's cutting speech—New election of parliament—Influence of popular cries in the elections—Military proceedings of the contending powers on the Continent—Progress of the Spanish infant, Don Carlos—He wins the kingdom of the Two Sicilies—Reverses of the Imperialists—George II. proposes to aid them—Intrigues of the emperor to involve Britain and Holland in the war—The war suspended, and followed by diplomacy—Satisfactory treaty between the contending powers—Rupture between Spain and Portugal—A British fleet sent into the Tagus—Peace restored—Great consumption of gin in England—The "Gin Act"—Its insufficiency to arrest the progress of intemperance—Bill for the relief of the Quakers—It is thrown out—The Porteous riot in Edinburgh—Vindictive proceedings of parliament on the occasion—Scottish clergy ordered to read a proclamation against the rioters from the pulpit—Dissatisfaction in Scotland at the order—Financial proposals in parliament.

LORD TOWNSHEND, who had accompanied George I. to the Continent, but who had been left behind on the road, did not reach Osnabrück till his master was dead. He instantly despatched a courier for England, whither he soon followed himself. Townshend's messenger and despatch arrived at his brother-in-law's, Sir Robert Walpole's, house in Chelsea on the 14th of June. Walpole instantly repaired to the palace at Richmond to salute the new sovereign. He knelt at his feet, kissed his hand as his king, and inquired whom his majesty would be pleased to appoint to draw up the usual speech or declaration to the council? "Sir Spencer Compton," replied the new monarch abruptly. The answer seemed decisive, and implied Sir Robert's dismission. That minister

GEORGE II., KING OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

George II., King of Great Britain and Ireland, was born at Hanover on 30th October, 1683, and when his father ascended the English throne in 1714 he became Prince of Wales. He was trained as a soldier, and distinguished himself for bravery at the battles of Oudenarde and Dettingen. On the death, in 1727, of his father George I., he succeeded to the throne, with Caroline of Anspach, a woman of strong character and considerable intellectual ability, as his queen. He had a sincere affection for his wife, and usually took her advice upon state affairs, but this regard did not prevent him from having a succession of mistresses. As a king he displayed very moderate talents; he took no interest in either science or literature; was obstinate in temper and vicious in habit; and his bravery was overshadowed by his inordinate vanity. He died suddenly on 25th October, 1760.



Drawn by J.L.Williams. Engraved by T.Brown

FROM THE PORTRAIT BY ZEEMAN,

IN S^T GEORGE'S HALL, WINDSOR CASTLE

left the apartment and Richmond with the conviction that his reign was over; and immediately waited upon Compton with the king's commands. "Sir Spencer Compton," says Walpole's son, "was speaker of the House of Commons, and treasurer, I think, at that time, to his royal highness, who by that first command implied his intention of making Sir Spencer his prime minister. He was a worthy man, of exceedingly grave formality, but of no parts, as his conduct immediately proved. The poor gentleman was so little qualified to accommodate himself to the grandeur of the moment, and to conceive how a new sovereign should address himself to his ministers, and he had also been so far from meditating to supplant the premier, that in his distress it was to Sir Robert Walpole himself he had recourse, and whom he besought to make the new draft of the king's speech for him."[1] The speech which Walpole wrote was delivered that same evening to the privy council; and on the following day at noon—the 15th of June—George II. was peaceably, if not joyously proclaimed king of these realms. He was then in his forty-fourth year. In person and in manners George was still less dignified than his predecessor; he was also more fiery and passionate, and was generally supposed to have less talent for business. George I. had been rather dishonoured by the avarice of his mistresses than by his own greed for money; but George II. was meanly avaricious—a most unfortunate and odious quality in a prince. This master-passion seemed typified in his person and features—the first being diminutive, the second pinched and hard. He was, however, a man of undisputed courage in the field, as his father had been before him; and he had these particular advantages over his sire—he could speak English fluently, though with a foreign accent; he knew the English people much better, from his having associated familiarly with them; he was sociable, communicative, and accessible on all occasions; and he had naturally a strong sense of justice and of honour. He was also much more temperate than his father, who would occasionally indulge in strong potations, and disclose his state secrets over the punch-bowl. In his habits and occupations he was as regular as a piece of clock-work; and he was so much a slave to routine, that he seemed "to think his having done a thing to-day an unanswerable reason for his doing it to-morrow."[2] He sometimes read history, and he had a retentive and scrupulous memory as to dates; but as for elegant literature, he had no sense of its beauties, and he affected to despise what he did not understand.[3] He hardly paid more respect to the seventh commandment than had been paid by his father, or than was paid by the other European potentates, his contemporaries; but he chose his mistresses with far more taste, and instead of being a tyrannical, he was a most kind and even a submissive husband. It was, in fact, his good fortune, and the good fortune of the nation, that he allowed his wife, who was altogether a superior being, to rule him, and the state for him; and that his principal mistress was one of the quietest and most amiable of women. Caroline Wilhelmina was daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Anspach, and born in 1683, the same year as her husband George. Through the death of her father and the re-marrying of her mother, she was left under the guardianship of Frederick I., King of Prussia, and she was brought up chiefly at Berlin, under the superintendence of her aunt, Sophia Charlotte, Frederick's second wife, and a sister of George I. From the example and instruction of this aunt, who was an accomplished woman—a solitary model of refinement in the midst of a gross, clownish, and corrupt court—Caroline derived an ardent love of literature and philosophy, with a fondness for metaphysical pursuits which obtained for her the eulogiums of Clarke and Leibnitz. After rejecting the matrimonial overtures of the Archduke Charles, subsequently emperor, she espoused in 1705 George II., then only electoral Prince of Hanover. She was esteemed handsome before she had the small-pox and became corpulent. Her hand and arm were greatly admired for their whiteness and elegance; she had a penetrating eye, an expressive countenance, a fine voice, and much sweetness and grace, particularly when she spoke. In some respects, however, Caroline would have been a promising subject for a satirist; for she affected to combine the characters of a philosopher and princess royal (and proudly royal), a beauty and a wit, a metaphysician and a divine —though in divinity her notions were scarcely considered strictly orthodox. "Her levees," says Archdeacon Coxe, "were a strange picture of the motley character and manners of a queen and a learned woman. She received company while she was at her toilet; prayers, and sometimes a sermon, were read; learned men and divines were intermixed with courtiers and ladies of the household; the conversation turned on metaphysical subjects, blended with repartees, sallies of mirth, and the tittle-tattle of a drawing-room." She took great delight in making theologians dispute knotty points in her presence; in perplexing them with questions concerning the opposite doctrines of the different Christian churches, and in carrying on a correspondence with them by means of her bedchamber-woman, Mrs. Clayton, afterwards Lady Sandon. In short, her head was never free of divines and philosophers, poets, and authors of all descriptions; and it may be that all this did not tend to create in her husband a love of books and letters and literary men. George, who loved his army extravagantly, and who was nick-named by the Jacobites "the captain," or "the little captain," would rather discourse with a cornet of horse, or with a good corporal of grenadiers, than with all the Leibnitzes, Clarkes, Gays, and Popes in the world. But, mixed with these *femme-savante* absurdities, there was a good fund of homely sense, discretion, and dignity; and Caroline's moral character was without a blemish. During ten years she was more king than her husband, who seldom went wrong except when led contrary to her advice or suggestion. Yet she was never arrogant, or seemed self-willed, to her husband, who, to all outward appearance, was the absolute lord and master of the woman who ruled him. She had even the very rare philosophy of living on a friendly footing with his favourite mistress, who was one of her own bedchamber-women. This lady was Henrietta, daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, afterwards by her interest made a baron, and then created Earl of Buckinghamshire. She was married to Mr. Howard, who subsequently succeeded to the earldom of Suffolk, and who left a son he had by her, who was the last earl of that branch. At the time of their wedding, towards the close of Queen Anne's reign, the young couple, being miserably poor, saw no step more promising than to go over to Hanover, and endeavour to ingratiate themselves with the future sovereigns of England. The literary men of the day did not offer up all their incense to the *savante* princess and queen; and though Caroline may have had the best of the philosophers and divines with her, the best of the poets were certainly rather with Mrs. Howard or Lady Suffolk, who had a pleasing appearance without being a beauty, graceful manners, great taste and simplicity in dress, and was truthful and constant to those she befriended. In part, perhaps, through the volatility of the race, and in part because they fancied that Caroline was not so liberal as she ought to be, and that the mistress must eventually have more power over the heart of the king than the wife, and a greater faculty for disposing of place and pensions, Gay "put his whole trust in that lady;" Swift praised her as the person of her sex for whom he had the most esteem; and Pope, who always declared that he wanted nothing for himself, but only for his friends, and who quarrelled with the princess, frequented the society of the mistress, and complimented her with some elegant verse. Chesterfield, Bolingbroke, and Arbuthnot paid their court in the same quarter: but we regret to add, that all these poets and wits turned against the inoffensive lady, and abused her roundly, when they found she could be of no use to them or to their party—that she never meddled with state affairs or with that treasury urn in which lay the prizes of places and appointments. The mistress, in fact, constantly watched and thwarted by the queen, and disregarded by the ministers, who knew who it was that really held the reins, had scarcely the shadow of pride; and to all politics she was constantly and wisely averse. Caroline, who from their earliest connection had determined to govern, and deserved to do so, retained an undivided sway; and as she was convinced from the first that no minister could stand

---

[1] *Reminiscences.*

[2] Letter of Lord Harvey to Walpole.

[3] Lord Mahon (now Earl Stanhope) thus describes George II.: "His parts, I think, were not so good as his father's, but on the other hand he had much less reserve and shyness, and he possessed another inestimable advantage over him—he could speak English fluently, though not without a foreign accent. His diminutive person, pinched features, and frequent starts of passion, were not favourable to the royal dignity, and his mind still less. He had scarcely one kingly quality, except personal courage and justice. The former he had highly signalized at the battle of Oudenarde as a volunteer, and was destined to display again as sovereign at Dettingen; and even in peace he was so fond of the army, and of military details, that his nickname among the Jacobites was 'the Captain.' A love of justice was apparent in all the natural movements of his mind. But avarice, that most unprincely of all passions, sat enshrined in the inmost recesses of his bosom. Its twitches were shown on all occasions. His purse was often in his hands, not to give from it, but to feel and count over. An extreme minuteness and precision in keeping his private accounts saved him a little money, and lost him a great deal of time. Of acquired knowledge he had little, professing great contempt for literature; but he sometimes read history, and had an excellent memory for dates. His habits were very temperate, and so regular, that he scarce ever deviated from his beaten daily track: in the words of one of his courtiers, 'he seems to think his having done a thing to-day an unanswerable reason for his doing it to-morrow.' Business he understood well, and transacted with pleasure."

GEORGE II.—From a picture by T. Worlidge.

with Walpole in opposition, there could never have been much doubt as to the continuance of the ministry which George I. had left. Sir Robert also at this crisis fixed her favour by offering to obtain from parliament a jointure for her majesty of £100,000 a-year, while Sir Spencer Compton—who, we suspect, was all along playing into Walpole's hands—would only undertake to propose £60,000. Her majesty represented to her husband, at a fitting moment, that Compton was not even able to draw up a declaration; that it would be highly prejudicial to his affairs to prefer to the minister in actual possession a man in whose own judgment his predecessor was the fittest person to execute his office; she dwelt upon the danger of a motley cabinet; and she hinted that Walpole had agreed to carry through the House of Commons an augmentation to the civil list of £130,000. This settled the business; there was no more question of Sir Spencer Compton as prime minister; he got a peerage, the order of the Garter, and the presidency of the council; and the king re-appointed the old ministry.

Caroline, Queen of George II.—After Sir G. Kneller.

The Jacobites, whom no series of failures could wholly discourage, had been sanguine in their hopes that the death of the first George would lead to a revolution, and eventually to a restoration; but at the critical moment they saw all these hopes vanish into thin air; and the Earl of Strafford was obliged to confess to the pretender that the torrent was too strong for his friends to resist.[1] At the news of George I.'s death the pretender set out from Bologna, where he had been residing, and travelled rapidly across the Alps to Lorraine, whence he despatched a messenger to Bishop Atterbury, who was now residing at Paris, as a regular agent or minister of the Stuarts, and who, indisputably, was holding a correspondence with a desperate faction in England. The bishop, however, had small consolation or encouragement to offer to his master. Nor were the advices received from other Jacobite agents much more encouraging. Lord Orrery, in London, confessed that the number of discontented among the people was small; and he deplored the servility, ignorance, and poor spirit of the English nobility and gentry, who, he said, were striving who should sell themselves at the best price to the new court, but were resolved to sell themselves at any price. Lockhart, who had been obliged to flee from Scotland, where some of his plotting had been discovered, declared that the project of himself and his friends returning to their country without a foreign army to back them was a hopeless one, that could only bring down ruin upon the cause and all that adhered to it. At the same moment the little beggared and vagabond court of the pretender was distracted with all kinds of intrigues, jealousies, and animosities; and the pretender himself had behaved so unfaithfully and so savagely to his wife Clementina, that that high-spirited woman had run away from him and shut herself up in a convent at Rome. Atterbury had been, and continued to be deeply involved in all the contemptible intrigues of the little Jacobite court, aiming at nothing less than at that supreme voice in their councils which had once belonged to his friend and ally Bolingbroke. This Protestant prelate caballed with priests, monks, and mistresses; took part with the husband against the injured wife; overthrew the influence of the Earl of Mar and General Dillon; and then, becoming jealous of Hay and Murray, the pretender's new ministers, he took part with the wife against the husband, and reviled James as a selfish, dangerous, and incurable blockhead. He continued, however, to plot and cabal to the last, and died at Paris early in 1731, in the seventieth year of his age. Every man that joined the pretender became convinced of his woful incapacity, and that he ran a rapid race to misery and ruin. The volatile, debauched, but witty Duke of Wharton went abroad in the year 1726, attached himself to the pretender's party, and embraced, or pretended to embrace the Roman Catholic religion; and Lord North did the same. The latter nobleman soon left the jangling court in disgust, and entered the Spanish service, in which he died seven or eight years after. Wharton was sent to Madrid, in the time of Ripperda's mad schemes, to assist the Duke of Ormond in pressing for an invasion of England, and to justify or excuse the conduct of the pretender to his wife. At Madrid he behaved like a drunkard and madman. As for the inferior agents of the expelled family, they were, with a few exceptions, a base and knavish crew—the Jonathan Wilds of politics. Many of them took money on both sides the water, and communicated the letters with which they were intrusted to the cabinet of St. James's.

---

[1] Letters from Strafford to the pretender, dated June 21, 1727, published by Lord Mahon, from *Stuart Papers*, in Appendix to *History of England from Peace of Utrecht.*

A.D. 1728. The new parliament assembled on the 23d of January, and was soon found to be as loyal and as compliant as the last. The king's speech was, at the first glance, rather alarming; he assured the houses that it was absolutely necessary to continue those warlike preparations which had hitherto secured the nation, as the execution of the preliminaries signed at Paris in his father's time had been retarded by unexpected difficulties, raised chiefly by the obstinate opposition of Spain. Shippen again raised his bold voice in opposition, reflecting severely upon ministers, and abusing the fleet for not having rifled the galleons at Carthagena and plundered Porto-Bello, "whereby we might have had those riches in our hands to dispute with the Spaniards." Sir William Wyndham seconded Shippen, and abused the languid measures of government and the dilatory course of their diplomacy; but their amendments were not risked to the chances of a division. George II., on his accession, had pretended to turn off the Germans that crowded the court, and to renounce that partiality for Hanover of which his father had been accused; yet he now obliged ministers to ask parliament for £230,000 for the maintenance during this year of 12,000 German troops, described as Hessians, in the pay of England. Upon this strong point the opposition made a stand; but they could muster only 84 votes against 280. Other bargains were struck with the Duke of Brunswick, who was to receive a yearly subsidy of £25,000.

The congress of Soissons opened on the 19th of June, when the ministers of the emperor, France, Spain, Great Britain, and the northern courts proceeded to perplex each other with an interminable series of memorials and counter-memorials. Cardinal Fleury had, however, effected a reconciliation between the courts of Versailles and Madrid; and Lord Chesterfield, who was residing as ambassador at the Hague, had soon to announce that Philip and the emperor, who had so recently pledged their faith to each other in the treaty of Vienna, were becoming irreconcilable enemies.

A.D. 1729. Frederick, Prince of Wales, and heir to the throne, had hitherto been left at Hanover, and had never been allowed to visit England; but now he came over, and was received with exceeding great joy by the nation. He was twenty-one years of age, and seemed full of promise; and, as Lord Mahon observes, the multitude are always apt to love an heir apparent better than a king. If George had seen his arrival with satisfaction, he soon had occasion to regret the hour of his coming; for his son behaved to him precisely as he, when Prince of Wales, had behaved to his own father. The parliament assembled on the 21st of January, when the king still expressed something like an uncertainty as to whether we were to have peace or war; declaring, however, his unwillingness to kindle a new war in Europe precipitately. Spain, in fact, had interrupted the trade which had for some time been carried on by connivance, though not by actual permission, between the English colonies and the West Indies and her dominions on the South American continent; and the merchants of London and other places, suffering from this interruption, vented their complaints in petitions to parliament. Another complaint was, that the Spaniards were preventing the English from cutting logwood in Campeachy Bay. The commons agreed in a declaration that the Spaniards had violated treaties; and also in an address desiring that his majesty would be pleased to use his utmost endeavours to procure a just and reasonable satisfaction for these injuries, and for securing to his majesty's subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation to and from the British colonies in America.

On the 14th of May, George terminated the session with a most gracious speech, in which he extolled the wisdom and patriotism of his parliament. Soon after he departed for his German dominions, leaving Queen Caroline sole regent during his absence. The queen, who continued to exercise the same authority in the like cases as long as she lived, gave almost universal satisfaction to the nation by her prudent and dignified conduct. To settle, if possible, the differences with Spain, the peace-loving Walpole now despatched the former ambassador, Mr. William Stanhope, to the Spanish court, which had fixed itself for a time at Seville. Stanhope was indisputably one of the most accomplished of English diplomatists; and on the 9th of November, after many vexations and difficulties, he brought to a conclusion the celebrated and advantageous treaty of Seville, by which Spain joined in a defensive alliance with England, France, and Holland, confirmed preceding treaties, revoked the exclusive privileges granted to the subjects of the emperor by the treaty of Vienna, put the English trade in America on its former footing, restored all captures, and confirmed the Assiento. The question of Gibraltar was passed over in silence; but at the very same moment the Spaniards were devising and erecting works which they trusted would for ever cut off the communications of that glorious fortress with the mainland, if they did not some day enable them to strike the English banner from its pride of place. In short, they were constructing the memorable lines of San Roque, or the Campo, which ran right across the narrow sandy isthmus that connects the rock with the Andalusian main; and no remonstrances on the part of England could make Philip desist.

A.D. 1730. Parliament re-assembled in the month of January, when his majesty declared that the peace of Europe was now firmly established by the treaty of Seville. On the 16th of February the opposition proposed their famous pension bill, which went to disable all persons from sitting in parliament who had any pension, or any offices held in trust for them from the crown, directly or indirectly; and which provided that every member on taking his seat should take an oath that he had no pension, gratuity, reward, office, or place; and that in case of his afterwards accepting anything, he should signify it to the house within fourteen days. Walpole, himself knowing how popular the bill was abroad, was prudently silent, and the bill was carried by a majority of 144 to 134. The odium of negativing it rested, therefore, with the lords, who threw it out after a long debate and a protest entered by twenty-six peers. It appears that this business widened a breach which had for some time been open in the friendship of the two brothers-in-law, Walpole and Townshend. Walpole did not hesitate to oppose the motion, or to describe the pension bill as tending to erect the house into a court of inquisition. During the whole of his administration, however, he left the bill, which was the most popularity-gaining measure of the opposition, to be rejected by the lords. As soon as the parliament had risen, Lord Townshend resigned, after a quarrel with Walpole, in which they almost came to blows. Townshend might have planted many a thorn in Walpole's side if he had gone into opposition; but he retired quietly to a country life, devoted himself to farming, and did more good to England by introducing the cultivation of the turnip from Germany than he could ever have done as one of "the patriots." Mr. William Stanhope, who had been created Earl of Harrington as a reward for the treaty of Seville, was now appointed secretary of state; Henry Pelham was made secretary at war, and the privy seal was given to Sir Spencer Compton, now Earl of Wilmington. The ascendency of Walpole was absolute; and in peace abroad and growing prosperity at home, the nation saw little cause to repine at it. The good which Walpole did might certainly in many instances have been done in a higher and nobler manner; but, again, we must remember the lowness and the baseness of the means he had at his disposal. Regardless of popular prejudices, he cemented our alliance with France; and he wisely overlooked many little squabbles which, under a less pacific minister, might have cost both nations much blood and treasure. He bore with the capricious insolence of the King of Spain, and he concluded an amicable treaty with the emperor.

A.D. 1731. When parliament met again our foreign policy was once more severely criticized by Sir William Wyndham and those who acted with him, and the old cry was repeated, somewhat out of season, that we were making ruinous treaties, solely on account of Hanover, that millstone hung to the neck of England to sink her for ever. Pulteney, formerly the bosom friend of Walpole, joined in these attacks; and he not only continued to write in the *Craftsman* with Bolingbroke, but he also maintained a very questionable correspondence with the ministers of the foreign powers that were not quite pleased with the English cabinet. Parliament was prorogued in the month of May, and little occurred during the remainder of the year worthy of notice, unless it be a visit paid in the autumn to England by the Duke of Lorraine, who was destined to become the consort of Maria Theresa, the emperor's only daughter, and who on this visit was deeply impressed with the wealth and prosperity of the country, and the kindness and courteousness of the English people. At this moment public credit seemed fully and firmly established, agriculture was improving, and our foreign trade was extending in every direction. In every sea then known was seen the busy flag of England, and her colonies were making prodigious strides from infancy to manhood.

A.D. 1732. To the parliament, which met in January, George expressed his satisfaction at the general tranquillity, the happy effect of their zeal, attachment, and resolution. On the 1st of June George closed the session, informing the houses that he had determined to visit his German states, and to leave the queen regent as before. During his residence at Hanover the decree of the pragmatic sanction was ratified and confirmed by the diet of the empire, notwithstanding the opposition and protests of the Electors of Saxony, Bavaria, and the Palatinate, who each and all pretended to some share of the emperor's inheritance, in default of heirs male of his own body.

A.D. 1733. On the meeting of parliament complaints were made that Spain had not yet made satisfaction for the depredations which had been committed during the last quarrel upon British merchants; and the king was obliged to confess that the meetings of the commissioners of the two crowns had been delayed, and that he could give no perfect account of their proceedings. The fact was, the Spanish court pretended that all or most of these British merchants had been engaged in an illicit trade to the Spanish main, and, according to their principle, nearly all trade, except that in negroes licensed by the Assiento, was smuggling. Walpole was reviled for not insisting upon immediate satisfaction, and for not throwing open the trade of the South American continent; but these were things not to be done without a war. The pension bill and a standing army were again debated with the same success as before. The sinking-fund, established by Walpole and Stanhope, had been kept sacred for nearly ten years, or during the whole reign of George I.; but since the accession of his son various encroachments had been made upon it, and now Walpole proposed to take half a million from it for the service of the current year. Sir John Barnard, member for London, and a practical economist and financier, represented that such a fund ought never to be turned from its original purpose of paying off debts, except in cases of extreme emergency; that to ease ourselves by loading our posterity is a poor, short-sighted expedient, the authors of which must expect the curses of posterity. Walpole, however, declared that if he were not allowed to take this half million from the sinking-fund, he must move for a land-tax of two shillings in the pound: and this argument, addressed to the purses of country gentlemen and great landed proprietors, had such an effect that his original proposal was presently carried in the commons by a majority of 110! The practice of alienating the sinking-fund having been thus once sanctioned by parliament, was afterwards continued without intermission. Walpole now produced his famous EXCISE SCHEME. The house having resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate upon the best methods for securing and improving the duties and revenues charged upon tobacco and wines, all the papers and accounts relating to these duties were called for, and the commissioners of customs and excise were ordered to attend the house. A system of fraud and evasion was thus laid bare, and the complication, obscurity, and uncertainty of the accounts were made evident. The chief articles subjected to the excise duties were malt, salt, and the materials used in the distilleries, and the duties produced at this time somewhat above £3,000,000 per annum. In the midst of a universal storm and a deluge of pamphlets and broadsides, which represented that everything was to be taxed, that the people were to be ground to dust in order that the constitution might be overthrown and a tyranny established, Walpole, on the 14th of March, broached his design in a temperate speech. He proposed that the tobacco duty should be brought under the laws of excise, and that the excise laws themselves should be remodelled and improved. He also proposed a reduction in the duty, making it 4¾*d.*, instead of sixpence and one-third of a penny. He suggested that the same rules might be afterwards applied to the duty upon wine, and that a system of bonding or warehousing for re-exportation might be instituted, "*which*," said Walpole, "*will tend to make London a free port, and, by consequence, the market of the world!*" By the increase of trade and of money thus levied, the land-tax, he said, might eventually be altogether abolished.

The tempting hope of the total abolition of the land-tax was calculated to dazzle the eyes of the country gentlemen; and the proffered system of bonding or warehousing was an immense advantage to the merchant, and, in reality, calculated to make England the great *porto franco* of the world; yet the vehemence of opposition was not softened. Wyndham declared, that in all countries excises of every kind were looked upon as badges of slavery, and he instituted a comparison between the ministers of the day and the rapacious favourites of Henry VII., Empson and Dudley, who, he said, "had the misfortune to outlive their master, and his son, as soon as he came to the throne, took off both their heads!" At two o'clock in the morning, when the debate had lasted thirteen hours, the house divided on the resolutions, when the minister found 266 for his scheme, and 205 against it. He was little accustomed to such a large minority; and his good humour was not increased on his leaving the house, for a noisy mob, that had beset the doors during the debate, seized him by the cloak, and might have done him some bodily mischief but for the interference of Mr. Pelham. On the 16th of March, when the report of the committee was brought up, the debate was resumed with increased acrimony. Upon a division, however, Walpole had still a majority of sixty, or 249 to 189. The popular ferment was as great as it had been on the 14th. On the 4th of April the bill founded on the report of the committee was read a first time, and, after a long debate, a motion, that it should be read a second time on that day se'nnight, was carried by a majority of only thirty-six: and the next day, when Walpole moved that the bill should be printed and distributed to the members of the house, he carried his point by a majority of only sixteen. The lord-mayor of London, however, contrived to obtain a copy of the bill, and under his direction the common council drew up a violent petition against it. Similar petitions were sent up from Nottingham, Coventry, and other inland towns; and "the public," says Tindal, "was so heated with papers and pamphlets, that matters rose next to a rebellion." Warned by these evil omens and by his decreasing majority, Walpole made up his mind to relinquish the bill for the present. And accordingly, on the 11th of August, the day appointed for the second reading, Walpole moved that it should be postponed till the 12th of June, before which day it was known that parliament would rise. The opposition were dissatisfied at this quiet mode of dropping the measure. Out of doors there was more noise and rejoicing than had ever been known at our greatest victories: bonfires were lit in the streets, the Monument was illuminated, and the minister Walpole was burned in effigy. Cockades were worn with the motto, "Liberty, Property, and no Excise." The provincial towns followed the example of the capital; but the learned university of Oxford, filled with the fumes of tobacco and Jacobitism, outdid itself: the gownsmen joined the rabble of the town in their noisy rejoicings; curses of Walpole were mingled with Jacobite cries and cant phrases, and these Saturnalia on the banks of the Isis lasted three days and three nights. As Queen Caroline had gone freely into the excise scheme, and partook in the pangs of Walpole's disappointment, it was the more easy for him to chastise certain noblemen and gentlemen, who, though holding office, had criticized or opposed the bill. Thus Lord Chesterfield, who had become lord-steward of the household, was very abruptly and unceremoniously deprived of his white staff, and Lord Clinton, a lord of the bedchamber, the Earl of Burlington, captain of the band of pensioners, and the Duke of Montrose, and the Earls of Marchmont and Stair, who held lucrative and sinecure offices in Scotland, were all dismissed. Nor did the ministerial vengeance stop here: the Duke of Bolton and Lord Cobham, who had no offices about the court, were deprived of their regiments for their opposition. This seemed an unjustifiable stretch of the prerogative, and in the next session led to warm debates in the House of Commons.

In the course of the session of 1733 another bill for preventing "the infamous practice of stock-jobbing" was laid aside, in consequence of some amendments proposed by the commons. The commons also voted £80,000 as a marriage-portion to the princess royal, who was affianced to the Prince of Orange. The prince arrived in England in the month of November, and after he had for some time drunk the waters of Bath to improve his health, the nuptials were solemnized in the French chapel at St. James's, on the 14th of February of the following year (1734).

But though pacific in England, the year 1733 was in other parts of Europe a year of strife and contention. Augustus II., King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, died in the month of February, when the Polish crown became, as usual, the object of a disgraceful struggle, which went by the name of "election." The competitors were Augustus, Elector of Saxony, son of the deceased king, and Stanislaus Leczinski, who had already been King of Poland, but who had been driven from his throne on the downfall of Charles XII. of Sweden, who, rather by force of arms than by any other right, had made him king. By a strange combination of circumstances the daughter of Stanislaus, even when his fortunes were at the lowest ebb, and he was an exile and proscribed, had become the wife of young Louis XV., and was now Queen of France. The French people made it a point of honour to procure for the father of their queen the crown which he had formerly worn, and the government resolved to support and assist Stanislaus. On the other side Augustus was supported by the Emperor Charles and the Czarina Anne of Russia, who, on the death of Peter I.'s widow Catherine, and a revolution which set aside Peter II., had ascended the throne of that country. France had for a long time ceased to have any connection with Poland, and was at the moment unacquainted with the state of affairs in that country, and unprepared with the means of making any great effort. But Stanislaus, who was residing there, set out for his native country in disguise; and, attended by only one officer, he presented himself to the Poles at Warsaw, and was received with acclamations. The majority of the nation, or of the nobles who exercised the right of king-making by vote, were decidedly in his favour, and 60,000 suffrages recalled him to the throne. But the czarina had resolved that the question should not be left to the decision of the Poles; three Russian armies hovered on the frontiers, and threatened to inundate the kingdom; and Augustus III. and the minority of the noble electors of Poland were soon in the Russian camp, and inviting the Muscovites into the heart of their country. In a brief space of time the whole of the Lithuanian provinces were occupied by the Muscovites, and Stanislaus was compelled to flee from the capital and shut himself up in Danzig. There he was soon besieged by a confederate army of Russians, Saxons, and Polish partizans. The defence was heroic and long. Eight thousand of the czarina's troops are said to have fallen in one assault; but the end of all was, that Stanislaus was again obliged to disguise himself and to flee. His rival was then proclaimed King of Poland under the guns and bayonets of Russia, and the adherents of Stanislaus either submitted or carried on a hopeless, desultory, partizan warfare, which contributed to throw the country still further back into barbarity, and to render it more and more an easy prey to Russia. The Emperor Charles had left the business to be settled by the czarina; but this was rather through want of ability than any want of inclination to interfere, and he had indirectly aided and assisted Augustus, and injured the cause of the protégé of France. Notwithstanding the pacific intentions of Cardinal Fleury, the French court determined to resent this conduct, and they found the court of Madrid quite ready to join in a war against the emperor; for, besides old scores of animosities, the Queen of Spain, who had secured to her son the dukedom of Parma, aspired to placing him on the throne of Naples, which was weakly defended for the emperor. Everything depended upon despatch, and armies, both French and Spanish, were prepared in a wonderfully short space of time. Walpole wisely endeavoured to prevent the firing of the first cannon, but his efforts were unsuccessful; and in the course of the following year some of the fairest parts of Europe were again scourged by the march of hostile forces, and the diplomatic scissors were once more employed to reshape and refashion dominions, principalities, and powers.

A.D. 1734. The British parliament met on the 17th of January, when the king referred to the war which had begun on the Continent, and which he said proved the necessity of increasing our forces at home. The opposition, whose plans of attack had been principally organized by Bolingbroke, were soon found to be more formidable than they had hitherto been. Our foreign policy, and the internal administration, were equally attacked; and, after a variety of minor efforts, a proposal to repeal the septennial bill was brought in on the 13th of March by Mr. Bromley, the son of Queen Anne's Tory secretary of state. The disaffected of the Whigs, it appears, had long scrupled about voting for the repeal of a bill which they themselves had once thought necessary for the security of the Protestant succession, but they were brought over by the persuasions of Bolingbroke and the determined will of the Tories, with whom they were now acting, and without whom they would have formed a very insignificant minority. Still, however, these Whigs were rather shy of the debate, and Pulteney, their head, delivered only a short speech, and that, too, in an embarrassed manner. The Tory chief, Sir William Wyndham, fought the battle; and in a very remarkable speech, which has been considered as one of the most powerful specimens of the parliamentary eloquence of that day, he hypothetically described Walpole as the most dangerous of all villains. In reply, Walpole scarcely noticed Wyndham, whom he probably considered, on this occasion, as the mere mouth-piece of Bolingbroke; but upon that flagitious politician he laid a brand of fire which burned through flesh and skin, and went heart-deep. He fixed the infamy of the peace of Utrecht upon the brilliant profligate; he charged him home with his un-English feelings, his anti-national principles; he exposed his base intrigues with France, and the course he had pursued both as a minister of her majesty Queen Anne, and as secretary of state to the pretender. He met hypothetical cases, and prophecies for the future with facts—proved, palpable facts, derived from Bolingbroke's past history. The wit and man of pleasure was quite crest-fallen; and, as he announced shortly after this debate his intention of leaving England and giving up his factious contest as hopeless, it has been assumed that Walpole's speech was the cause of this resolution.[1] In the rest of his famous speech Walpole exhibited with sufficient coolness the reasons which made him prefer septennial parliaments to triennial, or to parliaments of shorter duration. The triennial law, he said, ran too much into that form of government which is properly called democratical; which form was liable to these inconveniences—that it was generally too tedious in coming to any resolution, and seldom brisk enough in carrying its resolutions into execution—was never steady in any measures, and was often involved in factious seditions and insurrections, which exposed the country to the risk of being made the tool, if not the prey of her neighbours. No prudent administration, he said, would ever resolve upon any measure of importance till they had felt not only the pulse of the parliament, but also the pulse of the people; and with triennial elections ministers would labour under this disadvantage—that, as secrets of state must not always be immediately divulged, their enemies would have a handle for exposing their measures, and rendering them disagreeable to the people, and thereby carrying a new election against them, before they could have an opportunity of justifying their measures by divulging the facts and circumstances upon which they were based. "*Then,*" said he, "*it is by experience well known that what is called the populace, in every country, are apt to be too much elated with success, and too much dejected with every misfortune.*" It was in vain that the opposition asserted that the septennial law was an encroachment on the rights of the people—a law passed by a parliament that made itself septennial—that this long-enduring parliament had effected unconstitutional alterations in the laws of treason, and imposed the riot act—that it had passed the fatal South Sea bill, and had almost passed the late odious excise bill. Upon a division Walpole found himself supported by a majority of 247 to 184.

---

[1] Lord Mahon is correct in showing that there were other causes—that this could not be the sole cause of Bolingbroke's retiring to the Continent; but it may, nevertheless, have contributed among other causes. Neither Bolingbroke nor his friends could ever give anything like a consistent reply to Walpole's allegations.

On the 16th of April, having sat near its full term, parliament was dissolved by a speech from the throne, in which George spoke again of the prosperity and glory of the country. In about a month after this the new elections came on, and were conducted with great heat. The excise scheme, the riot act, the unsettled state of our commercial claims upon Spain, were all very popular and exciting topics; and the Tories, who would have exclaimed against a war if ministers had gone into one, now represented the neutrality of Great Britain as dangerous and disgraceful. By these cries, and by other means not purer than those resorted to by Walpole, the opposition gained several seats.

Spain and France on the one side, and the Emperor Charles on the other, seem to have made sure of the co-operation of the King of Sardinia, who held, in a manner, the key of Italy, and who, with the usual policy of his house, had given promises to both, and was resolved to act according to circumstances. At last France and Spain outbid Austria; and, while his envoy at Vienna was actually pledging his faith to the emperor, his Sardinian majesty joined the French and Spaniards, burst into the Milanese, and overran the whole of Austrian Lombardy. At the same time a strong body of Spanish infantry was landed at Genoa, a mass of cavalry was sent by land to Antibo, and a strong French and Spanish fleet domineered in the Italian seas. The Spanish forces were directed by the Count de Montemar, but, "for fame and dignity of name," were under the supreme command of the Infant Don Carlos, who had been for some time settled in his Italian dominions at Parma. The object in view was no secret—it was to deprive Austria of Lombardy and the Two Sicilies (*i.e.*, Naples and the island), "which," wrote the Queen of Spain to her favourite son Carlos, "being created an independent kingdom, shall be thine. Go, then, and conquer. The finest crown of Italy expects thee."[1] Don Carlos was little more than seventeen years old; but he was active, ambitious, and not without ability. He had a very advantageous person, excellent manners and address, and he was encouraged and favoured underhand by Pope Clement XII., who liked not to see the Austrians settled on both sides of him. In the month of March he assembled in Perugia 16,000 foot and 5000 horse, Spaniards, French, and Italians; and then, with his prime adviser, and afterwards his excellent minister, the Pisan advocate and professor of *jus publicum*, Bernardo Tanucci, he held a council of war, which was attended by many Neapolitan princes and nobles dissatisfied with the Austrian government, by many grandees of Spain, who wanted to recover the vast estates and power they had lost in Naples and Sicily, by the Count de Marsillac, and many Frenchmen of distinction. It was presently resolved to advance with all speed to the city of Naples. In less than six weeks the Neapolitan dominions, or rather the Austrians in them, were conquered, the lazzaroni of the capital and the peasantry of the provinces taking up arms for Don Carlos. But Count Traun kept the flag of the emperor flying a little longer over the walls of Capua, which did not surrender till the month of November. The island of Sicily, which had been so recently won from Spain by the English fleet and the Austrian army for the Emperor Charles, made even less resistance than the continental kingdom, and its conquest was effected with less bloodshed than had often been spent at the taking of an outpost. Don Carlos remained undisputed master of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Such was the fate of the war in Italy; nor was it much more favourable to the emperor on the Rhine, though there the Imperialists were commanded by that great soldier Prince Eugene, the rival of the fame of Marlborough. The French in superior force, and under the command of Marlborough's nephew, the almost equally favoured Duke of Berwick, crossed the Rhine and invested Philipsburg. But before the walls of this place Berwick ended his career, being killed by a cannon-ball. The command of the French army then fell to the Marquis d'Asfeld, who took Philipsburg after a trying siege, in spite of all the skill and efforts of Eugene, who scarcely took any active part in war after this unfortunate campaign, and who died about two years afterwards at Vienna. The emperor called upon all Europe for succour and assistance, representing that the schemes of Louis XIV. were reviving—that the worst consequences ever apprehended from the union of France and Spain were now realizing; and he entertained some hopes that England and Holland would again take up arms to curb the ambition of France.

A.D. 1735. On the opening of parliament, in the month of January, the minority was found to be larger than formerly; but the majority was still an overwhelming one. The king expressed his concern at the present commotions on the Continent; and said that, though he had hitherto resisted the pressing solicitations of the emperor for aid in this war, he hoped that his subjects would not repine at furnishing the necessary means of placing him in a situation to act that part which might eventually be incumbent upon him. The opposition, or some of the *patriots* who had been exclaiming so recently on the hustings that England was dishonoured by keeping out of this continental war, now declared that she ought never to intermeddle in the unintelligible and everlasting broils upon the Continent, but keep herself quiet and reduce the standing army instead of increasing it; but the majority nevertheless voted an increase of the forces both for land and sea, and furnished the necessary supplies. A subsidy was also voted to Denmark. The session was closed in the month of May, and then George, leaving his queen as sole regent, took his departure for Hanover. Bolingbroke had gone to the Continent some months before, with the intention of spending the remainder of his life in France.

---

[1] *Pietro Colletta; Muratori.*

The emperor thought that at last he had discovered a certain means of moving both the Dutch and English governments to take a part in the continental war; and he actually threatened to withdraw his troops from the Netherlands and cede that country to the French, whose occupancy of it had always been the stalking terror of Holland and England. But, as Walpole still remained averse to war and unmoved by a threat which he no doubt believed would never be realized, the emperor endeavoured to overthrow that ministry by a cabinet intrigue to be headed by Lord Harrington, who was known to be in favour of an armed interference. To this end one Abbé Strickland, who had intrigued for the Jacobites and against them, and who lived and thrived by intrigue, was sent over to England; but Walpole soon found out the abbé under his false name, and Queen Caroline sent him out of England, intimating at the same time to the court of Vienna that they had been deceived by false reports, and that England would on no account engage in this war. Nothing, therefore, was left but submission, and the emperor finally consented to accept the mediation of the maritime powers. The march of armies was then stopped, and the diplomatists began their campaign, which, as usual, was very long and very formal. If the French minister, Cardinal Fleury, had not been as pacific as Walpole, it is quite certain that the business would never have been settled by the pen. In the end, however, it was agreed that Naples and Sicily should remain to Don Carlos, as a separate kingdom, independent of Spain and every other country; and that the infanta, on the other hand, should resign Parma and his other possessions in Italy, together with the reversion of Tuscany—that the Milanese should be restored to the emperor—that Augustus, the protégé of Russia and Austria, should remain King of Poland—that his rival Stanislaus, the French king's father-in-law, should retain the royal title, and be put in possession of the duchy of Lorraine, which, after his decease, should devolve to the French crown, and be incorporated politically, as it was physically, with the kingdom of France. The Duke of Lorraine, weak and a mere vassal as he was, had rights which could not well be overlooked, and he had a natural reluctance to resign to the Pole his paternal dominions; but eventually the young Duke of Lorraine, who was going to marry Maria Theresa, the heiress of the emperor's states under the pragmatic sanction, was induced to comply by the persuasions and authority of his imperial majesty, by a pension from France, and by being promised the succession to Tuscany in lieu of Don Carlos. The treaty further stipulated that both France and Sardinia should guarantee the pragmatic sanction, upon which the tranquillity of Europe and the safety or greatness of the emperor's daughter depended. His Sardinian majesty, who had played so double a part, was rewarded with the cession of Novara, Tortona, and other districts sliced off from the emperor's Lombard dominions. France was well satisfied with the acquisition of Lorraine, which neither Richelieu nor Mazarin had been able to acquire. The people of the kingdom of the Two Sicilies were also gainers by these arrangements, for, instead of hungry viceroys, ever changing, from Madrid or Vienna, they got a king and a court of their own; and the government of Don Carlos and his minister Tanucci was, on the whole, a blessing to the country.

Avoiding one war for the emperor, England ran some risk of being brought into another for her ally the King of Portugal. The origin of this quarrel was sufficiently insignificant. The government at Madrid accused the servants of the Portuguese minister there of rescuing a criminal, and threw the said servants into prison. Every foreign ambassador at Madrid took part with the Portuguese envoy, and considered himself insulted in the infraction of the ambassadorial privileges. On the other side, the proud Spaniards would make no apology or concession. The dispute, imbittered by memorials and counter-memorials, ran so high, that hostilities between Spain and Portugal seemed inevitable, and the court of Lisbon sent over to London Don Antonio d'Alzevedo to claim the assistance of their close ally King George. Our obligation to give this assistance was indisputable and imperative; and Walpole forthwith sent a fleet of twenty-five ships of the line to the Tagus, taking care, however, well to instruct the admiral, Sir John Norris, that he was to act only defensively; and, in case of Spain's beginning hostilities, to represent to the Portuguese the expediency and advantage of moderation. So strong an English fleet riding in the Tagus produced an immediate effect at Madrid, where also the British resident intimated to his Catholic majesty that England must, and assuredly would protect her faithful ally. Cardinal Fleury joined in this good work of peace, and the quarrel was soon made up without the logic of cannon-balls.

A.D. 1736. When the parliament met, in the month of January, George announced that the affairs of Europe had taken a very happy turn, and that this would enable him to make a considerable reduction in the forces both by sea and land. The congratulatory address was carried not only without a division, but without a syllable of criticism or opposition. It was *gin* that disturbed this harmony. The vice of drunkenness had always been the worst defect of the English people, and it was conceived by Sir Joseph Jekyll and others that it had lately been on the increase, and that the best way to stop it was to put so heavy a tax upon gin as should make that liquor too dear for the poor, who chiefly or solely used it. Jekyll brought in a bill proposing that a duty of 20*s.* per gallon should be laid upon gin and other spirituous liquors, that no unlicensed person should be allowed to retail the same, and that every licensed retailer should pay £50 per annum for his license. Walpole foresaw that these extravagant duties would lead to smuggling and fraud, and that his successors in office would be obliged to modify the bill which they now carried. The duties hitherto levied upon gin, &c., had belonged to the civil list, and had not exceeded £70,000 per annum; but Walpole demanded that whatever deficiency might happen from the reduced consumption of duty-paying spirits should be made good to the crown, and obtained a vote to that effect. This gin act did as little good to the public morality as to the public revenue. Clandestine dealers increased their trade, and then were made only more vicious and reckless by being thrown into prison under fines which they either could not or would not pay. One of Hogarth's engravings was likely to do better service than a thousand bills like Sir Joseph Jekyll's, which certainly, however, had the effect of serving the purposes of the opposition by increasing Walpole's unpopularity. In the month of March Mr. Plumer prematurely brought forward a motion for repealing the test act. The motion was negatived by a majority of 251 to 123. Nearly at the same time, however, the minister warmly supported a bill for the relief of the Quakers, whose conscientious scruples about the payment of tithes exposed them to loss and persecution. The clergy took alarm, cried out spoliation, and blew their loudest blasts; petitions against the Quakers' petition were poured into the house, setting forth "that such a law would be extremely prejudicial to themselves and brethren, excluding them from the benefit of the law then in being for the recovery of tithes and other dues, and thereby putting the clergy of the Established church upon a worse foot than the rest of his majesty's subjects; and praying to be heard by council against the bill." The Quakers, however, had gained the universal esteem of the nation by their exemplary moral conduct and elevated notions of mutual charity; they had many and warm friends in the commons, and the house generally seemed to favour the bill. Yet it was found necessary to submit the measure to numerous alterations in committee; for example, it was inserted that all church and chapel rates, if refused by Quakers, were, upon complaint of the churchwardens, to be levied by distress, by order of two justices; but no Quaker was to be sued or prosecuted in any other manner for non-payment of church and chapel rates. The bill, clogged with other clauses, was carried through the commons by a majority of 164 to 48; but the lords threw it out by a majority of 54 to 35. Walpole, who, among other considerations, was anxious to gratify the numerous and influential body of Quakers established in his native county of Norfolk—a body that had stood by him in many a stern contest—was furious at this rejection, which he chiefly attributed to the bishops.

The session of parliament closed on the 26th of May; and then his majesty went to Hanover. This time the temporary regency of Queen Caroline was far from being so tranquil as it had been on former occasions. The gin mobs were not yet tranquillized, and other riots were caused in London by the employment in the Spitalfields looms of a number of poor Irish, who had come over to mow and reap, but who had engaged to help to weave silk at two-thirds of the ordinary wages. But the disturbances in London were trifles compared to a tremendous popular outbreak in the city of Edinburgh. The tale of the Porteous riot scarcely needs telling, for it has been told by Sir Walter Scott in one of the best and most readable of his exquisite Waverley novels.[1] The escape of the criminal Robertson, through the singular courage and devotedness of Wilson his companion—the illegal command of Porteous to the town-guard to fire among the crowd who were assembled at Wilson's execution—and the indignation of the citizens at the reprieve of Porteous, when he was about to expiate his crime on the gibbet—have been all made as familiar to the mind as if they had passed before our eyes. Never, perhaps, was a government more daringly defied than by the conspiracy through which the offender was formally executed by the people themselves, and by the close secrecy through which it was impossible to detect any one of the many hundreds who had participated in the deed.

---

[1] *Heart of Mid-Lothian.*

A.D. 1737. The parliament this year did not open till the 1st of February. Its first debates were upon the Edinburgh tumults, and were characterized by a violence almost as inexcusable as that of the Porteous mob itself. There were madmen in both houses, who, if they had had their way, would have converted a night riot into a long and bloody civil war. A fierce, vindictive bill was brought in, proposing nothing less than to abolish the city charter of Edinburgh, raze the city gates, disband the city guard, and fine and imprison, and render the provost, Mr. Wilson, for ever incapable of holding any public office. Witnesses were examined at the bar of the lords, and even three Scottish judges in their robes were subjected to questionings and cross-questionings; yet all that could be fairly proved against the provost and magistrates was, that they had been somewhat careless; that they had disregarded some indirect warnings, and that they had been taken by surprise. But the strong Scottish feeling of nationality, which could often rise even in courtly lords and members of parliament high above the love of lucre and every other consideration, blazed forth with a heat which alarmed and deterred the prosecuting party. In the lords the Duke of Argyle denounced the bill as contrary to law and justice; and in the commons the wise and patriotic Duncan Forbes, though holding office under the crown as lord-advocate for Scotland, spoke eloquently and vehemently in the same sense; and though Walpole replied, the Scottish lawyer was generally considered to have had the best of the argument. Walpole, however, was wise enough to declare that he by no means made the bill a ministerial question. In the end it was rendered almost "stingless;" the most obnoxious clauses were allowed to drop one by one, and nothing was left but an act for disabling Alexander Wilson, the provost, from taking, holding, or enjoying any office or place of magistracy in the city of Edinburgh, or elsewhere in Great Britain, and for imposing a fine upon the said corporation of Edinburgh of £2000 for the benefit of the widow of Porteous. And so, as some humourist at the time observed, the end of all these great debates was, the making the fortune of an old cook-maid. There was, however, a second bill, originated by the lords, containing a clause compelling the ministers of the Scottish church to read once every month for twelve months to come a proclamation from their pulpits, calling on their congregations to find out and bring to justice the murderers of Porteous. This order was exceedingly odious to the majority of the Presbyterian clergy, who complained, with some reason, that it was making the pulpit a place of hue-and-cry. Other conscientious preachers objected that, as the proclamation mentioned the lords spiritual in parliament, their reading of it might look like an acknowledgment of Episcopacy, which they still abhorred. Between the bill and proclamation, the violence of the people and the irritation of the clergy, Walpole lost materially in his hold on the Scotch burghs; and this he was made to feel at the next elections.

The remaining debates of the present session were chiefly of a financial nature. In a committee of supply on the 9th of March, Walpole moved that a sum of £1,000,000 should be taken from the sinking-fund, and applied to relieve some of the old South Sea annuitants. On the 14th this resolution was agreed to. But then Sir John Barnard proposed that the house should resolve itself into committee to consider the national debt, and receive any proposals which might be made to reduce the rate of interest to three per cent. The minister, after speaking about the danger of meddling with public credit, or taking any step likely to affect it, consented, and on the 21st the house resolved itself into a committee of supply. The national debt was proved to amount to £47,866,596. Sir John Barnard produced his scheme, which was, that his majesty might be enabled to borrow money at three per cent. to redeem old South Sea annuities and others, for which a higher rate of interest was paid. The landed interest seconded the project, captivated by the notion of getting money at three per cent.; but the monied interest, the capitalists, in general opposed it; and after a long debate and some of those parliamentary manœuvres of which Walpole was so great a master, it was rejected.

CHAPTER XVI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1737—1741.

GEORGE II.

The opposition attach themselves to the Prince of Wales—They incite him against his father—Intrigues of the prince to obtain an independent revenue and displace Walpole—Bubb Dodington's account of these proceedings—Walpole's endeavours to counteract them—Application to parliament for an increase to the prince's revenue—The application rejected—Dissension between the prince and his father—The prince's undutiful conduct—The king's letter to him on the occasion—Mysterious character of the quarrel—Death of Queen Caroline—Loss to the king and nation by her death—The king's grief at the event—The Countess of Walmoden the royal mistress—Prospect of war with Spain—The army increased—Arguments used to excite the country against Spain—The story of "Jenkyns's Ears"—His statement before the House of Commons—Popular excitement produced by it—Resolutions passed tending to a war with Spain—Intrigues of the war party to supplant Walpole—Spain agrees to pacific terms—Convention signed between Britain and Spain—Complaints against the convention by the war party in England—Debate on the question of commencing war with Spain—William Pitt's appearance on the subject—Walpole's pacific measure carried by a small majority—Wyndham takes his leave of the House of Commons—His speech on the occasion—Walpole's reply—Benefit of the session to Walpole—Plenipotentiaries sent to treat with Spain—Walpole compelled to adopt warlike measures—War proclaimed against Spain—Popular triumph at the proclamation—Walpole's difficulties—Our naval deficiencies at the commencement of the war—Operations against Spain in South America—Dissensions in the British cabinet—France unites with Spain against Britain—Frederick the Great succeeds to the crown of Prussia—He makes war against Maria Theresa—He invades Silesia—State of Russia at this period.

IN the spring of the preceding year, Frederick, Prince of Wales, who had fixed his heart upon his cousin, Frederica of Prussia, reluctantly married, at the instigation of his father, Augusta, Princess of Saxe-Gotha, whose beauty and accomplishments seem soon to have made him forget his former unhappy passion. But marriage increases expense; and as, out of a civil list of £800,000, the prince received only £50,000 a-year, he was much straitened, and the opposition, who had fastened upon him almost from the first moment of his arrival in England, easily led him to consider himself as ill used by a grasping and avaricious father. Two years before, Bolingbroke, who had been one of the prince's chief admirers, had recommended him to set his father at defiance, and apply to parliament for a settled revenue of £100,000 a-year independent of him. Bubb Dodington, who has been described as "a man of some talent, and a patron of two boroughs,"[1] but who, by a severer pen, might be set down as one of the most thorough-going jobbers of those jobbing days, takes to himself the credit of attempting to dissuade the prince from following the advice of Bolingbroke. Bubb confesses, however, that his royal highness requested his assistance, "and designed partly to employ him in the measure," which would have been dangerous at that moment to his (Bubb's) own interests.

His royal highness had been corresponding with, and had received promises from nearly all the leading Jacobites and disaffected Whigs, who held out the double hope of procuring by their joint efforts in parliament the £100,000 per annum for the prince, and the dismissal, impeachment, and ruin of Walpole. Bubb wished for the minister's downfall very earnestly, but he told his royal highness that this did not seem to him the proper way of effecting it—that it would only make the king's cause and Walpole's inseparable, and rivet the minister yet faster where his only strength lay. At this very moment George II. was sick, and even apprehended to be in danger. Bubb says that he begged the prince to consider this circumstance, and to reflect how far it might be consistent with the *greatness and generosity of his character* to make such an attack, when his father was in a languishing condition. He says that the prince replied that he was sensible of that, but he could not help it: he was engaged; and would go through: *the king could not live many years, but might linger thus a good while, and he could not stay that while.*" Bubb suggested that no great harm would be done if the business were left over to another session; but the prince said that it could not be; that his honour was too far engaged, that he could not and would not wait.[2] This precious courtier thought it necessary to warn his friend, Sir Paul Methuen, of this disagreeable business; and they agreed that Sir Paul, when sent for by the prince, should seem not to be any ways apprised of the affair, but should lay hold on any opportunity that might be given him to represent to his royal highness the probable fate and consequences of the undertaking. Bubb and Methuen then waited upon the Duke of Dorset and the other lords, who agreed to do their utmost to prevent this ill-advised attempt, and to declare plainly to the prince that they would oppose it, as fatal to his royal highness, injurious to the king, and destructive to the quiet and tranquillity of the whole country; and they desired Dodington to speak in the same way to the prince. A day or two after, Sir Paul Methuen had an interview with the Prince of Wales, to whom he represented the danger and impracticability of the measure; "but all without effect." On the very next day the prince summoned Dodington to another private conference, and insinuated that Sir Paul Methuen had appeared to be well enough satisfied with the proposition. The prince rejoined that everybody was for him—that he was absolutely determined to bring it in—that he would hear no advice upon it—and that if there were but seven of the commons, and three in the lords for him, he would do it. Dodington says that he then said that he thought it necessary to lay his humble opinion before him ; and that the prince told him he did not want his opinion. He showed Bubb a letter from the "humoursome, proud, and capricious" Duke of Somerset, containing an assurance that it was impossible for him to come up to town, a sly reference to Lord Winchelsea for his opinion about his royal highness's intention, and wishes that his royal highness might live many years in health, prosperity, and plenty. After talking about this unmeaning letter, and saying that though his grace should not come up he was quite sure he would send his proxy, the prince talked vehemently about his difficulties, and declared (as other princes of the family have done since) that, as he had sacrificed himself to the nation in marrying, the nation ought to stand by him.[1] As Bubb was a placeman, the prince's next argument or invective had a direct personal application. He said that if people would value their employments more than right and justice, he could not help it; though he was so strong that he was sure the court durst not touch any one that voted for him. The conversation which followed between the prince and placeman after dinner lasted nearly two hours, and, according to Bubb, "contained a great deal of repetition." The prince said he should leave off talking about his own interests to talk a little about Bubb's, whose reputation in the world would suffer extremely by his leaving him at this juncture. He reminded the courtier that he had already gone great lengths with him in his opposition to his father and ministers, and that there would be no safety for him if he did not go on to finish the work and overthrow Walpole. Bubb says that he spoke about his conscience and his honour, which would both oblige him to dissent. His highness then asked whether he had never given a vote against his conscience or opinion—to which Bubb replied, that he had certainly *given many, and believed it to be the case with everybody who acted with a party, either for or against an administration.* The prince, he says, then tried to overpower him with an array of names of men high in influence, who had promised their support; and asked him to go and consult Lord Carteret and Mr. Pulteney. Bubb shuffled out of this as well as he could; and then his royal highness tried whether the lawyers would not have more weight than laymen, and assured Bubb that the master of the rolls had told him that what he asked was his right in equity. But the courtier, according to his own account, was proof even against a lawyer, and represented that it could scarcely be equity to take the allotment of the estate or civil list vested in the crown out of the king's hands. But all these and many other arguments were completely thrown away upon the prince, who was resolved to proceed. His father, he said, was unpopular—he himself was popular—and therefore he must succeed in the end, in spite of placemen and cowards.

---

[1] *Lord Mahon.*

[2] *The Diary of the late George Bubb Dodington*, Baron of Melcombe Regis; from March 8, 1749, to February 6, 1761. Appendix—Narrative of what passed between the prince and Mr. Dodington.

On the next day, Sunday, the 13th of February, or, at latest, on Monday, the 14th, Walpole got the first hint of what was intended; but by the 16th the whole matter was public. On that evening Bubb was stopped by several gentlemen in the House of Commons, who desired his advice and opinion; and Sir Robert Walpole requested him to stay till the house rose, that he might speak with him. When the house was almost empty these two retired behind the chair; and then Bubb took credit to himself for having done his best to prevent this "great question;" saying, that for three years and more it had been the great struggle of his life to keep the prince from it. The minister begged the pliant courtier to engage his friends—by which Dodington understood him to mean five members whom he names—not to vote for the measure; and desired him not to do the thing "*by halves.*" From Dodington's reply we must conclude that by *wholes* Walpole meant bribes, for he subjoins—"I told him that they were independent gentlemen ; that though their fortunes were not large, yet they were sufficient, and they were resolved they always should be sufficient to keep them in independency; and that he best knew *they had not been regarded or treated in a manner to give them any great present expectations.*" Here the minister interrupted him, and said—"Well, we understand one another;"—

---

[1] "And yet," says Bubb Dodington, "the princess was the best and most agreeable woman in the world."

and no doubt they did, thoroughly. Bubb, however, returning to solid things, said that, as he knew his friends had no present expectations, he would by no means undertake to say how far they would care to forfeit the prospect of future favours and advantages under the Prince of Wales when he should be king. Walpole replied that there had indeed been great misunderstandings between him and those gentlemen; but then so great a service as this would wipe out a multitude of sins. In other words, the minister was willing to give the multitude of places, or honours, or pounds sterling, for the service he wanted, or for the preventing of the parliamentary onslaught of the prince. Bubb, like most men in similar situations, protested that he wanted nothing, expected nothing for himself—and said that he would lay the matter fairly before his friends, and plainly tell them that he intended to vote against the prince. "I did so the same night," he continues, "and they, *from their own judgments, entirely unbiassed, or attempted to be so by me*, all determined to vote for the king." On the next Sunday Bubb attended a meeting of parliament men at the minister's, and, when the company was gone, he told Sir Robert of his success with his friends; and then, in the most approved manner, asked the minister for his reward. But, after all, Bubb had only secured the votes of a few second or third rate men—he had not won over Sir William Wyndham, nor had he made any impression on Pulteney or Sir John Barnard—the measure was not stopped, and the prince ran his course notwithstanding a message sent to him by the king at Walpole's persuasion, promising to settle a large jointure upon the princess, and to render his own income independent of his father's control. At this moment when this offer was made by the lord-chancellor (Hardwicke) and other great officers of state,[1] the king was worse than he had been, and indeed so bad that his recovery was despaired of. Yet, on the very next day, the 22d of February, Pulteney brought forward the motion in the House of Commons, in the form of an address, beseeching the king to settle upon the prince £100,000 a-year, and the same jointure on the princess as the queen had enjoyed when she was Princess of Wales; Sir John Barnard, the man of finance and economy, seconded Pulteney; and Walpole replied to both. He declared that it was the prerogative of the crown, and the right of the king, to dispose of his civil revenues without the interference of parliament, and to manage his family in his own way. He communicated to the house the conciliatory message which had been sent by the king to the prince, with his royal highness's answer, and gently hinted that he thought £50,000 a-year, added to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, enjoyed by the prince, which amounted to about £10,000 a-year more, was income enough even for the heir apparent, and quite as much as his father could afford out of the civil list. Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning the house divided, when the numbers for the king were 234, for the prince 204. The prince, or the party acting with him and driving him on, was determined to "go through." On Friday, the 25th, precisely the same motion was made in the House of Lords by Carteret, who, since his return from his Irish government, seemed to be more inimical to Walpole than ever. Lord Carteret was seconded by Lord Gower, and the debate lasted till half-past eight at night, when the motion was rejected by a majority of 103 to 40. The prince set no bounds to his rage, and studied how he might best insult his father. His wife had been for some time *enceinte*, but he did not deign to announce this fact either to the king or to the queen until the beginning of July, when her time approached. All the royal family were then at Hampton Court, where the usual stately preparations were made for the birth. But, upon the 31st of July, when the princess was seized with the pains of labour, the prince, at the hazard of her life and the life of her offspring, hurried her off in the middle of the night to London, to the unaired palace and beds of St. James's, without giving the slightest intimation to the king and queen or to any of the great officers of state who were required to be present to certify the birth of an infant that might inherit the crown. George, angry and alarmed, sent off Sir Robert Walpole and Lord Harrington to attend the birth; but though they used speed they did not arrive till after the accouchement. The princess was safely delivered of a daughter in St. James's, but had run a near risk of being delivered at a road-side inn. According to Horace Walpole, Queen Caroline hastened up to town, and was with the princess by an early hour on the following morning. "The gracious prince, so far from attempting an apology, spoke not a word to his mother; but on her retreat, gave her his hand, led her into the street to her coach—still dumb; but a crowd being assembled at the gate, he kneeled down in the dirt, and humbly kissed her majesty's hand! Her indignation must have shrunk into contempt."[2] The edifying quarrel—the exemplary hatred—between father and son, was now pushed to extremities, even as it had been in the preceding reign, when George II., as prince, had exercised that filial undutifulness of which he was now the victim. After solemn consultations in the cabinet, and sundry verbal messages between father and son, the king wrote a reproachful, an angry, but determined letter to the prince, ending with these words—"And until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to the queen, and until you return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them who, under the appearance of an attachment to you, foment the division which you have made in my family, and thereby weaken the common interest of the whole. In this situation I will receive no reply; but, when your actions manifest a just sense of your duty and submission, *that* may induce me to pardon what at present I most justly resent. In the meantime it is my pleasure that you leave St. James's, with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice or inconvenience to the princess. I shall for the present leave to the princess the care of my grand-daughter, until a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education." After this peremptory letter the prince retired with his family to Norfolk House, St. James's Square, which became the centre and head-quarters of opposition. Irritated anew by the numbers that flocked constantly to Norfolk House, the king issued an order that none of the persons who visited there should be admitted to his presence in any of the royal palaces. Moreover, as every court in Europe was excited by these family squabbles, George ordered an official circular to be sent to all the foreign ambassadors at London with his account of the affair; and this paper was afterwards published, together with the correspondence which had taken place between the king and the prince. Lord Hardwicke has hinted that there was more in this quarrel than met the public eye. "Sir Robert Walpole," says his lordship, "informed me of certain passages between the king and himself, and between the queen and the prince, of too high and secret a nature even to be trusted to this narrative; but from thence I found great reason to think that this unhappy difference between the king and the queen and his royal highness turned upon some points of a more interesting and important nature than have hitherto appeared."[1]

---

[1] Hardwicke had obtained the seals on the 21st of February through the death of Lord Talbot, and it appears to have been by Hardwicke's advice that the message was sent to the prince. The new chancellor, however, did not wish to go in person with the message, but George prevented all discussion by exclaiming, "My lord-chancellor shall go." The prince, in his *verbal* reply to his father's written message, said that the affair was now out of his hands, and therefore he could give no answer to it. And after a parade of dutiful expressions and humility to his majesty, he added—"Indeed, my lords, it is in other hands, I am sorry for it." The affair, of course, was in the hands of the opposition.

[2] *Reminiscences.* Horace repeats the same story in his *Memoirs.*

NORFOLK HOUSE, St. James's Square.
From a view in the King's Collection, British Museum.

A few weeks after the departure of the prince from St. James's, Queen Caroline, who appears indisputably to have been the best of the family, departed this life. From an excess of delicacy her majesty had carefully concealed, even from her personal attendants and physicians, a bad rupture under which she had suffered for many years. Ignorant to the last of her real malady, the physicians treated her majesty as if she had gout in the stomach, and thereby hastened her death. The high-minded, strongly nerved woman bore her agonies with wonderful fortitude. Her friendship to Walpole, or her conviction that he was the most likely minister to carry her husband honourably through the increasing difficulties of government, remained unshaken to the last. It is said that the day before her death, as the king and the premier were standing by her bedside, she pathetically recommended, not the minister to the sovereign, but the master to the servant, saying to Walpole—"I hope you will never desert the king, but continue to serve him with your usual fidelity; I recommend his majesty to you."

Queen Caroline died on the 20th of November,

---

and in many letters of the time, written by less caustic pens, the circumstances are alluded to. Horace says, "A baby that wounds itself to vex its nurse is not more void of reflection. The scene which commenced by unfeeling idiotism closed with paltry hypocrisy." Yet such was Frederick, Prince of Wales, and, such as he was, he was made, for selfish ends no doubt, the idol of a party.

[1] Lord Hardwicke's *Narrative*.

and her loss was deeply felt both by the king and the nation, and probably by Walpole more than all. That minister knew that she had been the better genius that guided the king; that she had been the only person in the world that could properly understand and manage her husband; that her good sense had carried him through all his official difficulties; and that without her he could have no sure reliance on George. He vented some of his feelings in a letter to his brother, relating the queen's death. "I must have done," said he; "our grief and distraction want no relation; I am oppressed with sorrow and dread." The king, however, repeatedly assured him of his intention still to follow his advice in all things; and reminded him how the queen on her death-bed had recommended her husband to the minister, which his majesty emphatically said was a just and wise recommendation. These royal sentiments lasted as long as grief for the deceased, which was at first passionate; for, as we have already observed, though George kept mistresses, he never loved any woman as he did his wife. Some time after the queen's death, he called Baron Brinkman, one of his German attendants, to his bedside, and said—"I hear you have a picture of my wife—a better likeness than any in my possession; bring it to me." When the picture was brought, the king was deeply affected; and after a short pause, he said—"It is very like; put it upon the chair at the foot of my bed, and leave it till I ring the bell." The bell was not rung till two hours had elapsed; and when the baron entered the bedchamber, George said—"Take the picture away; I never yet saw the woman worthy to buckle her shoe."[1]

And yet George had at Hanover, and had had for some time, a successor to Lady Suffolk in the person of the Countess of Walmoden; and not very long after the queen's death, he brought her over to England, and, on the 24th of March, 1740, created her Baroness and Countess of Yarmouth. Fortunately, the Walmoden was almost as inoffensive as her predecessor, Lady Suffolk, albeit somewhat fonder of money. She looked to the main chance, and tried to enrich her family and friends, leaving politics to take their own course, and shunning any dangerous connection either with rabid Tories or discontented Whigs. A more dangerous woman was the princess royal, Anne, whom George had married to the Prince of Orange. Anne, who is described as being of a most imperious and ambitious nature, came over from Holland soon after the queen's death, in the hope of succeeding to her mother's influence; but the king, aware of her plan, was so offended that he sent her to Bath as soon as she arrived, and then, in as peremptory a manner, sent her back to Holland. The Princess Amelia and the Princess Caroline remained in England, unmarried; but they took little or no part in cabinet intrigues; and their brother, the Duke of Cumberland, whose passion it would have been to command the army, rarely interfered in politics.

A.D. 1738. The session of parliament which began in January was very stormy, and seemed to prove to most men that Walpole would not be able long to maintain the pacific system on which he prided himself. The "patriots," as they persisted in calling themselves, resolved to influence the public mind against Spain; and that country unfortunately pursued a jealous and unamiable course, which afforded a broad background for high colouring and exaggeration; yet, while they clamoured for foreign war, these "patriots" cried out quite as lustily against any increase of the forces, as if war were to be made by means of loud speeches in St. Stephen's Chapel. Walpole proposed 17,000 men for the army—no great number, considering that, if we went to war at all, we were likely to have France as well as Spain against us; but they insisted that 12,000 men would be enough. The minister, irritated at the declamations of the disguised Jacobites, laid them bare and scourged them with unusual severity. The "patriots" paid so much homage to truth as to remain silent; and the increase of the army was carried without a division. Atterbury had called Walpole in rhyme—"the cur-dog of Britain and spaniel of Spain;" and the Jacobites and discontented Whigs now went on to prove the latter part of the proposition, by showing that he had not protected smuggling, had not put down the Spanish guarda-costas in the West Indies, and had not proclaimed a war to force the Spanish court to change its commercial code, and admit the principle of free trade for her colonies in South America and everywhere else. By the law of nations, which sanctioned to every independent power the right of regulating her trade and colonies in her own way, however jealous, exclusive, or irrational—by treaties, old and new, which confirmed this principle, and expressly bound England to submit to the Spanish regulations in the New World—Walpole had been deterred from pursuing the course which he was now censured for not following. By the treaty of 1670, Spain recognized the right of Great Britain to the colonies she possessed in North America; but England agreed that none of her ships should approach the Spanish colonies in

---

[1] This anecdote was communicated at the end of the last century to Archdeacon Coxe, by Theodore Henry Broadhead, Esq., grandson of Baron Brinkman, who possessed the portrait alluded to.

South America, unless by stress of weather, or with a special license for trade from the Spanish government. By the latter clause the right of search was virtually acknowledged; and Spain had always kept up her guard-ships on the coast of the Spanish main, though, sometimes through negligence, sometimes through bribery, and not seldom on account of the imposing attitude of the English ships that navigated those seas, and the dare-devil spirit of those that manned them, they had been remiss in exercising the right of search. Occasionally, indeed, they had been vigilant and severe enough; but then, on other occasions, English adventurers, little better than the buccaneers who had preceded them, plundered the Spanish towns on the coast, and captured or defied every Spanish ship they met either in the Atlantic or in the Pacific. If, on the one side, the Spaniards sometimes exceeded the letter of the treaty, these men never regarded any treaty whatsoever. The treaty of Seville, signed in 1729, did not profess to do much more than put our trade in the West Indies and South America upon its old footing; that is, it allowed us to sell slaves, and to send one ship annually to the Spanish dominions in America. The restriction was abominable; and, perhaps, when England was at war, she ought not to have concluded a peace until it was removed; but she had concluded a peace, and she had solemnly recognized and submitted to the restriction. But the market was too tempting to allow of her subjects submitting to it; and English merchants exercised their ingenuity in devising means to elude it. As the people wanted the commodities which English commerce furnished, as many of them were absolutely indispensable, and as they could not get them so good and so cheap in any other way, it became impossible, along a coast where distances are counted by hundreds of leagues, to prevent contraband trade; and from either shore to the ridges of the Andes, from the Gulfs of Mexico and Panama to Cape Horn, English goods were found wherever a few civilized men were settled. That part of the revenue of the Spanish government which was to be received from duties fell, of course, to a very insignificant sum; and the annual fair at Panama, where the goods licensed by Spain or imported directly by the government were sold, instead of being the mart of South America, as it once had been, dwindled away almost to nothing. To make up for these losses, Spain ought to have altered her system; but she was not wise enough for this, and she endeavoured to enforce it by employing more vigour and vigilance. On our side a terrible storm was raised whenever an English ship was captured or detained, or even subjected to the search. The English sailors, too, had terrible traditions about the cruelties practised in former times; and hereditarily and, as it were, constitutionally, they detested the right of the Spanish flag, and hated the Dons at sea more than they did the rocks or storms, the devil or the pretender. It was easy for the opposition to gather many an exasperating tale of oppression and barbarity practised beyond the Western main. The one they chose is well known; but perhaps it was not the best. Burke has since called it "the *fable* of Jenkyns's ears." This Jenkyns had been skipper or master of a small vessel which ran from Jamaica, and he had been boarded and searched by a guarda-costa. Like every English skipper in the like circumstances, he declared that he had no contraband goods on board—no intention to break through the jealous and harsh regulations of the Spanish government; but he added, with more than usual emphasis, that he had been most barbarously treated by the officers and crew of the guard-ship. He said that they had tortured him and some of his crew, had cut off one of his ears, and even told him to go and carry it to his king, and inform his majesty that they would be glad to treat him in the same manner. The circumstances thus related had occurred long before—the story was seven years old; but now, when the table of the commons was loaded with petitions, and the city of London ringing with complaints against the barbarity of the Spaniards and the mean-spiritedness of ministers, the opposition laid hold of it, and determined to bring Jenkyns before them, in order to give increased weight and effect to his narrative. On the 16th of March it was ordered "that Captain Robert Jenkyns do attend this house immediately." The skipper had evidently been trained; and an answer which he gave had the turn and cadence of parliamentary oratory. Being asked by a member what he, a free-born Briton, felt when subjected to such treatment at the hands of the Spaniards, Jenkyns exclaimed—"I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." Rarely in England has an oratorical point produced such an effect; it stirred the parliament and the country up into fury, and Pulteney declared that we had no longer need of allies or confederacies to enable us to command justice upon Spain—that Jenkyns's story alone would raise volunteers everywhere. It has been said since that Jenkyns had both his ears on at the very moment he was describing how one of them had been cut or torn from his head; and that, in the excitement produced by his narrative, people never thought of examining the rough head of the skipper, who might have worn a wig. But it appears, upon better authority, that he really had lost an ear, and that he carried a bit of one in his pocket wrapped up in cotton; but a contemporary intimates that he had not been mutilated by the Spaniards, but at home, in the fashion of Prynne and Bastwick, *i.e.*, that he had lost his ear in the pillory.[1] When the committee made its report to the house the general indignation was heightened; and Murray, afterwards Earl of Mansfield, made it rise still higher, for he was heard as counsel for the petitioners; and he supported the petition, justified the complaints, and called for vengeance upon the Spaniards with remarkable eloquence. Pulteney then rose and delivered one of his best speeches. He drew a frightful picture of Spanish cruelty and injustice, assuming the facts to have been fully proved by the witnesses the committee had examined; and concluded by proposing a series of resolutions in support of our right to free navigation in the American seas, and the commercial privileges that belong to it. Walpole did not attempt to deny that the Spaniards had given great offence; but he expressed a hope that they would yet make satisfaction. Pulteney's resolution, he said, would make matters worse—would cramp the pacific negotiations still carrying on with the court of Madrid. If a treaty could do the business without the horrors of war, he was for continuing the negotiation, though it might, as usual, be somewhat tedious; but he added that, if he saw their object was not to be obtained otherwise, he was ready to demand and obtain it by force. He proposed several amendments in a mild spirit, agreeing, however, to declare that the Spaniards had unjustly interfered with the freedom of navigation and commerce, had committed depredations attended with many instances of unheard-of cruelty and barbarity; that the court of Madrid had been exceedingly backward in giving satisfaction to his majesty's injured subjects and bringing the offenders to condign punishment. His amendments were carried; but Alderman Perry, who had been chairman of the committee, proposed and carried a very warlike address, beseeching the king to use his endeavours to obtain prompt and effectual redress, and pledging the house to support his majesty in a war if his negotiations were not presently attended with full success. In the upper house Chesterfield and Carteret went more into extremes than Pulteney; and a majority of the lords voted with them, and passed resolutions, absolutely denying the right of search as practised by the Spaniards on the coast of South America, &c. Their lordships also voted an address, promising effectual support if his majesty should have recourse to war. The king replied to the address of the lords in a very warlike tone. Pulteney, who undertook the chief management of the business, because he hoped that war would raise him to Walpole's seat, brought in a bill for effectually securing and encouraging our trade to America—a strange bill, which one might almost fancy had been drawn up by a band of buccaneers, as, by its most important clause, the sailors were to keep everything they could get. The bill, in fact, if carried, would have converted the English nation into one great buccaneering power; but it was negatived by a large majority. Parliament rose a few days after, but the prorogation brought no quiet to the minister, whose pacific disposition continued to be reviled by the mass of the nation, and whose party enemies carried on fifty intrigues at once, but all concentrating in two objects—the declaration of a war and the downfall of the ministry. The king himself, passionately fond of his army, longed to distinguish it; the wisdom and moderation of Queen Caroline were gone, and several of Walpole's colleagues or subordinates had, for some time and for various reasons, taken up the war-cry. This was more particularly the case with the Duke of Newcastle, one of the secretaries of state, who, ever since the death of the queen, had been entertaining hopes of supplanting Walpole. The premier, however, still clung to his pacific measures, and pressed his negotiations with the court of Madrid; but, at the same time, to show that he could and might make war, he sent Admiral Haddock into the Mediterranean with ten ships of the line, sent many single ships to the West Indies, offered letters of marque and reprisal to the merchants, supplied the infant colony of Georgia with troops and stores, and directed the British merchants in the several sea-ports of Spain to register their

WILLIAM PULTENEY, Earl of Bath.—After Allan Ramsay.

---

[1] Tindal, *History of England.*

goods before notaries public, in case of a rupture. These things and the proceedings and speeches in the British parliament made the Spaniards somewhat more modest and humble. They liberated some prizes they had captured, sent home some English sailors that had been taken by guarda-costas, and declared that they would hasten the consideration of the English claims for reparation. On our side it was admitted that certain sums were due to Spain, but on striking a balance it was made to appear that there remained due to England £140,000. The Spaniards tried to reduce this balance, but finally they agreed to pay it by assignments upon the revenues of their American colonies. It was represented to Walpole that if our debt was to be paid in that quarter it would not be liquidated for many a year—perhaps never paid at all; and he was therefore induced to agree to receive in prompt payments in Europe £95,000 in lieu of the £140,000 in America. Having settled the sum and the mode of payment, a convention was signed on the 14th of January (1739), at Madrid, by Mr. Keene and La Quadra.

A.D. 1739. Parliament assembled on the 1st of February, when George, in his speech from the throne, mentioned the ratification of the convention. But the nation had been filled with a dream of war, conquest, and revenge; and the convention, even interpreted in its best sense, was not a peace or a security for peace—it was not, in fact, even so much as a good preliminary to a simple treaty. The opposition, in both houses, fell upon its weak and bad parts, and Sir William Wyndham moved that in the address everything like an approbation of the convention should be carefully struck out. Walpole said that at all events an opening to a peace was better than the beginning of a war—that if he had declared war, the very men that were now reviling him and his peace would be engaged in attacking him and his war—that he would tell the world that a trading people ought by all manner of means to avoid war—that almost any peace was preferable even to a successful war; and his original address was carried by a large majority. But when the articles of convention were laid before parliament, the ministerial majority of 234 against 141 dropped suddenly to thirteen. In the upper house the Duke of Argyle, who had been wavering for some time, went openly into opposition; Chesterfield and Carteret continued and improved their declamations; and the Prince of Wales, the mortal enemy of Walpole, took this occasion of giving his first vote in parliament. The minister, by the mouth of Lord Cholmondeley, moved an address to thank his majesty for concluding the convention; to express a reliance that, in continuing the negotiations, care would be taken to secure our trade and navigation in the American seas; and to promise that, if these negotiations should not answer his majesty's just expectations, the house would support him in vindicating the honour of his crown and the rights of his people. This, after a long debate, was carried, but by a majority of only thirteen —fifty-eight lords, with the Prince of Wales at their head, voting against the minister. The same address was moved in the commons by the premier's brother Horace, who spoke for two hours, and explained with tolerable fairness the real meaning of the convention. Sir Thomas Sanderson, who spoke first in reply to Horace Walpole, thought that nothing could go right till we had made war, and taken vengeance for the mutilating of Jenkyns's ear; and he vehemently proclaimed that the fellow—the pirate—the monster—that had done the deed, was now enjoying the fruits of his rapine—a living testimony of the cowardly tameness and mean submission of Great Britain, and of the triumphant pride and stubborn haughtiness of Spain. Lord Gage declaimed with almost equal heat upon the reduction of a balance due by Spain. Young William Pitt, who was already making himself known, and meriting from Walpole the designation of "that terrible cornet of horse," asked whether we had not wholly lost our nationality. "Is this," he cried, "any longer a nation? Or what is an English parliament if, with more ships in our harbours than in all the nations of Europe, with above 2,000,000 of people in our American colonies, we will bear to hear of the expediency of receiving from Spain an insecure, unsatisfactory, dishonourable convention?" From the date of this speech the tongue of William Pitt awed or commanded the House of Commons. In its abstract points few questions could have been better suited to a young and enthusiastic orator: the freedom of the seas, the might and right of the British flag, the jealousy of Spain and her inhuman policy, were subjects that never yet failed to excite the English people. Walpole, who spoke last in the debate, urged in reply that the convention laid the foundation for a good definitive treaty; that he held it to be his greatest boast at present, as it would be his greatest honour in succeeding times, to be named as the minister who had endeavoured by this convention to prevent the necessity of making war upon a nation with whom it was our greatest interest to be at peace. He repeated again and again his fundamental maxim—that peace was better than war; and that England being a trading nation, the prosperity of her trade ought always to be her principal object. On a division he found himself supported by a majority, but by a very slender one—260 being for him, and 232 against him.

On the next day Pulteney resumed the attack, and was supported by Wyndham; but the motion for a recommitment of the address was negatived by 244 against 214. Wyndham, who was still following the advice of Bolingbroke, then rose, and with great solemnity announced his intention of taking his leave of the House of Commons. "I have seen," said he, "this shameful, this fatal measure approved of by a majority of but twenty-eight, and I now rise to pay my last duty to my country as a member of this house." He added, "I think I cannot, with honour, sit in an assembly which is determined by motives which I am not at liberty to mention. I here, sir, bid a final adieu to this house. Perhaps, when another parliament shall succeed, I may be again at liberty to serve my country in the same capacity. I therefore appeal to a future, free, uninfluenced House of Commons. Let it be the judge of my conduct and of that of my friends on this occasion." Pelham was so incensed at the insult offered to the house, and the calling of the ministerial majority a corrupt faction, that he was rising to move for Wyndham's commitment to the Tower; but Walpole stopped him, and said with quite as much warmth as the Tory or Jacobite orator, that the measures that that gentleman and his friends might pursue gave him no uneasiness. "The friends of the nation," said he, "and this house are obliged to them for pulling off the mask, by making this public declaration. We can be upon our guard against open rebellion, but it is difficult to guard against secret traitors. The faction I speak of never sat in this house, they never joined in any public measure of the government, but with a view to distress it, and serve a Popish interest. The gentleman who is now the mouth of this faction was looked upon as the head of those traitors who, twenty-five years ago, conspired the destruction of their country and of the royal family, to set a Popish pretender upon the throne. He was seized by the vigilance of government, and pardoned by its clemency; but all the use he ungratefully made of that clemency has been to qualify himself according to law, that he and his party may, some time or other, have an opportunity to overthrow all law. I am only afraid that they will not be so good as their word, and that they will return; for I remember that, in the case of their favourite prelate [Atterbury], who was impeached of treason, the same gentleman and his faction made the same resolution. They went off like traitors as they were; but their retreat had not the detestable effect they expected and wished, and therefore they returned. Ever since, sir, they have persevered in the same treasonable intention of serving that interest, by distressing the government." In thus seceding, Sir William Wyndham calculated upon carrying and keeping the whole of his party with him; but these Tories soon grew weary of their secession, which to the popular eye looked like cowardice, and several of them never seceded at all. It is quite certain that the minister was not only unhurt by the secession, but was also anxious to prolong it. His measures passed off smoothly, always without a division, and often without a single opposition speech. He most undoubtedly rejoiced at the absence of Wyndham when he was compelled by the Hanoverian schemes of his master to ask for a subsidy of 250,000 dollars per annum for three years for the King of Denmark.[1] Parliament was very quietly prorogued on the 14th of June.

SIR WILLIAM WYNDHAM.—From a fine print by J. Faber.

But our foreign negotiations were anything rather than smooth and tranquil. When, in pursuance of the convention, two British plenipotentiaries went to Madrid to confer with two plenipotentiaries of Spain, there was little likelihood that the preliminaries would end in a definitive amicable treaty. The Spaniards were enraged at the declarations and denunciations made in our parliament, and they seemed determined to talk as loud as we did. It is quite certain that they would have spoken less boldly if Walpole had said less about his anxious desire to prevent hostilities. The equally pacific Cardinal

---

[1] George II., as Elector of Hanover, had bought from Holstein the petty lordship and castle of Steinhorst; but his Danish majesty pretended that Holstein had no right to sell it—that the thing belonged to him. A detachment of Danish troops had even attempted to take forcible possession of Steinhorst; but George's Hanoverians had beaten them off after a smart skirmish. The King of Denmark hereupon had raised a terrible clamour, had threatened war, and had put himself in correspondence with the French. But the English subsidy conjured the storm.

Fleury, however, stepped in with an offer of the mediation of France, and he undertook to guarantee to England the immediate payment of the £95,000 stipulated for in the convention, provided only the British squadron were recalled from the Mediterranean. But the course of events, together with the disposition of the nation and of the king, who had all along been far less anxious for peace, convinced Walpole that the time for friendly compromise was past, and that he must either engage in a war or retire into private life, leaving his enemies to triumph in his fall, and undo, perhaps in a single session, the system which he had framed in so many laborious years. Thanks to the opposition orators in the House of Commons and to Skipper Jenkyns and his ear, the mass of the nation was in a high Spanish fever, which nothing could moderate but Spanish blood. Under these circumstances Walpole took his stand on the very best ground that was offered—for he demanded from Spain an absolute renunciation for ever of the right of search, and an express acknowledgment of all the British rights and claims in North America. At the same time he reinforced the squadron in the Mediterranean, sent Sir Chaloner Ogle with more ships to the West Indies, and put another fleet to sea under Sir John Norris. Spain proudly rejected the English demands, and on the 19th of October war was proclaimed in London in the most jubilant manner. The stocks, which had been on the decline, rose instantly. The colonies in South America, the mines of Mexico and Peru, were already by anticipation the conquests of England; and every loud-tongued vagabond in the streets of London that shouted for joy, or rung the bells in the church steeples, seemed to fancy himself a sharer in the prey. Several of the leaders of the opposition joined in the jubilee, which they in reality had made by striving for the war; and they walked in procession after the heralds who had to proclaim, by sound of trumpet, that an indefinite quantity of human blood was to be shed. The Prince of Wales was not far behind his friends, and he stopped before the Rose Tavern, at Temple Bar, to drink with the mob, "Success to the war!" Walpole, in the meanwhile was muttering, in a sure spirit of prophecy, "They may ring the bells now but they will soon be wringing their hands." Before the declaration of war, he sent his brother Horace to Holland to require the auxiliary troops which the states were bound to furnish. But the court of France prevailed upon the Dutch to remain neutral, by threatening them with an army of 50,000 men, and alluring them with hopes of procuring the best part of the trade which the English had carried on with Spanish America. England was then left without an ally, and France continued to wear a threatening rather than an amicable aspect.

Parliament assembled on the 15th of November. Sir William Wyndham and the rest of the seceders had by this time returned to their posts, confident that they should soon make them a stepping-stone to the cabinet, which was now greatly divided against Walpole. Walpole, vexed and harassed on every side, and conscious that he had taken a false step, gave full vent to his spleen. He said that, after what had passed last session, he little expected to be so soon favoured with the company of the seceders; he was always pleased when he saw gentlemen in the way of their duty, and glad that those members had returned to theirs, though, to say the truth, he had entertained no great apprehension that the service either of his majesty or of the nation would suffer much by their absence. The original address passed in the commons without a division, but the address of the upper house had a different fate—Chesterfield, Carteret, and others harangued at great length, and forty-eight peers voted against sixty-eight. The Duke of Argyle was now in resolute opposition, and he was even more formidable by his eloquence and address than by the influence he possessed over other Scottish lords and leaders. Walpole had been taunted with want of courage, for he had left the great Scottish duke in possession of all his offices, places, and military commands—and this, as Pulteney had said in the house, because he durst not turn him out. But, a few months after this, the minister prevailed upon the king to dismiss Argyle from all his employments by one stroke of the pen. According to a Jacobite authority, the Highland blood of the duke got the better of his prudence, and he exclaimed—"Fall flat, fall edge, we must get rid of these people." "Which," adds the Jacobite reporter, "might imply both man and master, or only the man."[1] The opposition, who correctly considered themselves as the parents of the war, thought that they had a right to manage it in their own way; and Walpole found himself obliged to withdraw his resistance to the bill for encouraging seamen by giving them *all* the prize money, which had been thrown out the preceding session.

A.D. 1740.

Sir William Wyndham believed, or pretended to believe that, notwithstanding the declaration of hostilities, Walpole was determined to get out of the war as soon as he could; and on the 21st of February he moved a most violent address, beseeching his majesty never to admit of any treaty of peace with Spain unless the acknowledgment of our natural and indubitable right to navigate in the American seas, without being searched, visited, or stopped under any pretence whatsoever, should have been first obtained as a preliminary. Wyndham had flattered himself that Walpole would resist the motion; but that minister, who could not be blind to its tendency, declared that he would be the first to agree to it; and it was carried without one dissentient voice.

---

[1] Letter from General Keith to his brother, the exiled earl marischal, in *Stuart Papers*, as cited by Lord Mahon, who obtained this particular extract from the Right Hon. C. W. Wynn, who copied it at Carlton House.

It was soon found that England was not altogether prepared for a war, even on her proper element; and that, though the sailors had clamoured loudly "to have a brush with the Spaniards," they did not like to serve his majesty for less wages than they could get from merchants, and had no taste for the arbitrary system of impressment. Thus we had ships ready for sea, and not sailors enough to man them; and, while we were getting ready, the Spanish cruisers picked up our trading vessels with alarming rapidity. The merchants and others petitioned parliament for convoys to protect trade—for fleets and squadrons to maintain the supremacy of the English flag everywhere—and yet, at the same time, not to permit government to press the seamen. Walpole found himself compelled to sanction letters of marque and licenses to a vast number of privateers; for by this time many adventurers, both French and Dutch, had taken to the profitable business of piracy, and were plundering our ships under bits of Spanish bunting. He, however, attended to the building of light twenty-gun ships, and fitted out as many cruisers of the royal navy as he could. But although the opposition thwarted the minister in everything else, they voted him the public money with an easy liberality, forgetting, as his biographer observes, their own repeated assertions that Walpole had so impoverished the nation that it could not possibly bear any further burdens. With their consent the land-tax was raised from two to four shillings in the pound, the sinking-fund was again encroached upon, and the whole amount of supplies came up to more than £4,000,000.

Parliament was prorogued on the 29th of April. While it was yet sitting—on the 13th of March—advices were received that Admiral Vernon had taken Porto-Bello from the Spaniards. Vernon was the pet admiral of the opposition, and a personal enemy to the minister. Sir John Norris, having his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland with him as a volunteer, sailed away for Ferrol in order to intercept the Spanish fleet about to sail for the West Indies; but the weather was contrary and foul, two of his best ships were greatly damaged, and before Norris could get clear of the English coast he received intelligence that the Spaniards had put to sea and were on their way to America. In the autumn Commodore Anson was detached with a small squadron to assist Vernon and commit depredations in the South Seas. But the grand exertion made by England was the fitting out a formidable armament for the northern coast of Spanish America and his Catholic majesty's settlements in the Atlantic. Four battalions were raised in the British colonies in North America, and conveyed to Jamaica to await the arrival of forces from England. These latter forces, consisting chiefly of marines and of detachments from some old regiments, were embarked in the month of October at the Isle of Wight, under the command of Lord Cathcart. Sir Chaloner Ogle accompanied them with a fleet of twenty-seven ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, tenders, hospital-ships, and store-ships. The armament was exceedingly well equipped; and it was expected that Cathcart and Ogle between them would do nothing less than subvert the empire of the Spaniards in the Western world.

After the departure of the king for Hanover the dissensions in the cabinet increased. The Duke of Newcastle even came to an open quarrel with Walpole. They were reconciled by mutual friends, but soon quarrelled again. Newcastle, who had always been inclined to the war, thought that he was the fittest person of the two to have the entire management of it. He was for sending every ship of war that could be spared to the West Indies and South America; while Walpole, well knowing the schemes of the pretender, considered it unsafe to leave our own coasts unguarded. Matters soon arrived at that point that no single measure was debated at the council table without violent altercations. The premier must have felt he was losing ground daily, for he allowed himself to be overcome by frequent fits of passion; and instead of being good-humoured and cheerful, as had been his wont, he was peevish and querulous. As he had feared and foreseen, France concluded a family compact with Spain, and employed her accomplished diplomatists in every court in Europe to prevent England from forming new alliances, or to break those she had already formed. Walpole, however, succeeded in detaching Russia from the French interest; and he subsidized Sweden as well as Denmark, Hesse-Cassel, and some other German states. But the great trial of diplomatic strength was at the court of Berlin. The capricious and inept Frederick William of Prussia died on the 31st of May of the present year, 1740, and was succeeded by his extraordinary son, whom he had most brutally treated, but who became Frederick the Great. Frederick William left at his death a treasure of £1,500,000 sterling, and a disciplined army of 76,000 men. He had made little use of this imposing force; but his son was no sooner on the throne than he resolved to improve it and use it for conquest. This young king—he was in his twenty-eighth year—found himself courted by all the great European powers. France was most anxious to secure his friendship, and England hoped that, now that the personal animosities between his father and the house of Hanover were removed, she might secure him in her interests. But Frederick was in no hurry to conclude a bargain either with France or England: he amused both and waited events. Circumstances soon occurred which tempted him to turn his 76,000 men against the house of Austria. On the 20th of October the emperor Charles VI. died, and was succeeded in all his hereditary states by his daughter, Maria Theresa, whose rights were guaranteed, in conformity with the pragmatic sanction, by all the great powers of Europe. At first, every one of these powers, except Bavaria, recognized her accession; but in the end, not one of them except England adhered to its engagements. The Elector of Bavaria had claims of his own to a good part of the Austrian inheritance, and he maintained that the female line could not legally succeed. But the first blow against the fair Austrian did not proceed from that quarter; the elector was too weak to take the field except as a second to a greater power. The King of Prussia revived some antiquated claims to part of the province of Silesia, and he thought that he could not better employ his army and his treasure than in taking possession of the whole—"a project," as he himself observed afterwards, "which promised to fulfil all the political views he had most at heart, as it was the readiest means of obtaining reputation, of augmenting the power of his kingdom, and of terminating satisfactorily several long litigated questions." He, however, kept his secret till he was ready to act; and when on the 15th of December, after a grand masked ball, he set out from Berlin at the head of 30,000 men, very few persons knew whither he was going, or what were his real intentions in beginning a campaign at so unusual a season. He merely said to the French ambassador as he was getting to horse, "I am going to play your game; if aces are dealt to me we will go halves." On the 23d of December, Frederick crossed his frontier, and found himself well received by the majority of the Silesians, who, as Protestants, inclined rather to Prussia than to Catholic Austria. Maria Theresa had very few troops in the province, and these were soon obliged to retire into Moravia. Breslau, the capital, through the harangues of an enthusiastic Protestant shoemaker, opened the gates to the Prussians; Namslau and Olau followed the example, and by the middle of January the whole province was overrun. On the first alarm the Queen of Hungary, as Maria Theresa was generally called, applied for advice and aid to King George. George and his English ministers, knowing her weakness, advised her to purchase a peace with her dangerous neighbour by sacrificing part or the whole of Silesia; but she indignantly rejected the proposition, and claimed, as a matter of right, the succour stipulated in the treaty by which England guaranteed the pragmatic sanction. All that George could do at the moment was to collect some troops on his Hanoverian frontier; but this obliged his nephew Frederick to leave a considerable part of his army in that quarter to watch the proceedings of these Hanoverians.

Anne, the Czarina of Russia, died nearly at the same time as the Emperor Charles. She bequeathed her crown to Ivan, the infant grandson of her elder sister, the Duchess of Mecklenburg; but the Russian nobles soon set aside the helpless boy, and placed the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne. This daughter of Peter the Great was of mature age and experience, and endowed with considerable ability and spirit. She, in her turn, was as much courted for her alliance as Frederick of Prussia had been, and much seemed to depend upon the course she might take. Altogether the politics of Europe were changed or modified—the cards were fresh shuffled, and statesmen hardly knew the hands they might get, or the antagonists against whom they might have to play.

CHAPTER XVII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1741—1742.

GEORGE II.

Threats in parliament of an attack upon Walpole—Charges brought against him—Proposal for his removal from office—Shippen's generous defence of Walpole—Walpole's answer to the charges brought against him—His definition of a patriot—His justification of his measures—The motion to displace him rejected in the commons by a large majority—Its rejection also in the lords—Parliament resolves to aid Maria Theresa—A subsidy granted to her—Defeat of her army at Molwitz—France proposes an alliance with Frederick of Prussia—British negotiation with Frederick—He closes with the offers of France—George II. to preserve Hanover agrees to a year's neutrality—Maria Theresa repairs to Hungary—Her appeal to the Hungarians—Their enthusiastic adoption of her cause—The French and Bavarians invade Hungary—Their successes and discomfiture—Insignificant naval operations of Britain against the Spaniards—Admiral Vernon's attack on the passage of the Boca Chica—Misunderstandings between the land and sea forces—Miserable failure of the expedition—The opposition in parliament organizes an attack on Walpole—They commence by objections to the royal opening speech—Walpole's answer and defence—He courts inquiry—Combination formed against him—His vigorous defence in parliament—He retires from office—He is created Earl of Orford—His character as a minister—He is succeeded by Sir Spencer Compton, now Lord Wilmington—Political promotions and concessions—Disappointment of those Whigs and Tories who had aided the opposition—A great meeting of the discontented—Their speeches and proceedings—Fresh promotions to pacify them—A new Tory opposition originates in a refusal of the king—It is joined by members from the other parties—Pulteney's unpopularity after becoming a peer—Secret committee appointed to inquire into the last ten years of Walpole's administration—Difficulties thrown in the way of the inquiry—Its futile termination—Supplies voted to the Queen of Hungary—Useless British expedition to Flanders—Treaty of peace signed between Frederick and the Queen of Hungary.

GEORGE came back to England and opened parliament on the 18th of November. The speech from the throne mentioned the exertions made to fit out fleets and armies for the West Indies and South America, and the resolution of his majesty to add strength to those armaments in order to bring Spain to reason. It also alluded plainly to the probability of France becoming an open enemy.

Walpole had nothing more to fear from the eloquence of Sir William Wyndham, for that Tory chief had gone to his grave in the course of the summer; but the opposition was now so formidable as scarcely to feel his loss. They were led in the lords by the Duke of Argyle, who criticized and condemned the whole conduct of the war, and proposed an address very different from the ministerial one. Lord Bathurst seconded him, and Lord Carteret was even more violent than his grace, calling Walpole "a minister who has for almost twenty years been demonstrating to the world that he has neither wisdom nor conduct."[1] These, however, were only the skirmishes which precede a general engagement.

A.D. 1741. On the 11th of February, Sandys, who has been well called "the motion-maker," left his seat and crossed the floor of the house to the minister, to tell him that he thought it an act of common courtesy to inform him that he should, on Friday next, move an accusation of several articles against him. Walpole, unmoved, thanked him for this piece of information. Sandys returned to his seat, and, standing up soon after, he acquainted the house with his intention of opening, on Friday, a matter of great importance, which personally concerned the chancellor of the exchequer, who he therefore hoped would on that day be present. Walpole instantly rose, and with great composure publicly thanked Sandys for his notice: he requested an impartial hearing, declaring that he would not fail to attend the house on Friday, as he was not conscious of any crime, and then, laying his hand on his breast, he said with some emotion, "*Nil conscire sibi, nulli pallescere culpæ.*" His former friend, and now inveterate enemy, Pulteney, untouched by the minister's emotion, declared that his Latin was as bad as his logic—that he had misquoted Horace, who had written *nullâ pallescere culpâ.* Walpole, who had not much time for the classics, was hurt at being called to task; he defended his quotation, and offered to bet a guinea on its correctness. Pulteney took the bet, and referred to the minister's friend Nicholas Hardinge, clerk of the house, and a reputed scholar. Hardinge decided against Walpole, and thereupon the guinea was tossed to Pulteney, who, holding it up to the house, exclaimed—"It is the only money I have received from the treasury for many years, and it shall be the last." On the black Friday the motion-maker stood up in a crowded house, and began his terrible accusations with a sonorous voice.[1] As the expected conclusion to his long, loud speech, Sandys said —"I therefore move that an humble address be presented to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole from his majesty's presence and counsels for ever." Lord Limerick seconded the motion, declaring that the nation was reduced to the lowest state, that the reins of government were held by a sole minister, who lived by expedients, and who removed the best and ablest men in the army for opposing him in parliament. Next, Mr. Wortley Montagu, an enormously rich gentleman, and the very dull husband of a brisk and witty wife, proposed that, according to many old precedents, Sir Robert should be ordered to retire from the house while his conduct was examined. Wortley Montagu was seconded by Gibbon, but the motion was warmly opposed by Bromley and Howe, and the majority of the house seemed to consider the precedents quoted as very harsh to the party accused, or as altogether inapplicable. The house then reverted to the main question; and Pulteney, Pitt, Bootle, Fazakerly, Lyttleton, and others, charged Walpole with as much acrimony as Sandys had displayed in the beginning. Pulteney particularly insisted upon the monstrous folly and crime of which the minister had been guilty in contracting alliances with the French court, and exalting the house of Bourbon at the expense of the house of Austria. Pitt declared that during Walpole's administration debts were increased and taxes multiplied at home, while abroad the system of Europe was totally subverted; and he held "that at this awful moment, when the greatest scene was opening to Europe that had ever before occurred, he who had lost the confidence of all mankind should not be permitted to continue at the head of his majesty's government." While other members of the opposition were comparing Walpole to the most worthless favourites and minions of royalty—even to Piers Gaveston and Le Despenser—and were charging him with crimes for which the scaffold seemed too mild a punishment, Edward Harley, the brother of the late Lord-treasurer Oxford, displayed something that looked like magnanimity. The thorough Shippen, who in many respects merited his other name, "the honest," also refused to strike the falling minister. He declared that he looked upon the motion merely as a scheme for turning out one minister and bringing in another; that as he had never any regard to his own private interest, it was quite indifferent to him who was in or who was out; and that he should give himself no concern in the question: and so saying, he too withdrew, and was followed by *thirty-four* of his party. Shippen's behaviour has been accounted for by the following circumstances:—Some time before, the minister had discovered a correspondence which a Jacobite, a bosom friend of Shippen's, was carrying on with the pretender, and which by law might have been punished even with death. Shippen called upon the minister and implored him to save his friend, and Walpole readily complied, saying to him—"Mr. Shippen, I cannot desire you to vote with my administration, for, with your principles, I have no right to expect it; but I only require, whenever any question is brought forward in the house affecting me personally, that you will recollect the favour I have now granted you."[2] But the conduct of Shippen is also accounted for in another way, which will equally explain (which the anecdote just related does not) the conduct of the rest of the high Tories and Jacobites, who were bound by no obligation, and who had given Walpole no such promise. Thomas Carte, the Jacobite historian, whom Queen Caroline had permitted to return to England, says distinctly, in a letter to the pretender, that his party were irritated at the suddenness of Sandys' motion, and at their not having been previously consulted. "It was set on foot," writes Carte, "by the Duke of Argyle and the party of *old* Whigs, without either concerting measures with the Tories or acquainting them with the matter; so that, when it was moved in the commons, Sir John Hynde Cotton and Sir Watkin Williams were forced to go about the house to solicit their friends to stay the debate, which they were vexed should be brought on without their concurrence; and all they could say could not keep Will Shippen and twenty-three others of the Tories from leaving the house in a body. All Prince Frederick's servants, and party also, except Lyttleton, Pitt, and Grenville, left the house; so that, though there were once above 500 members in the house, when the question came to be put there were not above 400 present."[3] There is still another reason given for the departure and non-voting of the Jacobites, and a strange one it is. In the midst of his embarrassments and difficulties, Walpole himself addressed a letter to the pretender, with the view of softening the animosities of his partizans in

---

[1] The continuation of Carteret's speech was still more indecorous "He may," said he, "have a little low cunning, such as those have that buy cattle in Smithfield market, or such as a French valet makes use of for managing an indulgent master, but the whole tenor of his conduct has shown that he has no true wisdom.

---

[1] At one time there were nearly 500 members present. Several of the members had secured their seats as early as six in the morning. The debate did not begin till one in the afternoon. The passages to the gallery were crowded, and an immense crowd was collected outside of the house.

[2] Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole.* The archdeacon says that this curious fact was communicated to him by a member of the Shippen family.

[3] Letter to James, in *Stuart Papers*, as given by Lord Mahon, Appendix.

England; and it is said that James was induced to believe that George's prime minister intended to serve him, and sent suitable instructions to the Jacobite members.[1] However this may be, when the Jacobites were all gone, and when the *old* Whigs had done speaking, Sir Robert rose to have the last word in defence of himself. The speech he delivered has been admitted to be his master-piece; and, even as it is reported, it abounds with striking and most effective passages. He observed that the parties combined against him might be divided into three classes: the Tories, the disaffected Whigs, calling themselves patriots, and the *boys.* In fact, nearly every young man in the house was in opposition, as very young men, for the most part, are apt to be. To the first class, Walpole's tone was mild and almost conciliatory; but it became sharp and cruel as a two-edged sword when he fell upon the discontented Whigs. "These patriots," he exclaimed, "are such from discontent and disappointment; they would change the ministry that themselves might exclusively succeed. . . . . Gentlemen have talked a great deal of patriotism —a venerable word when duly practised; but I am sorry to say that of late it has been so much hackneyed about, that it is in danger of falling into disgrace: the very idea of true patriotism is lost, and the term has been prostituted to the very worst of purposes. A patriot, sir! why patriots spring up like mushrooms; I could raise fifty of them within the four-and-twenty hours; I have raised many of them in one night. It is but refusing to gratify an unreasonable or an insolent demand, and up starts a patriot! I have never been afraid of making patriots; but I disclaim and despise all their efforts." Proceeding to consider the articles of accusation which they had brought against him, and which they had not thought fit to reduce to specific charges, he spoke of foreign affairs first, and complained with some reason of the way in which they had managed the question, by blending numerous treaties and complicated negotiations into one general mass—by stigmatizing the whole diplomacy of Europe for thirty years past, and making him accountable for all its shiftings and changings, all its mischiefs and errors. He showed that the balance of power in Europe and the whole scheme of European policy had been affected and altered by the peace of Utrecht, which suffered the Bourbon Philip to remain on the Spanish throne, but which was concluded long before he became minister. The quadruple alliance, he said, was the inevitable consequence of that treaty; but he was not accountable for that, though he had been unwillingly an accessory to the execution of it. He maintained that France was not to be considered eternally the enemy of England; that there were circumstances in which the interests of the two countries might coincide, and in which the friendship of France was more valuable than that of any other nation. The treaty of Hanover he defended as an indispensable measure to counteract the treaty of Vienna, which aimed at nothing less than depriving us of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, and forcing the pretender upon us. He defended the part England had taken in the pragmatic sanction—her neutrality when Don Carlos conquered Naples—her recent but broken convention with Spain—and all her subsequent foreign policy. With equal spirit he justified his home administration, claiming the merit that was due to him as an encourager of trade and industry, a lover of peace, and an expert financier. He called to mind the terrors of the South Sea year. "Was I not placed at the head of the treasury," said he, "when the revenues were in the greatest confusion! Is credit revived? Does it not now flourish? Is it not at an incredible height? and, if so, to whom must that circumstance be attributed? Has not tranquillity been preserved at home, notwithstanding a most unreasonable and violent opposition? Has not trade flourished?" As to the conduct of the war, he said—"As I am neither admiral nor general—as I have nothing to do either with our navy or army—I am sure I am not answerable for the prosecution of it. But were I to answer for everything, no fault could, I think, be found with my conduct in the prosecution of this war. . . . If our attacks upon the enemy were too long delayed, or if they have not been so vigorous or so frequent as they ought to have been, those only are to blame who have for so many years been haranguing against standing armies; for without a sufficient number of regular troops in proportion to the numbers kept up by our neighbours, I am sure we can neither defend ourselves nor offend our enemies." In concluding his long and really eloquent defence, he said—"But while I unequivocally deny that I am sole and prime minister, and that to my influence and direction all the measures of government must be attributed, yet I will not shrink from the responsibility which attaches to the post I have the honour to hold; and should, during the long period in which I have sat upon this bench, any one step taken by government be proved to be either disgraceful or disadvantageous to the nation, I am ready to hold myself accountable. To conclude, sir, though I shall always be proud of the honour of any trust or confidence from his majesty, yet I shall always be ready to remove from his councils and presence when he thinks fit; and therefore I should think myself very little concerned in the event of the present question, if it were not for the encroachment that will thereby be made upon the prerogatives of the crown. But I must think that an address to his majesty to remove one of his servants, without so much as alleging any particular crime against him, is one of the greatest encroachments that was ever made upon the prerogatives of the crown; and therefore, for the sake of my master, without any regard for my own, I hope that all those that have a due regard for our constitution, and for the rights and prerogatives of the crown, without which our constitution cannot be preserved, will be against this motion." It was four o'clock in the morning ere Walpole had done speaking; and then, upon a speedy division, Sandys' motion was rejected by a majority of 290 to 106. On the same day that Sandys made his motion in the commons, Lord Carteret produced its counterpart in the lords, and was strenuously supported by the Dukes of Argyle and Bedford, the Earls of Sandwich, Westmoreland, Berkshire, Carlisle, Abingdon, and Halifax, and the Lords Haversham and Bathurst. On the other side, the Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, the lord-chancellor, Sherlock, Bishop of Salisbury, the Earl of Ilay, and Lord Hervey spoke as warmly against the motion, which was finally rejected by a majority of 108 to 59. Thirty-one peers signed a hot protest. The Prince of Wales was in the house, but did not vote; and it was observed that Lord Wilmington, and several other peers holding places under government, neither voted nor spoke *pro* or *con*. The peers' protest is said to have been prepared by the minister's arch-enemy, Bolingbroke, who could not be quiet in his rose-bowers at Chanteloup. It appears that Walpole himself felt that his fall was only delayed for a season; at least it is said that he remarked to Sandys, in a private conversation, that they might get the better of him, but that he was sure no other minister would ever be able to stand so long as he had done.

---

[1] See Lord Mahon's *Appendix.* Bolingbroke seems to have thought that the hot Tories or the Jacobites marred the business through a miserable blunder; and that if his friend and their great leader, Sir William Wyndham, had been alive, matters would have been managed very differently. In a letter to Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, in which he calls England a despicable and despised country, he says—"The conduct of the Tories is silly, infamous, and void of any colour of excuse; and yet the truth is, that the behaviour and language of some of those who complain on this occasion has prepared it, and given Shippen, who disliked the coalition (with the discontented Whigs) from the first as much as Walpole, a pretence to make his fools break it. . . . . The reflection you make concerning our departed friend renews all the bitterness of sorrow that I felt when we lost him."—*Marchmont Papers.* But unless Shippen had been a finished dissembler, a Proteus like Bolingbroke, he could never have acted consonantly with the discontented Whigs, who wanted a change of ministers, but certainly no change of dynasty. Shippen, on the other side, wanted above all things the restoration of the Stuarts; and being a blunt, warm-hearted, and hot-headed man, he hardly ever made a secret of his inclination. Shippen's great and rare merit seems to have been his disinterestedness in money matters. His vote was never to be bought. It was a dictum of Walpole that he would not say who was corrupted, but he would say who was not corruptible—and that man was Will Shippen. He once refused a bribe of £1000 from the Prince of Wales—a wonderful stretch of virtue in those days, when every statesman was thought to have his price.

As all parties in parliament had seemed to agree in the necessity of supporting the fair heiress of the emperor—as Maria Theresa, a female attacked by a confederacy of selfish princes, was a popular favourite in England—and as George was not without alarm for the security of his German dominions—it was presently resolved to do something in conformity with the obligations of our guarantee. When the debate came on in the commons, Clutterbuck, one of the lords of the treasury, committed a great mistake by making too prominent his majesty's alarms about Hanover. "We ought," said this mal-adroit orator, "to pronounce that the territories of Hanover will be considered on this occasion as the dominions of England, and that any attack on one or the other will be equally resented." The opposition, who could not in decency have said a word against the supporting of Maria Theresa, caught hold of this unlucky expression, and declared that, but for the fears about Hanover, the Austrian inheritance would have been left to run its chance—the Queen of Hungary would have been unaided. Ever since the accession of the Georges, the English people had been taught to loathe the very name of Hanover—any argument, any declamation about sacrificing their interests for the aggrandizement or preservation of that electorate was sure to transport them; and, therefore, Pulteney made a long speech on the subject, affirming, among other things, that by the act of settlement, which advanced the present family to the throne, it was provided that England should never be involved in a war for the enlargement or protection of the dominions of Hanover—"dominions," said Pulteney, "from which we never expected nor received any benefit, and for which, therefore, nothing ought to be either suffered or hazarded." Walpole remedied the mistake of Clutterbuck by drawing attention from the electorate to that vast composite of states the Austrian empire, and by recapitulating the specific obligations we had contracted by the treaty in which we guaranteed the succession. Sandys made a speech, and said something about allegiance being due to the King of Great Britain, and not to the Elector of Hanover; but an address in terms of assenting response to the royal speech was carried without a division; and on the 13th of April, Walpole moved for and obtained—also without a division—a subsidy of £300,000 to the Queen of Hungary.

On the 25th of April parliament was prorogued by a speech from the throne; and as it had sat nearly its limited term of seven years, it was dissolved immediately after, and writs were issued for new elections, returnable on the 25th day of June. Walpole, well knowing the difficulties he should be left under, implored the king to put off his usual journey; but his influence was fast declining: George was anxious to get to Hanover, and he embarked on the 7th of May. About a month before his departure Frederick of Prussia won a great battle, in spite of a lamentable display of personal cowardice—a display he never made again. Maria Theresa's general, Marshal Neuperg, had collected an army in Upper Silesia; and after relieving some places that were besieged and retaking Grotkau, he established himself on the 9th of April at Molwitz. On the 10th Frederick came up and attacked Neuperg between Molwitz and Groningen. After much hard fighting, disorder spread through the whole Austrian line, and presently the army which almost seemed the forlorn hope of Maria Theresa was in headlong retreat. Nearly 5000 men were killed and wounded; and nine pieces of cannon and four standards were taken from the Austrians. But the Prussians had paid dearly for their victory: 4600 of them were killed and wounded. Frederick, who was afterwards the historian of his own wars, coolly confesses that in this campaign it seemed as if he and Count Neuperg had been trying which should commit the most faults; but he adds—"Molwitz was the school of the King of Prussia and his troops; for that prince reflected deeply upon all the faults and errors he had fallen into, and tried to correct them for the future."[1] After this victory he besieged and took the important town of Brieg. These rapid successes of the Prussians determined the King of France to disregard his guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, and to make common cause with Frederick, the French being once more transported with that old and so often defeated hope of making an end of the house of Austria. The Marshal de Belleisle, who had been watching proceedings at Frankfort, where a diet had assembled to elect a new emperor, was despatched into Silesia to conclude an alliance with the conqueror, the chief articles of which were to be:—1. The elevation of that old ally of France, the Elector of Bavaria, to the imperial dignity: 2. The division and dismemberment of the provinces of the Queen of Hungary: 3. The guarantee of France to the King of Prussia of all Lower Silesia, provided only he would renounce his claims upon the duchies of Juliers and Berg, and give his vote at the diet to the Elector of Bavaria. Belleisle had also power to stipulate that France should send two armies into the empire to assist the Elector of Bavaria, and to keep in check King George's army collected or collecting in Hanover. A more unprincipled scheme of dismemberment and partition has rarely been entertained by any court. But the quick-sighted Prussian had by this time discovered that Belleisle was a visionary, and that he could not wisely conclude so important a bargain with France without deliberation and some fore-knowledge of the designs of England and her allies. These designs were still pacific, or, at least, Walpole most earnestly desired that all the resources of diplomacy should be employed before recourse was had to the sword. He was negotiating with all his might to procure some cessions and concessions from Maria Theresa, to detach Frederick from the confederacy of which France was, or would be the head, and to convert him into an ally—judging correctly that if the sword of Prussia were once thrown into his scale the confederacy would break to pieces, and her Hungarian majesty be left undisturbed. In some respects the minister was not well seconded by the sovereign, and the difficulties he had to encounter from Austrian obstinacy and Prussian presumption were very great. He sent the accomplished John Carmichael, Earl of Hyndford, to the camp of Frederick, and Mr. Robinson to the court of Vienna. Lord Hyndford, thinking perhaps that a young prince would not be altogether insensible to gallantry and magnanimity, and might even be brought to blush at the idea of falling upon a defenceless woman, tried hard to induce Frederick to lower his pretensions and display generosity and magnanimity, which were such beautiful things in a conqueror. The cold and wiry Prussian soon interrupted him by saying, "Talk not to me, my lord, of magnanimity! A prince ought first to consult his own interests. *I* am not averse to a peace, but I expect to have four duchies, and I *will* have them." At the same time Robinson was equally unsuccessful at Vienna. Weak as she was, and as she knew herself to be—terrible as was the confederacy forming against her—Maria Theresa absolutely refused to yield to Frederick any part of Silesia, or to admit the justice of the Prussian claim. At last she most reluctantly agreed to buy a peace by giving up the duchy of Limburg and some other strips of land in the Low Countries. Yet in empowering Robinson to make this offer to Frederick she passionately exclaimed—"I hope he may reject it!" When Robinson arrived at the head-quarters of the Prussian army and opened his commission to the king, he met precisely the kind of reception he expected, though probably he was not prepared for the stage-tone and action which the royal Prussian had learned from an attentive study of French tragedies. "Still beggarly offers!" cried this pupil of Voltaire; "since you have nothing to propose on the side of Silesia, all negotiations are useless. My ancestors would rise out of their tombs to reproach me, should I abandon my just rights." And, so saying, he took off his hat and rushed behind the curtain of his tent, after the fashion of a hero in a French tragedy, when something terrible is to be done. But, while Walpole sent Lord Hyndford as minister plenipotentiary from England, George sent to the same camp Mr. Schwickelt in the same capacity from Hanover; and, if we may believe Frederick himself, the Scottish lord and the Hanoverian were the bearers of very different messages. He says that Schwickelt offered the neutrality of his master George, if he would only cede or agree to the cession of certain territories to square the electorate of Hanover! Frederick could lie, both royally and diplomatically; and, even though he narrates this story long after the events and the heats of the contest, some doubt may reasonably be entertained as to its truth, particularly when we reflect that a hatred of his uncle George was ever a strong passion in the mind of Frederick. Walpole also sent ambassadors or agents in other directions. He was well represented at the court of Russia by the Honourable Edward Finch, and it was agreed that a Russian army, assembled in Livonia, should act against Prussia, and thus oblige Frederick to divide his conquering army; but, unfortunately, France was all prevalent at the Swedish court; Sweden was made to declare war against Russia, and, owing to that circumstance, and to internal commotions and changes, Russia sent not a man in aid of Maria Theresa. Still, however, Frederick was alarmed by reports of the marching of Danish and Hessian troops in the pay of his uncle of England, and of demonstrations making in Saxony; and, seeing that he must have some great ally, or be quiet, he at length concluded the treaty offered by France, stipulating that it should be kept secret till French armies were ready to act in his favour. He says himself that the secret *was* kept by the French; and he boasts how he succeeded in amusing Lord Hyndford and Schwickelt with empty negotiations as long as was necessary for his purpose. While fresh encouragements were given to the Jacobites to attempt another civil war in Scotland, the French court, where the pacific Cardinal Fleury had grown old and powerless, hurried Marshal Maillebois across the Rhine with one army, and detached the Marshals Belleisle and De Broglie with another. Maillebois, after crossing the Rhine, moved straight upon Hanover, where King George was then residing, and probably now wishing that he had taken Walpole's advice and remained in England. He was employed in assembling, reviewing, and drilling the troops he had subsidized, when he learned the rapid approach of the French. Too weak to stop their march, and dreading the worst for his electoral dominions, George hastened to conclude one year's neutrality for Hanover, stipulating that, during that period, she should afford no assistance whatever to Maria Theresa, and that, at the ensuing election of an emperor, he, as an elector, would not give his vote in favour of her husband, who very unwisely pretended to the dignity. As soon as it was known in England, this treaty excited universal indignation, and was denounced on every side as cowardly, selfish, and base. George had been very anxious for a war, but, personally, his *début* was a most unfortunate one! In the meanwhile Belleisle and De Broglie, having joined the forces of the Elector of Bavaria, reduced the important city of Linz, and pushed forward for Vienna. When these French and Bavarians had thrown their outposts within three leagues of her ancient capital, Maria Theresa departed with her infant son into Hungary, leaving her husband and his brother, Prince Charles of Lorraine, to defend Vienna.[1] But, in calculating the weakness of the Queen of Hungary, her enemies had overlooked her really strong point—which was the devotion and valour of her Hungarian subjects. She had gratified that high-spirited people by many previous condescensions: in the preceding month of June she had been crowned at their ancient capital according to their ancient and national forms; and she had taken the oaths to preserve their constitution, which, defective and wholly aristocratic as it was, had yet tended more than any other cause to keep alive their gallant spirit. Though she spoke not Magyar, the ancient language of their country, she could discourse fluently in Latin, which all classes above the mere serfs used, and still use, as the general language of society, or as other nations employ French. She was then one of the most charming women in Europe; her countenance was beautiful, her figure elegant, and her demeanour majestic. Now, a fugitive and apparently abandoned by the rest of her subjects, she repaired again to the old walls of Pressburg, where the magnates and the other orders were assembled in diet or parliament. On the 11th of September she summoned them to attend her at the castle; and there, with her infant son, afterwards the Emperor Joseph II., in her arms, she addressed the assembly in a Latin speech, made the more touching by the occasional interruption of sobs and tears. When she came to the words—"The kingdom of Hungary, our person, our children, our crown are at stake!—forsaken by all, we seek shelter only in the fidelity, the arms, the hereditary valour of the renowned Hungarian states"—the magnates and all present, as if animated with one soul, drew their sabres half-way from the scabbard, and exclaimed, "Our lives and our blood for your majesty! We will die for our *king*, Maria Theresa." Nor was this enthusiasm hollow or transient; the voice of war ran through the land; every magnate flew to arms, and armed his vassals; every town—and there were several rich and flourishing, because they had been permitted to enjoy free municipal institutions—furnished troops, money to pay them, and provisions to support them; and the most distant provinces equally with the nearest—those who had only heard remotely of the beauty and distress of the queen, as well as those that were eye-witnesses—poured forth their warlike hosts, to fight to the death for Maria Theresa. In a country so poor in money, though rich in all natural products, the English subsidy of £300,000 went a great way, and contributed very materially to the success of the war.

---

[1] *Histoire de Mon Temps; Life of Frederick II., King of Prussia*, by Lord Dover.

---

[1] Maria Theresa, at the time of her flight from Vienna, was advanced in pregnancy; and she wrote to her mother-in-law, the Duchess-dowager of Lorraine—"I do not know whether a single town will remain to me in which I may be brought to bed."

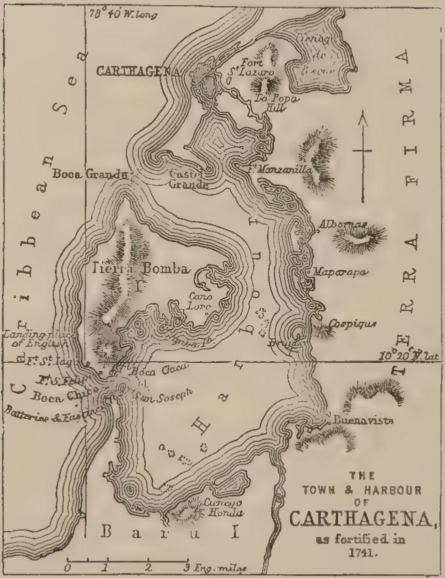
The Elector of Bavaria and the French marshal stopped short of Vienna, and turned aside into the kingdom of Bohemia, which was expected to be an easy prey. They advanced to Prague, the capital, and invested it. Prague was defended by Ogilvie, an Irish exile, with only 3000 men. Some of the Hungarian levies, headed by Maria Theresa's husband, and his brother, moved rapidly to the relief of the Bohemian city; but before they could reach Prague it was taken. The Elector of Bavaria caused himself to be crowned as King of Bohemia, and then hurried away to Frankfort, where the diet elected him emperor without one dissentient voice; George, as Elector of Hanover, being excluded from voting by the treaty he had made with the French. The solemn coronation of the Elector of Bavaria, who called himself the Emperor Charles VII., was not celebrated till the 14th of February of the following year, 1742, when this representative of the Cæsars was dying of gout and gravel, and scarcely able to stand.[1] In the meantime the King of Prussia proceeded from one success to another, using both force and fraud with singular effect. The French army, however, after getting a distant view of the old towers of Vienna, was driven out of Austria by Khevenhöller, who bravely pushed on into Bavaria, and eventually obliged the Bavarian army to abandon Prague and the whole of Bohemia, and hasten to the defence of their own country.

On our side the war had been attended with no success or glory. In the Mediterranean, Admiral Haddock retreated before a Spanish fleet which had been suddenly joined by twelve ships of war from Toulon, and the commander of which announced that, though there was no war between France and England, he had orders to defend the Spaniards if they were attacked. That great man of a party, Admiral Vernon, had proved himself a very little man in war. After the destruction of Porto-Bello, nothing was done in Spanish America, or, we might say, worse than nothing. When Sir Chaloner Ogle and Lord Cathcart had joined Vernon at Jamaica,[2] the English armament was far greater than any that had ever been assembled in those seas: there were thirty ships of the line, and nearly ninety other vessels, having on board 15,000 seamen and 12,000 soldiers. Lord Cathcart caught the endemic fever and died; upon which General Wentworth took the command of the land forces. After demolishing the insignificant fort of Chagres, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Darien, they knew not what to do next. A council of war was called, which, as usual, led to conflicting schemes, jealousies, and irreconcilable hatreds. Some proposed to attack the Havannah, which lay to leeward, and might have been reached in less than three days, and which was said to be at that moment ill prepared for defence: but Vernon, who had "the voice potential," preferred beating up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motions of the French squadron collected there under the Marquis d'Antin, who continued to wear so dubious an aspect that it was difficult to treat him either as a friend or a foe. Many days were thus lost in beating and tacking in the teeth of the wind; and then Vernon learned that D'Antin, with a greatly diminished crew and exhausted provisions, had slipped off for France. The English armament reach Hispaniola, took in wood and water, and turned back towards the Spanish main. Another council of war was called, and, as the Spanish admiral De Torres had now sailed to the Havannah, with ample means of defence, it was resolved by Vernon to attack Carthagena. But Carthagena was strongly fortified, and Don Blas de Leso, an officer of experience and reputation, had just reinforced it, and lay there with a small squadron of large ships. Vernon, however, who was too rash and passionate to listen to advice, persisted in his plan of attack; but, as if the climate had affected his intellect, when he had anchored a little to the windward of Carthagena, he lay inactive for five days, and then the troops were landed on the islet called Tierra Bomba, near the harbour mouth known by the name of Boca Chica, or "little mouth," which, according to an eye-witness, was surprisingly fortified with castles, batteries, bombs, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British troops, however, effected their landing on the islet, covered their ground in good style, threw up a battery, and made a breach in the principal fort, being assisted by the admiral, who sent in a number of ships, to divide the enemy's fire and attention. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded one of these ships, was slain. The Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were, however, soon destroyed or taken; the land troops, advancing to the breach, carried the principal post, and found the rest of the forts and batteries abandoned; the passage of the Boca Chica was cleared, and the fleet sailed into the immense harbour. The Spaniards abandoned the great outwork of Castel Grande without a blow; but they continued strengthening Carthagena till 300 cannon were mounted on the ramparts. Vernon, exulting in his partial success, sent home a ship with despatches to the Duke of Newcastle, dated the 1st of April, 1741. "The wonderful success of this evening and night is so astonishing, that one cannot but cry out with the psalmist, 'It is the Lord's doing, and seems marvellous in our eyes.'" So wrote the admiral; and so ready of belief were the English people, that they began to proclaim him the greatest of all commanders; and men were singing his praises at tavern-dinners and about the streets, when he was retreating with a dishonoured flag! After entering the harbour, the troops and artillery were landed within a mile of Carthagena, all the Spanish outposts retiring before them. But then there was a pause, Admiral Vernon seeming to think that General Wentworth ought to take the town with his land troops, and Wentworth seeming to be of opinion that that office ought to be performed by Vernon and the sailors.[1] The general complained that the sailors lay idle, while his troops ashore were harassed and diminished by hard duty, fevers, and other distempers; the admiral affirmed that his ships could not lie near enough to batter the town with any effect, and he accused the soldiers of inactivity and want of resolution in not attacking the fort of San Lazaro, which commanded part of the town, and might be taken by escalade. The truth appears to be that there were grievous faults on both sides. If, however, we may rely upon Smollett, Vernon was by far the more faulty of the two. Stung by the reproaches of the admiral, Wentworth called a council of officers, and with their advice he attempted to carry Fort San Lazaro by storm. Twelve hundred men, headed by General Guise, and guided by some Spanish deserters or peasants, who were either ignorant, or, what is more likely, in the pay of the Spanish governor, whom they pretended to have left, marched boldly up to the foot of the fort; but the guides led them to the very strongest part of the fortifications; and, what was worse, when they came to try the scaling-ladders with which they were provided, they found them too short. This occasioned a fatal delay, and presently the brilliant morning of the tropics broke with its glaring light upon what had been intended for a nocturnal attack. Under these circumstances the wisest thing would have been an instant retreat; but the soldiers had come to take the fort, and with a bull-dog resolution they seemed determined to take it at every disadvantage. They stood under a terrible plunging fire adjusting their ladders

---

[1] *Memoirs of the Margravine of Bareith.*

[2] "As the fleet sailed along the island of Hispaniola, in its way to Jamaica, four large ships of war were discovered; and Sir Chaloner detached an equal number of his squadron to give them chase while he himself proceeded on his voyage. As those strange ships refused to bring to, Lord Augustus Fitzroy, the commodore of the four British ships, saluted one of them with a broadside, and a smart engagement ensued. After they had fought during the best part of the night, the enemy hoisted their colours in the morning, and appeared to be part of the French squadron which had sailed from Europe under the command of the Marquis d'Antin, with orders to assist the Spanish admiral De Torres, in attacking and distressing the English ships and colonies. War was not yet declared between France and England; therefore hostilities ceased—the English and French commanders complimented each other, excused themselves mutually for the mistake which had happened, and parted as friends, with a considerable loss of men on both sides."—Smollett, *Hist. Eng.* Smollett was in this action, and has given a most spirited description of it in his famous sea-novel of *Roderick Random.* He was serving as assistant-surgeon, and was an eye-witness of most of the misdoings of this famous expedition.



THE TOWN & HARBOUR OF CARTHAGENA, as fortified in 1741.

---

[1] "The admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike; far from acting vigorously in concert, for the advantage of the community, they maintained a mutual reserve and separate cabals; and each proved more eager for the disgrace of his rival than zealous for the honour of the nation."—Smollett, *History of England.*

and fixing upon points where they might climb; and they did not yield an inch of ground, though every Spanish cannon and musket told upon them and thinned their ranks: one party of grenadiers even attained a footing on the top of a rampart, when their brave leader, Colonel Grant, was mortally wounded. The grenadiers were swept over the face of the wall; but still the rest sustained the enemy's fire for several hours, and did not retreat till 600, or one-half of their original number, lay dead or wounded at the foot of those fatal walls. It is said that Vernon stood inactive on his quarter-deck all the while, and did not send in his boats full of men till the very last moment, when Wentworth was retreating. The heavy rains now set in, and disease spread with such terrible rapidity that, in less than two days, one-half of the troops on shore were dead, dying, or unfit for service. Another council of war was therefore called; and it was then resolved to give up the enterprise as desperate, to re-embark the land forces, and to sail away to Jamaica. After quarrelling for a while at Jamaica, Vernon and Wentworth, in pursuance of fresh orders from home, set sail for the island of Cuba. The fine land army of 12,000 men, which had left England with Lord Cathcart, was now reduced to less than 3000: to make it greater 1000 Jamaica negroes were drilled and added to it. They anchored in the Bay of Guentanamo, on the south-east of Cuba, and re-christened the place Cumberland Harbour, in honour of his royal highness at home—and this was absolutely all they could do, for the town of St. Jago was deemed too strong for attack, and the troops, after being landed and left inactive for months, were re-embarked in November, and carried back again to Jamaica. But the muster-roll was sadder than if those troops had come from a fierce campaign—disease, bad salted provisions in a state of putridity, and excesses in rum, had reduced the whites from 3000 to less than 2000. After these failures it was madness, or something worse, in the ministry to send out to Vernon, as they did, four more ships of war and 3000 more soldiers. The land-crabs of the Caribbees ate most of those unfortunate men, and Vernon did nothing with an armament that, from first to last, cost millions of money and many thousands of lives.

FORT SAN LAZARO, CARTHAGENA.—From an old view in the British Museum.

These dismal occurrences, though they were not half known until a month after that struggle was over, had a great effect upon the general election, and rendered still more unpopular the ministry of Walpole, for people would not remember that he had done his best to prevent this war, and his political opponents who had driven him into it did not scruple to make him answerable for every failure. At the same time, the opposition, aided by the purses of the wealthy old Duchess of Marlborough, of Pulteney, and of the Prince of Wales, who incurred considerable debts in the purchase of boroughs, practised corruption and bribery to an unprecedented extent. By these and other means the ministerial candidates were defeated in many places, and, before parliament met, the thickly coming news of disaster and disgrace converted many men, who had started as friends to the minister, into enemies or querulous critics. To organize beforehand their modes of attack in the two houses, the chiefs of the opposition had numerous meetings and conferences; and that nothing might be wanting, Lord Chesterfield went over to Avignon, and became the guest of the pretender's ex-minister, the Duke of Ormond, and, by so doing, procured from the pretender letters to nearly 100 of the principal Jacobites in England and Scotland, urging them to exert themselves against Walpole. With the most compact and harmonious cabinet that ever existed, this minister would not have been able to bide the storm; but his cabinet was more and more divided. When the king came over matters were not mended, for he was in an ill humour at the miserable exhibition he had made in his continental dominions, and was distracted by doubts and fears as to the result of the great confederacy between France, Russia, and Bavaria. He opened the new parliament on the 4th of December, in a speech in which he took care to remind the houses that the war with Spain, in which he was engaged, had been entered into by the repeated advice of both Houses of Parliament, who, moreover, had particularly recommended him to carry it on in America. The opposition in the new House of Commons allowed Arthur Onslow to be re-elected speaker without opposition; but they began their fight upon the address. Shippen moved an amendment to the effect that his majesty might be entreated not to engage the kingdom in war for the security of Hanover. Lord Noel Somerset seconded Shippen, and the now re-united Tories and discontented Whigs seemed anxious to divide the house and show their strength at once; but Pulteney, who was not quite sure of their numbers, told them that dividing was not the way to multiply. Walpole, embarrassed and dispirited, offered as a compromise the omission of the whole paragraph of the proposed address "for returning his majesty the thanks of this house for his royal care in prosecuting the war with Spain." This was nothing less than a confession of hopeless weakness: Pulteney chose to consider it as a confession of guilt, and that orator then went so far as to assert that Walpole was purposely ruining the nation in order to serve the pretender. Sir Robert replied with as much spirit, as much force and command as he had ever shown; and there was enough in the extravagance of Pulteney's declamations to restore him for a moment to his old vigour. He quoted some words which had been used by Chesterfield in the other house, and he hinted at that lord's secret mission to the Jacobites at Avignon. He asked whether he, as minister, had raised the war in Germany, or advised the war with Spain—whether he killed the late emperor and King of Prussia—whether he was the counsellor of the ambitious and conquering Frederick—whether he had kindled the war between Muscovy and Sweden, which was preventing the czarina from assisting the assailed Queen of Hungary. And, in conclusion, he said that, he was so far from wishing to evade a strict inquiry, that if the gentleman who had arraigned his conduct would name a day for inquiring into the state of the nation, he would himself second the motion. Pulteney accepted the challenge, naming the 21st of January next; and Walpole, keeping his word, seconded him. Meanwhile the whole clause about the Spanish war was struck out of the address, which was then passed unanimously.

A.D. 1742. If Walpole had consulted his own dignity, he would assuredly have resigned before the declaration of war; but he clung to office even now, when the possession of it could only entail disgrace and wretchedness. Fancying that he might gain his object if he could buy over the Prince of Wales and his party, he prevailed upon the king to offer his royal highness an additional £50,000 a-year, and the payment of all his debts, provided he would cease opposing the measures of government. Secker, Bishop of Oxford, was thought the proper messenger to carry this offer to the prince; but the prince declared that he would hearken to no proposals so long as Walpole continued in power. The minister must have been weakened as well as disgraced by this strange proceeding. During the Christmas holidays, Walpole and his enemies were alike busy conferring, planning, bribing, promising: but the opposition were the more successful; and Walpole's underling, the courtly, silky Lord Hervey, formed one of a triumvirate with Chesterfield and Pulteney. Bubb Dodington renewed his close alliance with the Prince of Wales; and, seeing that there could now be no danger from his boldness—that the minister he had so long feared could neither punish nor reward—he wrote a letter to Lord Wilmington (the Sir Spencer Compton of former days), urging him to use his influence with his majesty for the immediate dismissal of Sir Robert. Bubb, who was accustomed to write and talk about patriotism and "the noble simplicity of opposition," wanted a peerage; but, though he contributed to that event, his wishes were not gratified till nineteen years after the fall of Walpole, and little more than one year before his own death. Parliament met, after the holidays, on the 18th of January; and, on the 21st, Pulteney began his great combat with the minister, protesting that his motion was not pointed against any particular person, but was simply intended to assist his majesty. Pitt, who was every day rising in consideration, and several others of the assailants, spoke to the same effect; but Lord Perceval, one of the "patriots," soon let out the secret that the combat *à outrance* was intended against Walpole, for his lordship declared that he should vote for a committee of accusation. The veteran minister rose, and said that he must, therefore, take the question upon himself; and he then proceeded to deliver his last great speech. He told them that, for twenty years, they had not been able to touch him; and that, even now, in order to get near his heart, they had been reduced to a disgraceful subterfuge. He defied them to substantiate their charges, and assured them he wanted no favour, but to be acquainted with their articles of accusation. If Bubb Dodington had been capable of blushing, he must have blushed now; for Walpole designated him as a person of great self-mortification, seeing that, for sixteen years, he had condescended to bear part in that administration which he now termed infamous. According to one account, Sir Robert also dissected Pulteney, and laid his heart open to the view of the house; and, according to all accounts, the old minister had never before displayed so much eloquence and so intimate an acquaintance with foreign affairs. But men and parties had been packed, not to listen, but to vote and condemn; and, upon a division, Pulteney's motion was rejected, *but rejected only by a majority of three.* After the mournful exhibition of this majority, Walpole made no opposition to an address to the king for copies of the correspondence with his Prussian majesty; and the motion, though it had been rejected on the 18th of December by a majority of twenty-four, was now allowed to pass without a division. But it was a disputed election that sealed the old minister's doom. On the 28th of January, in a vote upon the Chippenham election petition, he was defeated by a majority of *one*, or by 237 against 236. He

> —— "stood i' the level
> Of a full-charg'd confederacy."

His brother, his sons, and all his truest friends advised an instant retreat; and his colleagues or subalterns seem to have refused to act with him a day longer, declaring, all of them, that his retiring was become absolutely necessary as the only means to carry on the public business. On the night of Sunday, the 31st of January, he got ready to retire to his splendid mansion at Houghton; and on the next morning, at a private audience, he informed his master that at last he must quit his service. George was not destitute of feeling; and such a separation, such a breaking of a connection which had lasted for so many years, and which on the whole had been so beneficial to his majesty's affairs, was enough to move a sterner heart. As Walpole knelt to kiss hands, the king fell on his neck, wept, kissed his cheek, and requested to see him frequently. The shade of Queen Caroline may at that moment have been in the mental vision of both king and minister. On the following day, the 2d of February, Walpole sent a private intimation to the Prince of Wales, who must have joyfully announced his downfall to the opposition; for on that evening, when the House of Commons came to their final decision on the Chippenham election, the opposition majority of one was found to be swelled to sixteen. But, once having made up his mind to his fate, Walpole found that it was not so difficult to bear; and during the discussion, and upon the division, he was cheerful and even facetious. Next morning, the 3d of February, Lord-chancellor Hardwicke intimated that it was his majesty's desire that the houses should adjourn for a fortnight. On the 9th Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and on the 11th he formally resigned all his places. Though not the best of possible ministers, Walpole was better and wiser than those who had gone before him—wiser, we believe, and more suited to the difficult circumstances of the times, than any of his contemporaries or immediate successors. Still, however, we are not disposed to regret that he was driven from his post: he had seen his best days, and the country under his care had grown strong enough to do without a dictator or sole minister, which he indisputably, and, as we think, fortunately for England, was. In a country like this, one man, or one body of men acting under a single head, can hardly hope for a permanence of power; and, in spite of the frequent mischiefs resulting from changes, it is not desirable that they should. Walpole's downfall was hailed with enthusiastic joy by the people; but the fallen minister could take with him the proud satisfaction that he had secured the constitution and Hanoverian succession; that the people who were cursing him had made rapid strides in wealth and civilization; that their general condition and the whole aspect of the country had been wonderfully improved under his long administration; and that he had never been harsh, cruel, or bloodthirsty, but had on the contrary moderated, in practice, the barbarities of the law, and made an execution for political offences a rare spectacle. The nation, however, long continued to rail at the parting favours conferred upon him by his sove-

Houghton Hall, Norfolk, the Residence of Walpole.—From Neale's Seats.

reign, and which included, besides the peerage, a pension of £4000 a-year, and a patent of rank for an illegitimate daughter by a mistress whom he had subsequently married. But Walpole was not, like Wolsey, hounded down by his king, and left altogether naked to the fury of his enemies: in dismissing him, George consulted him as to the formation of a new ministry, and allowed him to bargain with his successor for security as to the past. His successor in the treasury was none other than his old friend and tool Wilmington, the Sir Spencer Compton of former days, who might have been prime minister at the accession of George II. if he had possessed talent and spirit, and had not quailed before Sir Robert. The Duke of Newcastle, who had once hoped to step into Walpole's place, was employed by the king to moderate the wrath and dictatorial power of Pulteney—for that orator, at this moment, was more of a dictator than the late minister had ever been. His grace told him how his majesty trusted that he (Pulteney) would not distress the government by making too many changes in the cabinet in the midst of a session of parliament. Pulteney politely replied, that he had no objection to the Duke of Newcastle or to the lord-chancellor; but that he must insist that some obnoxious persons should be dismissed at once, and that he and his friends should have a majority in that cabinet, the nomination to the boards of treasury and admiralty, and the disposal of the office of secretary of state for Scotland—an office which had been abolished, but which they thought ought now to be revived. Being made easy as to his own place, Newcastle advised Pulteney to take the premiership; but that patriot said modestly, that, as he had the disposal of all places in his hands, he would accept of none—that all he wanted for himself was a peerage and a seat in the cabinet. And, according to the absolute dictum of this House-of-Commons orator, Wilmington was confirmed first lord of the treasury, Sandys, the motion-maker, was made chancellor of the exchequer, Carteret secretary of state, and the Marquis of Tweeddale secretary for Scotland. Nor was this the only security which had been procured for the fallen minister: the court had consented to disarm the fierce enmity of the Prince of Wales, by actually giving him the additional £50,000 a-year, and by promising that Lord Baltimore and Lord Archibald Hamilton, two of his steady adherents, should have seats at the new board of admiralty. After this his royal highness had granted Walpole a private audience, and had assured him that his enmity was at an end, and that, instead of attacking, he would defend him if assailed by others.

When the ministerial arrangements were divulged, they threw the Tories into a paroxysm of rage; for the Tories, who had helped the opposition to gain their victory by coalescing with them in the present parliament, got nothing—nay, not so much as a title or a promise. But this discontent was not confined to the Tories. All the leading Whigs that had not got a share of the ministerial spoils were as furious as they; and there presently arose a loud lament about the faithlessness of parties, and the iniquity of Pulteney and Carteret in treating and absolutely bargaining for themselves without consulting the great body of the opposition. Pitt, Lyttleton, the Grenvilles, and all those young men in parliament whom Walpole had been accustomed to call the "boy patriots," and who had done their best to prevent the arrangements which had been entered into, murmured the loudest of all, and sharpened their tongues and their wits for the continuation of the opposition harangues to which they had been so long accustomed. On the 11th of February, the very day of Walpole's formal resignation, a great Whig meeting was called at the Fountain Tavern, in the Strand. Lord Carteret refused to go, saying that he never dined at taverns; but Pulteney went, and Sandys, the new chancellor of the exchequer, and nearly 300 more, peers and commoners, most of them dissatisfied men. Lord Talbot filled a glass to the brim, and drank to cleansing the Augean stable of the dung and grooms. The Duke of Argyle, who had done as much against Walpole as any lord, and who had got nothing by the change, declaimed as if disappointment had turned him into a downright Jacobite, or as if he had been born and bred in Tory principles; and he finished a long speech by saying that nothing would go well until the Tories were provided with places as well as the Whigs, and the administration was founded "upon the broad bottom of both parties." Pulteney, in reply, professed his disinterestedness, and showed that the admission of the Tories into office must be a work of time, in consequence of their late disaffection to the reigning family. Motion-making Sandys also made a speech, saying that the king had offered him a place, and why should he not accept it?—that if he did not another would—or if nobody would, his majesty would be obliged to employ his old minister again, which he fancied the gentlemen present did not wish to see. The meeting broke up in a humour much improved by wine and good cheer; "but," adds a recent writer, "what seems to have principally weighed with them, was that each remembered how many offices were still vacant, and hoped that some were reserved for himself or for his friends."[1] A few days after, a conference took place in the presence of the Prince of Wales; and the Duke of Argyle and the

---

[1] *Lord Mahon.*

Lords Chesterfield, Cobham, and Bathurst pressed their claims on Pulteney and the friends he had put into office. In the end, Argyle obtained for himself a seat in the cabinet, the mastership of the ordnance, and the regiment of which he had recently been deprived by Walpole; and he procured, though not without opposition and difficulty, the promise of a seat at the new board of admiralty for his friend Sir John Hynde Cotton, a declared Jacobite. Chesterfield got nothing; but Cobham, who had been dismissed on account of his opposition to the excise bill, was restored to the command of the Grenadier Guards, and made a field-marshal. Cobham, who was maternal uncle to two of the "boy patriots"—Lyttleton and Grenville—could get nothing for his nephews. Gower and Bathurst got, for the present, nothing but promises for themselves or for their particular friends. As Lord Harrington chose to resign his secretaryship of state in favour of Carteret, he was created an earl, and made president of the council in lieu of Wilmington. Walpole's secretary-at-war, Sir William Yonge, and his paymaster of the forces, Mr. Pelham, brother to the Duke of Newcastle, were both allowed to remain in office. Having settled these matters, the Prince of Wales, and all the leaders of the late opposition, went to pay their respects at court, where none of them had appeared for a long time. George received his son very coldly. On that same day the parliament met, and the voice of opposition seemed to be mute. But the king positively refused to admit Sir John Hynde Cotton to the place promised him in the admiralty, saying, with some reason, that they ought not to expect him to employ and promote the enemies of his family, and that he would stand by the adherents of the house of Brunswick in preference to the Jacobites. This made a new storm. The Duke of Argyle, who had insisted upon Cotton's promotion, and who, moreover, is supposed to have aimed at the entire authority in Scotland, and to have been irritated at the appointment of the Marquis of Tweeddale, thundered in the House of Lords; and the Tory party in both houses expressed the utmost indignation at the rejection of the Jacobite Cotton, who, as a member of the House of Commons, had been almost as troublesome to the Whigs as the thorough-going Jacobite Shippen. This Tory opposition would have been insignificant enough if left to itself; but disappointment, irritation, and jealousy at once induced an abundance of Whigs to join it; and there was thus again a coalition of men of opposite principles, but of one spite—discontented Whigs joining Tories and Jacobites, as they had done before in order to overthrow Walpole. The Prince of Wales himself grew dissatisfied, and soon began to cry down the government which he had helped to make. Wilmington, the nominal head of this government, had not improved in ability and energy in growing old; and Pulteney, who threw himself out of the commons, his proper sphere, by taking a peerage and becoming Lord Bath, gave satisfaction to no party, but considerable disgust to the country. As leader of the opposition in the lower house, he had been accustomed to shouts of applause and vehement congratulations whenever he appeared abroad in the streets of London; but now he was hissed and hooted by his late admirers. In the poignant words of Chesterfield, "the nation looked upon Pulteney as a deserter; and he shrunk into insignificance and an earldom." He and his party soon found how much more easy it is to condemn than to rectify; how many things that serve to adorn an opposition speech are impracticable, or even undesirable, in office. But the people are never disposed to make allowances for these seeming discrepancies in the conduct of public men; and they expected, as the least that the new cabinet could do, that they should undo everything they had opposed—everything they had complained of and protested against during the long reign of Sir Robert. There was no want of clamours and petitions, from towns and counties, for the punishment of the expelled minister. The mad cry was continued that Walpole had ruined the trade of the country; but it appeared that no man knew how to suggest the remedy for this greatest of all evils. If we are to believe Tindal, "many of the towns were for reducing, if not abolishing almost *all taxes*, though they all agreed in the wisdom and necessity of continuing the war with double vigour." On the 23d of March, Lord Limerick rose and proposed the appointment of a secret committee to inquire into the *ten* last years of Walpole's administration. Pulteney not only voted but spoke in favour of the motion; and it was carried accordingly, the majority being 252 to 245. Pulteney, however, desired not to be named on the committee, and recommended moderation and fair play. The fallen minister's witty son, Horace Walpole, though not so able with his tongue as with his pen, delivered a speech—the first he had ever made in the house—in defence of his father; and was answered, in a fierce and ungenerous style, by Pitt. They then appointed a committee to name the members of this secret committee of inquiry—a task which is said to have occupied them, without intermission or rest, for twenty-two hours. When the names of the secret committee were announced, there were found to be among them only two decided friends of the ex-minister; the rest of the twenty-one (the total number) were indifferent to his fate, or were his rancorous enemies. They chose Lord Limerick their chairman, and entered upon their investigation, not hesitating, in their active hatred, to attack and examine mountains of state papers, and pyramids of treasury books. Sir John Barnard, the city member and financier, though so sturdy an enemy to the minister when in power, soon became disgusted with their unfairness, and declared that, since their views were not general, but particular, and all directed against one man, he would no longer take part in the labours of the committee. On the other side, the king, who was in constant communication with Walpole and his friends, did all that he could to frustrate the inquiry, and to encourage the obstinacy of witnesses in refusing to give evidence against their former patron and master. Mr. Edgcumbe, who had managed the Cornish boroughs for Walpole, and who might have told many a treasury tale, was raised to the peerage, and so shielded from the examination of the lower house. It is quite clear, however, that if on the one side impediments had been thrown in the way of their investigation, the secret committee, on the other side, had been as far as possible from the impartial and just spirit which ought to have guided their inquiry, and dictated their report. These gentlemen gained no honour by their doings; for their report, presented on the 30th of June, was received by the public with universal contempt, and their labours were compared to those of the parturient mountain in the fable that brought forth a ridiculous mouse. Personally, the character of the ex-minister seemed to gain by these proceedings; for though he had so often been accused of being harsh and tyrannical to his dependants, there was not one of his subalterns in office, though threatened with severe punishment, and no doubt tempted by the offer of rewards, that would speak against him, or betray any of his secrets.

Sir Robert Godschall, lord-mayor and member for the city, and a very dull heavy man besides, brought forward a motion for the repeal of the septennial act. Pulteney, who was not yet gone to the lords, opposed this repeal with all his might, though it had been the burden of some of the longest and best of his opposition speeches. On the motion of Pulteney £500,000 more were granted to the Queen of Hungary; and a supply of more than £5,000,000 was voted for carrying on the war with vigour. Little else passed worthy of notice during this session, which was closed on the 15th of July, when his majesty in the prorogation speech intimated that a treaty of peace was concluded between her Hungarian majesty and the King of Prussia under his mediation. Lord Gower was now appointed keeper of the privy seal in the room of Lord Hervey, and Lord Bathurst, a Jacobite, as Gower was, or had been, was made captain of the band of gentlemen pensioners, in the room of the Duke of Bolton. But the party called "the boys" still remained out of place and out of humour.

Carteret prevailed upon his colleagues to send 16,000 men to serve as auxiliaries to the house of Austria in Flanders; but the result of the British campaign in the great scene of Marlborough's glory is told in a very few words. The Dutch would not act with them, nor make any vigorous effort in support of the pragmatic sanction, and our troops remained in Flanders "idle, unemployed, and quarrelling with the inhabitants."[1] But, fortunately for her, Maria Theresa did not depend upon the states-general or upon English auxiliaries. Her best general, Khevenhöller, continued to serve her well in the field, and doubts and misgivings as to the intentions of France crept into the cabinet of Frederick of Prussia. A battle gained by the Prussians in the month of May at Czaslau, in Bohemia, had, moreover, the effect of inducing the Queen of Hungary to be less tenacious about Silesia; and, as she agreed to yield that province to Frederick, all present obstacles to a peace were removed, and a treaty between them was signed in the month of June. Left to themselves, the French, who had penetrated into Bohemia or the other hereditary dominions of Austria, could neither maintain their footing nor extricate themselves without tremendous loss.

---

[1] *Tindal.*

CHAPTER XVIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1742—1745.

GEORGE II.

The Queen of Spain seeks a sovereignty for her younger son—Political changes produced by the attempt—Naples threatened with bombardment by a British fleet—Its court reduced to terms—State of the contending parties on the Continent—Results in England of the passing of the gin act—A new bill formed to abate the prevalent gin-drinking—Death of Cardinal Fleury—Return of Lord Bolingbroke to England—Reverses of the French armies in Germany—They are confronted by a British army commanded by Lord Stair—George II. arrives at the British head-quarters—Battle of Dettingen—The French defeated—Their retreat from Germany—Proceedings of George II. at the seat of war—Treaties among the contending powers—Lord Wilmington succeeded as premier by Pelham—Complaints in parliament of Hanoverian troops and foreign subsidies—The discontent allayed by Walpole—Renewed cordiality of parliament—Resolutions against the pretender and his family—Charles Edward, eldest son of the pretender, invited by the Highland chiefs to Scotland—France promises to aid him—Negotiation to that effect between the pretender and the French court—Charles Edward repairs to Paris—A French armament sent to invade Britain in his favour—Its inability to effect a landing—Charles Edward lives *incognito* at Paris—The united French and Spanish fleets venture out of Toulon to action—Their two indecisive encounters with the English Mediterranean fleet—Commodore Anson's bold exploits in the South Seas—His return with Spanish treasure—War on the Continent—The Austrians invade Alsace—Frederick invades Bohemia—The Hungarians rally for Maria Theresa—Frederick compelled to retreat from Bohemia—Alternate successes of the belligerent parties—Don Carlos, King of Naples, menaced with an Austrian invasion—He defeats the Austrians at Velletri—Death of the Duchess of Marlborough—Changes in the British cabinet—Attempts to form a "broad-bottomed" ministry—Persons of which it was composed—Its quiet and unanimous course—Hanoverian troops augmented and foreign powers subsidized—Reaction in favour of the Queen of Hungary—Death of Walpole—Operations of the allied army in Flanders under the Duke of Cumberland—Its inadequate numbers and incompetent commanders—Attempt to relieve Tournai—Battle of Fontenoy—Keenness of the contest—Defeat of the allied army—Treachery of the Dutch—Military proceedings of Frederick—His victory over the Austrians at Soor—State of the war in Italy and America.

HAVING obtained Naples and Sicily for her son Don Carlos, the Queen of Spain thought she might acquire some other sovereignty south of the Alps for her younger son, Don Philip. This scheme produced a great effect in the peninsula: the King of Sardinia, who had contributed to the conquest of Naples by suddenly declaring against the house of Austria, now as suddenly broke his alliance with the Bourbons of France and Spain, allied himself with Maria Theresa, and enabled her troops to drive the Spaniards out of Lombardy. To keep in check Don Carlos, who was collecting an army at Naples, and who had already sent troops to Upper Italy to co-operate with the Spaniards and his brother Don Philip, the English government despatched Commodore Martin with five ships of the line. Martin, when no such bold measure was expected, sailed into the Bay of Naples, and, without firing the usual friendly salute, lay to, off the city, and sent a messenger on shore to inform the king that Great Britain, as the ally and confederate of Austria, and as the enemy of Spain, proposed to the Two Sicilies an absolute neutrality in this war; that if his Sicilian majesty would accede to this proposal, and engage, in writing, to withdraw his troops from the Spanish army and to remain neutral, no harm should happen him; but that, if he refused, the English men-of-war would bombard his city. Don Carlos and his court were thrown into consternation, for the city was without defences and almost without any garrison, and the people, according to their wont, were beginning to riot. The Neapolitan ministers endeavoured to gain a little time, and sent a noble messenger on board the English commodore's ship to debate and defer proceedings; but Martin, a decided sailor of the true stamp, pulled out his watch, laid it upon his cabin table, and told him that in two hours' time he should begin to bombard. Upon this the Neapolitan counsellors of state, who had been assembled in a hurry, loudly declared to the king that nothing was left for them but to accede to the neutrality; and then Don Carlos wrote out the promises required of him, and, at the same time, a letter to his general, the Duke of Castropignano, commanding him to leave the Spaniards and return home with the Neapolitan troops forthwith. The haughty messenger of the English commodore, says a native historian, insisted upon reading this letter to Castropignano. He then returned on board, and Martin, who had done his business, sailed out of the bay and was lost sight of before night.[1]

---

[1] Pietro Colletta, *Storia del Reame di Napoli;* Coxe, *Memoirs;* *Tindal.*

Another English sailor behaved with equal decision. Haddock, who had done nothing in the Mediterranean, was recalled, and succeeded by Admiral Mathews, who took out seven additional ships. One of Mathews' captains, irritated by the strange conduct of the French, who acted as enemies, though there was as yet no declaration of war, followed five Spanish galleys into the French port of St. Tropez, and attacked and destroyed them there, in spite of the French flag which had so often been allowed to cover the ships of Spain in similar circumstances. In other directions our navy did little to distinguish itself.

The king and the Duke of Cumberland had at one moment thought of proceeding to Flanders to take the command of the 16,000 British troops there; and they had even embarked their baggage; but the arrival of the old Earl of Stair, who had had the command of those troops, and the return of Lord Carteret, who had been sent to the Hague to quicken the Dutch, altered his majesty's determination. The plain truth was, the states-general would risk nothing in this war, and the Dutch merchants were carrying on a profitable trade at the expense of the English.

Parliament met on the 16th of November, when George told them that he had augmented the British forces in the Low Countries with 16,000 Hanoverians and 6000 Hessians; that the magnanimity and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary and the resolute conduct of the King of Sardinia had done wonders; that Sweden had applied to him for his good offices in procuring a peace with Russia; that he had concluded defensive alliances with the czarina and the King of Prussia—events which could not have happened if Great Britain had not manifested a seasonable spirit and vigour in defending and assisting her ancient allies, and maintaining the liberties of Europe. The remodelled cabinet had had the good sense to strengthen itself with the splendid abilities of William Murray (afterwards the great Lord Mansfield), whom they had made solicitor-general; and Murray, in his first speech in parliament, which was about the British troops in Flanders, proved that he could cope even with Pitt as an orator and debater. The learned, eccentric, and almost republican Lord Stanhope, son and successor of the late prime minister of that name, delivered a remarkable speech in the House of Lords against this constant subsidizing and engaging of mercenaries.[1] On the division, ministers had a majority of ninety to thirty-five; but two members of the new cabinet, Lords Cobham and Gower, voted with the minority.

A.D. 1743. At the passing of the gin act in 1731, Walpole had foretold that it would encourage fraud and increase drunkenness. When those severe duties were imposed they were intended to check the drinking to excess of what Smollett styles "the pernicious spirit called gin, which before was sold so cheap that the lowest class of the people could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of all morals, industry, and order." This historian, who witnessed the horrors he describes, continues—"Such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expense of one penny; assuring them they might be dead drunk for twopence, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they conveyed those wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. . . . . Such beastly practices too plainly denoted a total want of all policy and civil regulation, and would have reflected disgrace upon the most barbarous community. In order to restrain this evil, which was become intolerable, the legislature enacted that law which we have already mentioned. But the populace soon broke through all restraint. Though no license was obtained and no duty paid, the liquor continued to be sold in all corners of the streets: informers were intimidated by the threats of the people; and the justices of the peace, either from indolence or corruption, neglected to put the law in execution. The new ministers foresaw that a great revenue would accrue to the crown from a repeal of this act; and this measure they thought they might the more decently take as the law had proved ineffectual: for it appeared that the consumption of gin had considerably increased every year since those heavy duties were imposed. They therefore pretended that, should the price of the liquor be moderately raised, and the licenses granted at 20*s.* each to the retailers, the lowest class of people would be debarred the use of it to excess; their morals would of consequence be mended; and a considerable sum of money might be raised for the support of the war by mortgaging the revenue arising from the duty and the licenses." Upon these principles the new bill was framed, proposing, in addition to the twenty-shilling licenses, that a small duty per gallon should be laid on the spirits at the still-head. It passed through the House of Commons with the utmost precipitation, and almost without the formality of a debate. But in the lords it encountered a vigorous resistance, being denounced as a license to the people to poison themselves—as "a bait spread over the pitfalls of debauchery"—as an attempt to raise the revenue at the expense of the health and morals of the people.[1] Having voted for the year 40,000 seamen and 11,000 marines, 16,000 British troops to serve in Flanders, and 23,000 for guards and garrisons at home, and £6,000,000 of money as supplies, the parliament was prorogued on the 21st of April, when his majesty told the houses that, at the requisition of the Queen of Hungary, he had ordered his army on the Continent to pass the Rhine for her support and assistance.

---

[1] "He spoke a pre-composed speech, which he held in his hand, with great tremblings and agitations, and hesitated frequently in the midst of great vehemence; but his matter was not contemptible."—MS. Reports of Archbishop Secker, in *Parliamentary History*. His lordship broke off abruptly, saying, "Some sudden indisposition obliges me to contract my plan, and conclude much sooner than I intended."

Immediately after the prorogation George hastened over to Germany, accompanied by his son, the Duke of Cumberland, and attended by Lord Carteret as secretary of state, and by many other noblemen and gentlemen. The pacific Cardinal Fleury had died at the beginning of the year, in the ninetieth year of his age. For a long time he had been overruled and driven into measures which he disapproved, but his death removed the only hope there was of France being induced to remain at peace with England.[2] His power as minister was divided between Count d'Argenson, minister of war, and Cardinal de Tencin, who was devoted to the house of Stuart, which had favoured his advancement in the Romish church. Bolingbroke had been so extremely intimate with the cardinal's sister, a woman of wit and intrigue, in the Parisian fashion of those days, that he was even supposed by some to have been the father of the celebrated mathematician and philosopher, D'Alembert, of whom she was the reputed mother.[3] Bolingbroke, who had written and talked so pathetically about leaving his unhappy country for ever, returned to England in the month of January, and fixed his residence at the family seat near Battersea, whither he drew around him most of the wits of the time, and all the opponents of ministers. He still directed many of the attacks in parliament, but it appears that he never again corresponded with the Stuarts. He had seen enough of the pretender, and could never forgive the treatment he had received at his hands.

The French ministers D'Argenson and Cardinal de Tencin sent a considerable army under the Duke de Noailles to support De Broglie in Germany; but before these reinforcements arrived, De Broglie had been compelled to retreat to the banks of the Neckar; and the poor emperor, "beloved of the French," had been defeated by the Austrians and driven out of his hereditary states to seek shelter as a helpless fugitive in the free city of Frankfort.[4] Hotly pursued and sorely harassed by the excellent Hungarian cavalry, De Broglie hardly stopped until Noailles brought up 12,000 men; but he then faced about, and endeavoured to keep in check Prince Charles of Lorraine, while Noailles, whose army, even after the deduction of the 12,000 men, amounted to 60,000, crossed the Rhine, and pushed towards Frankfort, which was now threatened by the united army of English, Hanoverians, Hessians, and some Austrian regiments from the Low Countries, under the Duke d'Aremberg. The supreme command was still in the hands of the Earl of Stair, who was too old for action, and perhaps somewhat too scrupulous, as he respected the neutrality of Frankfort, and so lost an excellent opportunity of finishing one part of the war by making the emperor his prisoner. Stair was on the northern bank of the Maine when Noailles and the French approached its southern bank. This confronting of the two armies was somewhat embarrassing, as there was still no declaration of war between France and Great Britain, both countries professing to act merely as auxiliaries to their respective allies, and there being at the moment a British minister at Paris, and a French minister in London. Stair, however, as an old practitioner, knew enough of the insignificancy of diplomacy to be quite certain that if two such armies met they must fight: but to fight he was not prepared; and with the view of establishing communications with the Austrian forces behind him, and of obtaining reinforcements from Hanover, he retreated before the French. Noailles followed him so closely, and so completely out-manœuvred him, that he cut him off from his magazines at

---

[1] Chesterfield's *Speeches*.

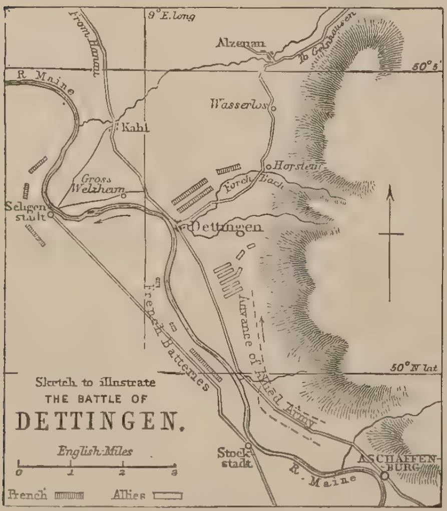
[2] "The commencement of 1743 was distinguished by the death of Cardinal Fleury, who died at Issy, on the 30th of January, in the ninetieth year of his age. He had governed France during a period of seventeen years, with the most upright disinterestedness and unblemished integrity; but he was better calculated to superintend the regulations of peace than to direct the operations of war; and by his attention to the recovery of the finances, had exposed himself to the censure of suffering the marine to fall into decay, and of repressing the military ardour of the nation.

"Louis XV. seemed like an heir emancipated from a long minority, and formed the resolution of directing, himself, the helm of government. He therefore appointed no prime minister; and, in imitation of Louis XIV., transacted business with the chiefs of each department. But this transitory ardour soon subsided; his devotion to pleasure again gained the ascendency; and the conduct of affairs being left to the heads of the different offices, the kingdom was governed by the principal ministers of state, who were independent of each other, and acted with little concert or harmony."—Coxe's *History of the House of Austria*, chap. civ. 1743.

[3] Mademoiselle de Tencin had taken the veil, but had soon grown weary of the life of a nun. She was afterwards the mistress of many men, simultaneously and consecutively.

[4] Voltaire's Twelfth-night verses for the year 1743 are well known. He describes the Stuart, driven out by the English, as telling his beads in Italy; Stanislaus, ex-King of Poland, smoking his pipe in Austrasia; the emperor, beloved of the French, living at an inn in Franconia; and the beautiful Queen of the Hungarians laughing at this Epiphany. The thing tells better in French, particularly as the Epiphany, or Twelfth Day, is called "the day of kings"—"*le jour des rois.*"

Hanau, and left him almost without bread and forage. Affairs were in this critical state—the united army being cooped up in a narrow valley that runs along the river Maine from the town of Aschaffenburg to the large village of Dettingen—when King George, with the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Carteret, arrived at head-quarters from Hanover. The force of the allies was reduced to 37,000 men, and these were put upon half rations, while the horses of the cavalry were starving for want of sufficient forage; the Hessians and Hanoverians that were to join them had marched upon Hanau, where the magazines were, and were equally cut off from the main army, and were in danger of starving or being taken by the French. Still, however, the soldiers were full of heart, and George was no coward. After holding several councils of war, the king resolved to get out of that narrow valley at all hazards, and force his way back to Hanau. But George was watched by a far superior force, and by a general who was exceedingly quick-sighted. Noailles, as soon as he saw the allies in movement, altered his position so as to point on their flank and rear, and he detached his nephew, the Duke de Grammont, with 23,000 men, to secure the defile of Dettingen. He also threw up batteries on the opposite bank of the river Maine. It was on the 27th of June when the allies marched towards Dettingen in two columns. George commanded in person in the rear, which he considered the post of danger, being as yet ignorant of Noailles' change of position, and of the movement of the Duke de Grammont; nor did he find out his mistake till he saw the heads of his columns suddenly halt, and his advanced posts running back from the defile of Dettingen. This unwelcome sight was soon succeeded by another—the French showed themselves in great force in the Dettingen pass. George instantly halted his columns, and riding from the rear to the front, the real post of danger, he made his arrangements for a battle, placing his infantry before and the cavalry behind. He was by this time completely shut up in the valley, for a French division of 12,000 men had pushed into Aschaffenburg, which he had left behind him, and his flank was now exposed to the batteries on the bank of the Maine. Nothing was left but to surrender or cut his way through the defile, which was fully occupied by Grammont, and covered by a morass and a small rivulet in front. But the rashness of Grammont relieved George from this jeopardy: while his uncle, Noailles, who had given him strict orders not to move, was bringing up other divisions from the opposite side of the Maine to make the pass of Dettingen still more terrible, he rushed from the village in the ravine, crossed the rivulet, and engaged the allies in front. As the French approached with a tremendous noise, George's horse took fright, and, with the bit in his teeth, nearly carried his majesty into the midst of the enemy. But a lucky hand stopped him in time; and then the king, dismounting, put himself at the head of his British and Hanoverian infantry, flourishing his sword, and addressing a few encouraging words to his men. His speech to the English was short and suitable: "Now, my boys," said he, "now for the honour of England! fire, and behave bravely, and the French will soon run!" His son, the Duke of Cumberland, was also in front, on the left, and behaved as stanchly as his father. At the first onset Grammont and his impetuous cavalry threw the allies into some confusion; but the steady foot soon rallied; and at this critical moment the batteries across the Maine suspended their fire, which they could not continue without striking their countrymen as well as their enemies, for they were mixed. George, in person, formed his infantry into one dense column, and charged with them till they broke De Grammont's squadrons, and pushed both horse and foot before them. Noailles, from the opposite side of the river, beheld the fatal mistake of his nephew, and tried to redeem it; but, before he could get to Dettingen, the affair was decided, and Grammont's men were in headlong retreat, and so panic-struck that he could not rally them. The French made for the bridges across the Maine; the English pursued them with the sabre and bayonet in their loins: multitudes were killed before they could reach the bridges; others, in their mad speed, rushed into the river or fell over the choked-up bridges, and were drowned; others, throwing down their arms, tried to escape by running up the hills on the opposite



side of the valley, and were for the most part taken prisoners without a blow. Altogether the loss of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was estimated at 6000. The English and their allies lost, in killed and wounded, about 2000 men, including many officers of rank. Generals Clayton and Monroe were killed; the Earl of Albemarle, General Huske, and others were wounded. The king, who had exposed his person as much as any of them, was not touched. This much famed battle of Dettingen lasted till four o'clock in the afternoon, and George remained on the ground till dark at night. The Duke of Cumberland, though wounded in the leg, had refused to quit the field. Both father and son displayed the greatest personal bravery; but, as for generalship, there was none in the allied army. The great merit rested with the unflinching infantry of England and the steady Hanoverian foot. When the battle was over, the allies were still without victuals, drink, and tents to lie in; but the road to the well-furnished magazines of Hanau was now opened, and thither they marched, after a short rest, leaving their wounded behind them on the field of battle.

George reached Hanau, and obtained provisions and the columns expected from Hanover; and his force being thus nearly equal in numbers to the whole French army, Stair proposed a pursuit. But another battle, in reality, was hardly necessary. De Broglie, to whose assistance Noailles was marching into the heart of the empire, was driven across the Rhine, near Manheim, by the troops of the Queen of Hungary, under the command of her brother-in-law, Prince Charles of Lorraine; and thereupon Noailles burned his magazines, retreated towards Worms, crossed the Rhine on the 17th of July, and joining De Broglie, left the German frontier, to return in a lamentable plight to his own country. Thus abandoned, the Elector of Bavaria, or emperor beloved of the French, who was without an army and almost without a shilling, prostrated himself before the house of Austria, and signed a neutrality for his hereditary states, which, however, were to remain in possession of the Queen of Hungary, whose armies had overrun and occupied them, till the conclusion of a general peace. The quarters of King George, at Hanau, were made the centre of negotiations for this peace; and his majesty was flattered with the honour of being named mediator. But Maria Theresa, heroic in her misfortunes, was not moderate in her successes; and as, besides, the Elector or Emperor Charles wanted English money to carry him through, the negotiations came to nothing. George's chief companion and adviser in all these matters was Carteret, who, though nominally only secretary of state for foreign affairs, was in reality prime minister of England, for Wilmington had immediately sunk into a man of straw. When the king at length moved from Hanau, he went to Mayence, crossed the Rhine there, and took his post at Worms; while Prince Charles of Lorraine, with the Queen of Hungary's army, made a corresponding movement, and fixed himself on the left bank of the Rhine. Nothing less had been talked of than a joint invasion of France; but the united force seemed insufficient —the different commanders could not agree—the autumnal rains were beginning; and it was presently resolved—and again in spite of the advice and remonstrances of Stair—that the season was too far advanced for further hostilities, and that they had better all go into winter-quarters. Stair, the Duke of Marlborough, who had been serving as second in command, and many other English officers, threw up their commissions in disgust, and returned to England. The king very soon followed these discontented officers, leaving all his troops in Flanders in nearly the same cantonments they had moved from at the opening of the campaign. But before his departure from the Continent, George, having Carteret still acting with him, signed at Worms a very important treaty with Austria and Sardinia. In return for an annual subsidy of £200,000 from England, the cession of some Italian districts from Austria, the supreme command of the allied forces beyond the Alps, and other advantages expressed or understood, his Sardinian majesty engaged to assist the allies with an army of 45,000 men, and to give up to Maria Theresa all the pretensions he had advanced to the duchy of Milan. By another clause of this treaty of Worms, George engaged to keep a very strong fleet constantly in the Mediterranean to co-operate with the King of Sardinia in his Italian or other wars. The campaign in that peninsula had been indecisive, but, on the whole, unfavourable to Spain.

We have said that the real power of the government rested with Carteret, and that Wilmington was little but a name; but Wilmington died more than two months before the conclusion of the treaty of Worms, and was succeeded by Pelham, who was about equally powerless. Pulteney now aimed at the post, but he was defeated by the influence of Walpole, who, though out of place, was more powerful, or at least could do more with the king, than all the cabinet put together. Pelham was allowed to make places or promotions for his particular friends, Henry Fox and Lord Middlesex. The paymastership of the forces, which he had held himself, he gave to Winnington; and as he wanted the office of chancellor of the exchequer for himself, he was allowed to sweeten the dismission of Sandys with a peerage and a place in the household. Pelham was considered by Walpole as well qualified to manage the treasury and the House of Commons. Parliament was opened on the 1st of December. In the upper house, the opposition was weakened by the deaths of Lord Hervey and the Duke of Argyle; but, in the commons, it was strengthened by the still growing powers of Pitt, and by the conversions made to the popular side by the course of events abroad. Yet, in the House of Commons, an attempt against the ministerial address was defeated by 278 to 149. Pitt, now as loud against Carteret as he had formerly been against Walpole, denounced his lordship as "an execrable, a sole minister"—"the Hanover-troop minister"—"a flagitious task-master, with the 16,000 Hanoverians as his placemen, and with no other party." When it became known that these Hanoverian troops were still to be continued in the pay of England, and that great subsidies had been promised to the King of Sardinia, the people raised a shout of indignation; and Pitt in the commons, and Chesterfield in the lords, assailed Carteret more violently and more successfully. Out of doors—and sometimes as much was hinted within—Carteret was accused of being a drunkard and a madman. "He is never sober," writes Horace Walpole, "and his rants are amazing, but so are his parts and his spirit." The historian Carte said, in a letter to the pretender, "One good effect of Sir Robert Walpole's removal, is the bringing of this new set of ministers into power, whose measures have already done your majesty so much service. There never was a bolder, more blustering, and hot-headed minister than Carteret; and the consequence of all the steps which he inspires will be seen into and felt the first moment."

JOHN CARTERET, Earl Granville.—From a print by Major, after v. Smisson.

A.D. 1744.

Assailed as they now were by motions in both houses, by popular petitions,[1] and by debates night after night, every member of the cabinet, except Carteret, began to think it expedient to drop the question of the foreign troops, and commit the king's honour by leaving unvoted and undemanded the money for the foreign subsidies; but Carteret was firm, and Lord Orford (Walpole) encouraged him in his firmness, and overcame the fears of Pelham and the rest of the ministry. "The whole world," says Horace Walpole, "nay, the prince himself, allows that if Lord Orford had not come to town the Hanover troops had been lost." Walpole, who had never before spoken in the House of Lords, declaring that he had left his tongue behind him in the commons, delivered a long speech on this occasion, being quickened by repeated messages from the king, and by his majesty's declaration to both houses, on the 18th of February, that he had received undoubted information that the pretender's eldest son was arrived at Paris, and, in concert with some of his disaffected subjects, was preparing to make an invasion, supported by a French fleet. The aged ex-minister, who was suffering under an acute disease, spoke with astonishing animation:

---

[1] "This augmentation of the democratical influence, using that term as applied to the commercial and industrious classes in contradistinction to the territorial aristocracy, was the slow but certain effect of accumulated wealth and diffused knowledge, acting, however, on the traditional notions of freedom and equality which had ever prevailed in the English people. The nation, exhausted by the long wars of William and Anne, recovered strength in thirty years of peace that ensued; and in that period, especially under the prudent rule of Walpole, the seeds of our commercial greatness were gradually ripened. It was evidently the most prosperous season that England had ever experienced; and the progression, though slow, being uniform, the reign perhaps of George II. might not disadvantageously be compared, for the real happiness of the community, with that more brilliant but uncertain and oscillatory condition which has ensued. A distinguished writer (Malthus) has observed that the labourer's wages have never, at least for many ages, commanded so large a portion of subsistence as in this part of the eighteenth century. The public debt, though it excited alarms from its magnitude, at which we are now accustomed to smile, and though too little care was taken for redeeming it, did not press very heavily on the nation, as the low rate of interest evinces, the government securities at three per cent. having generally stood above par. In the war of 1743, which, from the selfish practice of relying wholly on loans, did not much retard the immediate advance of the country, and still more after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, a striking increase of wealth became perceptible. This was shown in one circumstance directly affecting the character of the constitution. The smaller boroughs which had been from the earliest times under the command of neighbouring peers and gentlemen, or sometimes of the crown, were attempted by rich capitalists, with no other connection or recommendation than one which is generally sufficient. This appears to have been first observed in the general elections for 1747 and 1754; and though the prevalence of bribery is attested by the statute-book and the journals of parliament from the Revolution, it seems not to have broken down all flood-gates till near the end of the reign of George II."—*Const. Hist.*, ii. 446.

Frederick, Prince of Wales, forgetting the deep enmity of years, quitted his seat, and, taking Walpole by the hand, expressed his gratitude. The speech had an instantaneous effect upon the whole house; and, for the present, not a word more was said about discharging the Hanoverians or reducing our army, or weakening our alliances by stopping subsidies.

The high Tories and Jacobites were awed into silence, and withdrew from parliament. The habeas corpus act was suspended for two months; a bill, brought in by the opposition in the commons, provided that the penalties on treasonable correspondence with the pretender should extend to correspondence with his children; and the lords added an additional clause to attaint the sons of the pretender in case they should attempt to land.[1] The subsidy of £200,000 was promptly granted to Sardinia; £300,000 were allotted to Austria; and, on the whole, the commons at this crisis voted nearly £10,000,000 as necessary supplies. In the month of May, when parliament was prorogued, Lord Orford retired to his seat at Houghton, suffering greatly both in body and mind—for he was far from feeling confident in the wisdom of ministers, or in the steadiness of the English people. His brother even apprehended "that the people might perhaps look on and cry 'Fight dog, fight bear,' if they did no worse." There was, however, no lack of loyal addresses and declarations in favour of fighting to the last against the French and the pretender.

The eldest son of that prince and heir to the misfortunes of the Stuarts was indeed coming: King George's message to the houses was perfectly correct—he was in France, and the French were helping him.

The pressing invitation came again from Scotland, which had too soon forgotten the mischievous effects of the attempt of 1715. The association of the most zealous Scottish Jacobites, entered into at Edinburgh as far back as the year 1740, was signed by Lord Lovat, Lord James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth, Lord Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Lochiel, John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair, and Lord John Drummond, uncle to the Duke of Perth. This act of association was carried to the old pretender at Rome by Drummond of Bochaldy, a near relation to Cameron of Lochiel, together with a list of such Highland chiefs as the subscribers thought would join the standard of the Stuarts, if it only came accompanied by a body of French troops. James, having read the papers, thought the project practicable and well-timed; for the clamour against Walpole was then at its height, and, knowing little of England or of English humours, the old pretender fancied that the voice of party was the voice of revolution. But, then, many delays and obstructions occurred; France respected the pacific policy of Fleury, or was not ready for war; and the old pretender seemed determined not to risk his eldest son, Charles Edward, in any part of Scotland, England, or Ireland, unless he were backed by a strong French army. But, early in the year 1743, when France was fairly engaged in the continental war, and wished to keep George II. out of it, by finding employment for his arms at home, the unhappy Stuart was re-animated by French promises of aid. In the summer of the same year (1743) Fleury's successor, Cardinal de Tencin, wrote to the old pretender, acquainting him with the preparations made for an invasion, and urging him to send his son Charles immediately to Paris, that he might go with the expedition. On the 27th of June, James, writing from his delightful villa of Albano, near Rome, assured his friend the cardinal that nothing could be more desirable in general than the journey of the prince his son into France. "But," added the old pretender, made cautious and diffident by thirty years of failure and disappointment, "if you seriously meditate an enterprise against England, would it not be more prudent to defer my son's journey until you are ready for the execution of the grand project? For such a journey will produce a great noise, will put the English government on its guard, and engage it to do everything in order to provide against an invasion, which will then be regarded as certain and near at hand. I have considered it my duty to make this reflection; but if, in the meanwhile, you assure me that the King of France wishes my son to go to Paris, I will send him."[2] The French cabinet then commenced collecting at Dunkirk and Calais a large body of veteran troops under Marshal Saxe, a fleet of transports and other necessaries, and also put in order at Brest and Rochefort eighteen or twenty men-of-war. When all these preparations were made—when 15,000 men were all but ready to embark—De Tencin despatched another messenger to Rome, to urge the instant coming of Prince Charles. The old pretender then, on the 23d of December, 1743, signed a proclamation to be published on his son's landing in England, and a commission appointing Charles his regent and *alter ego.* Other papers were prepared, including patents of nobility, to reward the most forward of the Jacobites; some little money was got together: and on the night of the 9th of January, 1744, Charles, giving out that he was going to hunt the boar in the Pontine Marshes and the wilds of the Maremma, as he had been used to do at that season, stole out of Rome very privately, attended by only one servant, a favourite groom. He had to avoid by land George's ally, the King of Sardinia, and by sea George's admiral, Mathews, who was cruising off the Italian coast. Travelling day and night, the young pretender passed Genoa and reached the little sea-port of Savona: there he embarked in a felucca, or small half-decked vessel, and, no doubt, by keeping close in shore, he escaped observation, and got safe to the French port of Antibes. Thence he pursued his journey with all speed to Paris, where he arrived, unknown and unobserved, on the 20th of January. His confidence was somewhat damped by Louis XV. refusing to confer with him personally. His most Christian majesty still deemed the deceptive veil necessary, and he never admitted Charles to an audience during this his first stay at Paris. The young pretender was, however, met by the exiled earl-marischal, by Lord Elcho, by Drummond of Bochaldy, and by one or two other Scots, whose secrecy and discretion could be trusted. After lying concealed some short time at Paris, he stole away to the little port of Gravelines, from the downs of which place he beheld, for the first time, the white cliffs of England. During his stay at Gravelines he took the name of the Chevalier Douglas, and remained close and unknown, having no one with him save the Laird of Bochaldy. The exiled earl-marischal, one of the best men that ever engaged in that desperate cause, repaired in all privacy to Gravelines to accompany the prince. At first it had been arranged that 3000 Frenchmen for Scotland should be sent off before the main body, but now it was resolved that the main body should go at the same time. Having effected the junction of the Brest and Rochefort squadrons, Admiral Roquefeuille ventured up the British Channel to examine the state and position of our guardships previously to taking in charge the transports and troops at Dunkirk. Towards the end of February people on the look-out on the heights of Torbay discovered the French fleet, which consisted of fifteen ships of the line and five frigates, and they watched it with an anxious eye. Roquefeuille continued his course till he came abreast of the Isle of Wight, and could look into Spithead. Not seeing a single English man-of-war on that usual station, he despatched a tender to Dunkirk, advising Marshal Saxe to embark his troops without delay. That active general soon shipped 7000 of his men: Prince Charles had come round from Gravelines, and he and the marshal embarked together and even put out to sea. After despatching the tender, Roquefeuille continued to steal along the Channel, until he arrived off Dungeness, where he cast anchor. But his anchors had scarcely bit the ground when he was disturbed by the apparition of our Channel fleet, bearing down upon him in superior force. This fleet was commanded by Sir John Norris, an excellent sailor, but somewhat too aged for dashing, daring enterprises. He cast anchor within two leagues of Roquefeuille, considering, from the state of the tide and the approach of night, it would be better to delay the combat till the next day. Roquefeuille slipped his cables in the night and bore away for the French coast, and when the morning sun arose old Norris could not see so much as a strip of French canvas. But the wind that wafted Roquefeuille out of the reach of the English fleet blew too hard for Marshal Saxe, the pretender, and the transports, that had come out of Dunkirk. It blew right in their teeth—it rose to a hurricane—it sunk some of the largest ships with all the men on board—it drove others back on the French coast among rocks and sandbanks; and the luckiest of the fleet were those that got back into port dismasted and shattered. The French troops, with their numbers considerably diminished by these sea-casualties, and with their spirits quite sunk by the horrors of sea-sickness, were glad to be on *terra firma* again, and in no hurry to re-embark. The discouragement extended to the French cabinet, who, moreover, had now urgent need of troops in Flanders; and soon after the fatal storm the army was withdrawn from the coast, and Marshal Saxe was sent into the Low Countries. Charles retired to his old hiding-place at Gravelines, where he lived very privately all the spring, still calling himself the Chevalier Douglas. But there were various things attending this masquerade which were by no means pleasant: there was hard work to do in reading and answering despatches secretly conveyed to him from various quarters; and the prince, who loved hunting, but hated writing—who was so ill educated that he could write in no language, neither in French, Italian, nor English, without committing gross blunders in orthography—complained much of this hard labour, and of having no one to help him, save the Laird of Bochaldy, who, in all probability, was no great linguist or penman himself.[1] He wished to join the French army in Flanders, fighting against Englishmen and the allies of England; but Louis would not permit him to go to his army, and the lord-marischal strongly advised the young pretender against such a step, so little likely to conciliate the people he wished to govern as king. For this advice Charles was furious, and he wrote to his father at Rome to accuse and abuse the noble exile. In the month of June, Charles left the coast and returned to Paris, where Louis ordered him to remain concealed. He accordingly took a house at some distance from that capital, where, as he said himself, he should be at full liberty to have the spleen, being compelled to live like a hermit. We find him complaining that he could get no shooting—that he had not handled a gun for two months; "but," adds he, with a nice attention to the weather, "I intend to begin to shoot again soon, *but not when it rains.*" It is true, Charles was a young man, but youth can scarcely excuse this effeminate trifling in one that was risking thousands of lives for the attainment of a great object. At all events, such *poco-curante* youths are not made to carve their way to thrones.

---

[1] This clause, proposed by the lord-chancellor, passed unanimously: but another harsh and barbarous clause for extending the penalties of the act to the posterity of those who should be convicted under it, during the lifetime of both the young pretenders, was vehemently opposed, and was passed with so much difficulty as proved that it would become practically a dead letter.

[2] *Stuart Papers.*

---

[1] *Stuart Papers.*

A few days after the retreat of Roquefeuille and the disasters of Marshal Saxe's transports, 6000 Dutch troops were landed at Gravesend, as a contingent which the states-general were bound to furnish by old treaties. Other troops were raised at home, fresh ships were equipped, and the chief landing-places on our coasts were put into a better state of defence.

While Roquefeuille had been engaging the attention of England in the Channel, a bold attempt had been made in the Mediterranean by a Spanish fleet united to the fleet of Toulon. The Spaniards and French ventured out from Toulon, in the beginning of March, against the English Mediterranean fleet, commanded by Admirals Mathews and Lestock. A paltry battle, or rather two spiritless actions, fought on two separate days, attended this sortie. Mathews and several commanders of English ships were cashiered; the Spanish admiral, who had run away, was made a marquis for not having lost more than one ship, and the Frenchman was promoted for not having been worse beaten than he was. The remaining naval incidents of the year were unimportant, if we except the return of Commodore Anson, who added a curious and well-known episode to the maritime history of his country. Anson's exploits in the South Sea bore a close resemblance to those of the buccaneers of an earlier date: he made prizes of all the vessels he could meet, and he burned towns and villages. He could hardly do more, as the miserable failures of Vernon made his intended co-operations across the Isthmus of Darien a dream. But he boldly conceived projects of his own which greatly distressed the Spaniards, and he displayed in almost every possible calamity, danger, and difficulty, the true qualities of an English sailor. After suffering many hardships and running risks innumerable, he got back into the Channel, passed through the heart of a French fleet without seeing them, in a thick fog, and finally arrived safely at Spithead on the 15th of June of the present year, 1744. All the treasure he brought with him in coin, bullion, and gold and silver dust, amounted in value to £1,250,000 sterling. It was resolved for popular purposes to get up an exhibition; and on the 4th of July thirty waggons from Portsmouth carrying the treasure brought home passed through the Strand and Cheapside to the Tower, guarded by the ship's crew, and preceded by the officers with swords drawn, music playing, and colours flying; the flags taken from the Spaniards, and particularly that of the great galleon, making an attractive part of the exhibition.

The incidents of the land war during 1744 were various. Louis XV., in the month of May, went into Flanders to take the command of his own army, which amounted to 80,000 men. Marshal Saxe, fortunately for the French, was left with the real direction, for of war Louis knew nothing. King George had expected that the allies would muster a force equal to that of the enemy, but all that could really be got together was a discordant body of English, Dutch, Austrians, and Flemings, of 52,000 men. With his vast superiority Louis was enabled to indulge for a short time in that spectacular part of war which had been so much to the taste of his great-grandfather Louis XIV.—that is, he witnessed the surrender of towns and fortresses, which seemed made to be taken and retaken some half-dozen of times in every war. But Maria Theresa's army, under Prince Charles of Lorraine, burst into Alsace, driving the French behind the ramparts of Strasburg; and then, in the month of July, the French king turned from witnessing the capture of ill-defended towns, and hastened towards his invaded province, leaving half his army behind in Flanders under Saxe. But Louis was not made for the fatigues of campaigning, and he had besides over-eaten himself: he fell sick unto death at Metz on his march into Alsace, confessed his sins, turned off his reigning mistress, and resigned himself entirely to his priests. In this state he lay between life and death for many weeks. But a more warlike hand than his was now outstretched against the Austrians. Frederick of Prussia suddenly broke his pacific engagements, tore up his treaties, and burst into Bohemia with 60,000 men, while another division of his army marched into Moravia. Frederick made straight for the Bohemian capital; and Prague capitulated on the 16th of September. Before moving he had renewed his correspondence with France, and had concluded at Frankfort a sort of treaty with the dispossessed Emperor Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, who now found himself able to send an army under Marshal Seckendorf into his lost hereditary dominions. Seckendorf entered Bavaria, drove the Austrian army there before him, and re-conducted his master Charles to Munich, his ancient capital. Terrified at these great successes of Frederick and Seckendorf, the court of Vienna hastily recalled Prince Charles from the French province of Alsace, whither the sick Louis had been going. The able Lorrainer recrossed the Rhine with admirable skill in the face of a strong French army, and proceeded by forced marches to Bohemia, where Frederick was carrying everything before him. The Hungarians, to whom Maria Theresa again fled, renewed their heroic exertions, and crowded into Bohemia to serve under Prince Charles. Frederick called upon the French marshals on the Rhine to assist him; and he called in vain. He soon found himself obliged to retrace his steps through Bohemia, and to abandon to their fate his garrisons at Tabor and other places. His retreat through a mountainous country was exceedingly disastrous —many of the Prussians were killed, many more taken, and their king himself had a narrow escape. They considered themselves fortunate, when, at the beginning of December, they found themselves clear of Bohemia, and once more in Silesia. Owing to the exertions which had tended to weaken them in other quarters, the French were enabled to gain some brilliant but transient successes on the side of Italy. The Prince de Conti suddenly crossed the Alps by the Col de Tende, took by assault various important places, penetrated into Piedmont, joined some Spaniards under the Infant Don Philip, and routed the King of Sardinia in a bloody battle fought near the town of Coni. But the French could not keep their ground, and, perishing from want of supplies and by the avenging muskets and knives of the peasantry whose fields they had desolated, they soon retreated through the defiles of the Alps into Savoy. But in Lower Italy the allies of England were singularly unsuccessful, and a Neapolitan army, for once in modern history, stood firm on the field of battle and gallantly won a victory. The remnant of the Spanish army had retreated by Rimini to the frontiers of Naples. The Austrian general, Prince Lobkowitz followed them and threatened to attack them even on the Neapolitan territory, complaining that his majesty Don Carlos had, by giving them shelter and succour, and by other proceedings, broken the neutrality to which he had pledged himself when Commodore Martin had threatened his capital and his very palace with bombardment. Don Carlos, on the other side, proclaimed that the conquest of his dominions was all along a part of the scheme of the Austrians; that the Spanish fugitives, who had claimed the shelter of his frontiers, were too few and powerless to excite any rational fears; and that now Lobkowitz's real design was to drive him out of his states. He then put his wife and children for safety within the strong fortress of Gaeta, and marched to his frontiers to join the Spaniards there, and face Lobkowitz and the Austrians. He was followed by an army of 25,000 Neapolitans, and the Spaniards and their partizans made nearly 20,000 men more. Lobkowitz, on the other hand, had about 35,000 men in all—but they were men that had served in many wars, and been accustomed to speak with derision of a Neapolitan army. After numerous manœuvres, in which the Austrians tried to penetrate into the Neapolitan kingdom by the difficult passes of the Abruzzi, Don Carlos advanced a little into the neighbouring states of the pope, and took quarters in Velletri, a considerable city situated on the summit of a steep hill. Here Lobkowitz thought to surround him and catch him as in a trap; but on the night between the 10th and 11th of August, the Austrians, after penetrating into Velletri and setting fire to one of the suburbs, were repulsed with tremendous loss by the Neapolitans and Spaniards; and Lobkowitz, instead of taking the kingdom of Naples, was finally compelled to retreat behind the Po.

In the month of October the turbulent old Duchess-dowager of Marlborough found peace at last in the grave, having equally survived her friends and her enemies. Out of her enormous wealth she bequeathed large legacies to the leaders of the opposition. Thus Chesterfield got £20,000 and the reversion of an estate at Wimbledon, and Pitt £10,000. The day of her death was also that of the death of the Countess Granville, mother to Lord Carteret, who thereupon became Earl Granville. This minister was still in the highest favour with the king; but he had become proportionally odious to the Duke of Newcastle and his other colleagues, who seemed determined to drive him from office. There was nothing new or edifying in these cabinet squabbles and court intrigues. Carteret, or Granville, drinking as hard as usual, wanted still more power; and in the month of November the Duke of Newcastle and his brother, Mr. Pelham, told his majesty—for themselves and for the greater part of the cabinet—that he must choose between their resignations and the dismissal of Granville. George, in this extremity, entreated the Earl of Orford to come up to town and give his advice. Walpole obeyed the summons; but his advice was strongly against driving matters to extremities by retaining Granville. The Prince of Wales, who was now living on better terms with his father, was also consulted by George; but the prince could do nothing with his friends of the opposition, who were all bent upon the expulsion of Granville. The king bitterly blamed the Duke of Newcastle, saying of him—"He is grown as jealous of Lord Granville as he used to be of Walpole, and wants to be prime minister, which, a puppy! how can he be?" Nevertheless he found himself compelled, on the 23d of November, to dismiss Granville. Lord Winchelsea, with his new board of admiralty, and a few other inferior placemen, retired with the expelled minister. The Earl of Harrington was re-appointed to the place which Granville had vacated. Strong efforts were made to overcome the personal aversion of the king to Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Pitt, in order to gratify that section of the Whigs, and also to induce his majesty to give some employment to Sir John Hynde Cotton, in order to keep the Tories quiet: for the Pelhams, in seeking for parliamentary aid, had not overlooked the latter party; and one of the most flattering promises they had made to the king, was that, Carteret being once removed, they would still the noisy voice of opposition in parliament. In short, they wanted to make what they rather inelegantly termed a *broad-bottomed* ministry; that is to say, a cabinet which should have for its basis men of all parties, from which, however, the particular adherents both of Pulteney and Carteret were to be carefully excluded. George, who could never tolerate Chesterfield, and who had been incensed by the parliamentary conduct of that lord, would on no account have him about his person as one of the secretaries of state, the post which his lordship aspired to; but he reluctantly consented to give him the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. Pitt might have been gratified with a place if he would have accepted a minor one, but he proudly said that he would be secretary-at-war or nothing; and so he remained in opposition, but only for a very short time, for the Duke of Newcastle and Pelham, who felt his assistance indispensable, assured him that the king's antipathy should soon be overcome, and that he should then have what he wanted. Pitt therefore resigned his place in the household of the Prince of Wales, who was now losing his party and his influence by inclining to the displaced minister Carteret. After bitter complaints of not being allowed to have a will of his own—of being forced by his ministers to employ one that was an enemy to his house—George consented to make Sir John Hynde Cotton treasurer of the chamber in the royal household. The changeling Tory, Lord Gower, was restored to his former office of lord privy-seal, from which Lord Cholmondeley was dismissed; the Duke of Dorset got the presidency of the council, vacated by Harrington; the Duke of Bedford became first lord of the admiralty in the room of Winchelsea, having the Earl of Sandwich as second commissioner; Mr. Grenville was made another of the junior lords of the admiralty; Lyttleton obtained a seat at the treasury board; and even the tricksy Bubb Dodington got on the broad-bottom, for he was appointed treasurer of the navy. Lord Hardwicke remained chancellor, Mr. Pelham first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and the Duke of Newcastle one of the secretaries of state, Lord Harrington being made the other in the room of Lord Granville. The Duke of Devonshire, Walpole's "rough diamond and steady friend," remained satisfied with the post of steward of the household. The makers of this broad-bottom administration told the king that he might now look round the House of Commons, and not find one man of business or of any weight who was capable of heading or conducting an opposition.

A.D. 1745. "This general coalition," says Lord John Russell, "smoothed the great sea of parliamentary debate; and the session is remarkable for producing scarcely a single division. Yet the conduct of the new ministry did not essentially differ from that of Lord Carteret."[1] The opponents of that minister—the Chesterfields, the Pitts, the Lyttletons—had constantly reproached him for leaning to Hanover, and employing or paying Hanoverian troops, and they had exhausted their eloquence upon this particular topic; yet these men, now in office, or (as in Pitt's case) making sure of being in, found it necessary to qualify their criticism; and they only escaped by a practical equivoque from pursuing precisely the same line that they had condemned and denounced in Carteret. Pitt read a sort of recantation in the house in the month of January, upon a motion for continuing the army in Flanders; and, though the Hanoverian troops were nominally dismissed, an increased subsidy was voted to the Queen of Hungary,[2] to enable her to take those very troops into her pay. This she did; and the Hanoverians continued to serve in the allied armies as much in the pay of England as they had been before. But there was more than this. When the popular outcry grew faint, the farce of paying them indirectly was suspended, the money was counted out again from the English treasury, and the number of Hanoverians was increased from 15,000, which it had been in Carteret's time, to 22,000! In the same easy way a new subsidy for the Elector of Saxony was carried by the patriots and the broad-bottom men as soon as Carteret was removed; £24,000 were voted for the Elector of Cologne, and £8000 for the Elector of Mayence. Not a whisper was now raised against our increasing and complicating our foreign engagements, which a few months before had been considered so dangerous by the opposition; the quadruple alliance, concluded in January between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony—binding the last-mentioned power to furnish 30,000 men for the defence of Bohemia, and binding England to pay two-thirds of the whole subsidy to the Saxon elector, while Holland paid but one-third—met with no comment, and excited no complaint in the House of Commons. At last the states engaged to have 60,000 men under arms for the ensuing campaign, and consented that the supreme command of the united armies in Flanders should be intrusted to George's son, the Duke of Cumberland. The old Elector of Bavaria, who had hardly known one fortunate day since he had been elected emperor, died at Munich, in the month of January, of a complication of disorders and sufferings, physical and moral, that should seem sufficient to kill fifty men.[1] His son and successor to his hereditary states of Bavaria was wise enough not to be tempted by the imperial crown. He instantly opened negotiations with Maria Theresa—engaged to vote for her husband, the Duke of Lorraine, in the next imperial diet—renounced all claims whatsoever to any part of the Austrian succession—and promised to recall his troops from the French army, and never send them to assist the King of Prussia. The Queen of Hungary, on her part, agreed to acknowledge that the election of the late emperor was good and valid, and also to restore whatever territory she had occupied or conquered in Bavaria; and upon these terms a treaty was concluded at Fuessen.

---

[1] *History of Europe from the Peace of Utrecht.*

[2] Her subsidy was raised from £300,000 to £500,000.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.[3]

Before the annual waste of human life began, that great minister died who had checked it for so many years. Walpole expired on the 18th of March, 1745, in the sixty-ninth year of his age; thus escaping the mournful spectacle of the civil war which was about to rage in the northern parts of our island.[2]

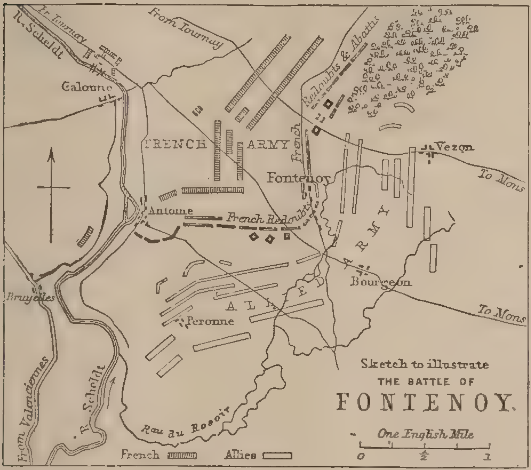
In the month of April, Marshal Saxe found himself at the head of 76,000 French troops in Flanders; and, after a few movements to puzzle and embarrass the allies, he marched suddenly upon Tournai, and invested that place in the beginning of May. England had furnished all the troops she had promised, and had about 28,000 brave men under arms in that old battle-field of Europe; but the Dutch, instead of sending 50,000 and keeping 10,000 in garrison, had hardly sent 25,000; and the Austrians mustered no more than eight or nine squadrons of horse. As if the inferiority of number to the French was not sufficient to insure a bad campaign, the Duke of Cumberland, who had indisputably *some* (not many) of the qualities of a great general, and who was young and active at least, found himself under the control of an old Austrian pedant in war, Marshal Konigsegg, and hampered and thwarted by the Dutch general, Prince Waldeck. At the earnest instance of Waldeck and the states-general, Cumberland moved with this inferior force to relieve Tournai, which ought to have been strong enough to defend itself, for it was esteemed one of the best fortresses in the Low Countries, and there were 9000 Dutch within it well supplied with everything. Having come to this resolution of relieving Tournai, the allied armies ought to have been quick and sudden in their motions; but they lost time—they went at parade pace—and, when they got near Tournai, they found that Saxe was well prepared to meet them. That skilful and active general leaving 15,000 of his foot to block up the fortress, moved with the rest of his army of 60,000 horse and foot, to an excellent position near Fontenoy, about four miles from Tournai, which he presently occupied and strengthened with numerous works. And while he lay there Louis XV. and the dauphin arrived post from Paris, and joined him, to the great joy and encouragement of the French army. If the young pretender had been allowed, he would have followed the French king, and his first encounter with Cumberland would have been at Fontenoy instead of Culloden. When the allies came up they found the French encamped on the gentle heights that rise from the right bank of the river Scheldt, with that river and the village of Antoine on their right, Fontenoy and a narrow valley in their front, and a small wood on their left. As at Dettingen, the French had a free passage across the river by means of a bridge; and this bridge was defended by a *tête de pont* and by a strong body of reserve. Fontenoy and Antoine were well fortified and garrisoned; redoubts were thrown up between the two villages, and there were abattis on the left in front of the wood. Apparently nothing daunted—it may be suspected that they were not skilful enough to detect at a glance the whole strength of the position—the allied generals resolved still to relieve Tournai and engage; and, driving in the French pickets and outposts, they advanced in gallant style. But night fell, operations were suspended, and the troops lay under their arms till the following morning, the 11th of May (N. S.) At about four o'clock in the morning a brisk cannonade began on both sides,[1] and before six both armies were closely engaged. The Duke of Cumberland with the English and Hanoverians advanced against the left of the French, and detached General Ingoldsby to clear the wood there and carry a redoubt a little beyond it. When Ingoldsby came up to the wood he found it occupied by some detachments of sharpshooters, whom he mistook for a whole division; and, after hesitating and losing time, he rode back to Cumberland for fresh instructions. This was a blunder; but on the other side Prince Waldeck and the Dutch, who had moved against the French right to attack Fontenoy and Antoine, gave unequivocal proofs of cowardice; for, after failing in their assault, and suffering from the French batteries, they gave ground,[2] and remained little more than spectators of the rest of the fight. Nay, to increase the shame, Appius, the colonel of a regiment of Hesse-Homburghers in the pay of the states, galloped away with most of his men to the town of Ath, and thence wrote a letter to the Dutch government to inform them that the allied army had been cut to pieces. Still, however, Cumberland, with his brave British and Hanoverian troops, persevered in his attack on the left. Leaving the cavalry in their rear, and dragging some pieces of artillery with the force of their own nervous arms, the foot crossed a ravine, and advanced full in front of the wood, the batteries, and the abattis, and of the best part of the French army, which had had time and opportunity to gather strength from its right. When the combat became close it was terrific: our men were killed in heaps by the enemy's artillery; but still they went closer, sweeping away the French foot and the firm Swiss guards. The Duke de Grammont, who had lost the day at Dettingen, found that his last day was come, for he was killed early in the struggle, and many officers better than he bit the dust. When the British and Hanoverians carried the French position on the left,[3] and looked with the eyes of conquerors to the right, they could see nothing of their allies the Dutch; and presently they were charged where they stood by masses of the French cavalry. But charge after charge was wasted upon them, and, instead of retreating, they pressed forward in the view of taking Fontenoy in the rear, and cutting the French off from their bridge across the Scheldt. "If," says Voltaire, "the Dutch had moved at this moment and joined the British, there would have been no resource, nay, no retreat for the French army; nor, in all probability, for the king and for his son." Louis, in fact, had been advised to seek safety in flight; but either because he thought flight more dangerous than staying where he was, or from some nobler motive, he refused to quit the field, though repeatedly urged to it by Marshal Saxe, who, it is said, was actually preparing to retreat himself. Old Konigsegg congratulated the English prince as a conqueror; but his compliments were premature. Saxe, who could not at first credit the fact, saw that Wal-

---

[1] Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XV.*

[2] Coxe, *Memoirs.*

[3] From the statue by John Bell, in St. Stephen's Hall, new Houses of Parliament.



Sketch to illustrate
THE BATTLE OF
FONTENOY.

---

[1] "Our cannon began to play a little after four in the morning, and the French batteries, with triple our weight of metal and numbers too, answered us; about five the infantry was in march."—Col. John Munro to the lord-president, in *Culloden Papers*.

[2] *Culloden Papers.*

[3] See the interesting letter of Lieutenant Forbes, in *Culloden Papers.*

deck and the Dutch were determined to keep aloof; and then calling away all the troops that had held Fontenoy and Antoine, laying bare the right of his position (which ought to have been occupied by our allies), bringing up the household troops and the entire body of his reserve, he tried to crush the British and Hanoverians by a last desperate effort. It was melancholy then to see the brave Irish brigade in the pay of France turn, the first and most furious of all, against their English brethren. From the nature of the ground they now occupied between the wood and Fontenoy, which ground was hollow and narrow, British and Hanoverian foot were huddled together in compact masses. Saxe brought four pieces of heavy artillery to play upon them in this condition; and while the cannon roared with murderous effect in their front, they were attacked in flank by fresh troops, both horse and foot. Meanwhile their own cavalry did little or nothing. This inactivity is accounted for by the roughness of the ground; but surely English horses could ride where the French could; and we are disposed to believe that, as usual, our cavalry was far inferior to our foot.[1] But the foot also was at last compelled to fall back, which they did slowly and with their faces to the foe. It is related of the Duke of Cumberland that he was the last in the retreat—that he called upon his men to remember Blenheim and Ramillies, and that he threatened to shoot one of his officers whom he saw running. Thus retreating, the English and Hanoverian infantry came to their horse, who then presented a front to the French and checked their pursuit. They were joined by their precious allies the Dutch, and then they all hastened back to the strong walls of Ath. If the men had had their will, and no enemy in their rear, it might have been difficult to prevent a very different kind of combat, for their fury against the Dutch was boundless. In this battle of Fontenoy the British lost, in killed and wounded, more than 4000 men, and the Hanoverians nearly 2000. They left behind them a few pieces of artillery, but no standards, and scarcely any prisoners except the wounded. The French, on their part, owned to a loss of 7000 men; but it is believed that on both sides the numbers were under-rated. Among the English officers of distinction who fell, were Lieutenant-general Campbell and Major-general Ponsonby. Tournai, the cause of this vast slaughter, was delivered up through an astonishing piece of treachery on the part of the Dutch engineer who superintended the defences. The town surrendered in a fortnight; and the citadel a week after! The French next invested the citadel of Ghent, which capitulated after an equally disgraceful defence; as did also, in a short time afterwards, Bruges, Dendermonde, and Oudenard. Then, while the allies were covering Brussels and Antwerp, the French besieged and carried the town of Ostend. Here, again, a Dutch officer was suspected of treachery, and wonder and consternation was excited among the allies.

After defeating Prince Charles of Lorraine in Silesia, the King of Prussia threw himself between the Austrians and their auxiliaries the Saxons, and defeated both on the 3d of June, in the decisive battle of Hohen-Friedberg, where, for the first time, he really displayed the abilities of a great general. Prince Charles of Lorraine then retreated into Bohemia, and by the end of June he had collected a fresh army in an entrenched camp at Konigsgratz. Frederick soon retired into Bohemia, with the view—if he could do no more—of wasting and consuming all the means of subsistence along that frontier, so as to render it impossible for the Austrians to winter there. He advanced to Chlum, and there fixed himself for a time. In the meanwhile Maria Theresa, chiefly through the influence of George, had the satisfaction of seeing her husband Francis elected emperor by the diet of Frankfort on the 13th of September. The King of Prussia and the elector palatine entered a vain protest against the election, by which Austrian influence would be so formidably increased; but Frederick was a foe born to humble the Austrian pride. In the month of September want of provisions compelled him to retreat; Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had been reinforced by the junction of 6000 Bavarians, followed him with nearly 60,000 men in all, and enveloped him near Konigshof. The Prussian army did not at this moment exceed 28,000 men; but they were veterans, whereas the enemy consisted in good part of new levies and irregular hordes of horse. Frederick again displayed the qualities of a skilful general: the light troops of Austria took to pillaging when they ought to have been fighting, and the affair ended in the brilliant, and by the Prussians unexpected, victory of Soor. The conqueror continued his retreat into Silesia, where he put his troops into winter-quarters, and then returned himself to Berlin to see what advantages he could gain by negotiating. He had already induced George to sign a convention at Hanover, guaranteeing to Prussia the possession of Silesia, and he hoped for other advantages from the fears and increasing difficulties of the English sovereign. The convention of Hanover he kept a profound secret; for any compact with England was likely to deprive him of the benefits of his alliance with France.

---

[1] It appears that one regiment of horse—the Oxford Blues—behaved better here than they had done at Dettingen. "The Blues," writes a Scottish officer, "behaved well, and rubbed off the stain of Dettingen."—Letter from Col. John Munro to the lord-president, in *Culloden Papers*.

In Italy the campaign was exceedingly unfavourable to the allies of England. Except upon the Maine, where the army under the Prince of Conti, weakened by draughts made upon it to strengthen the army in Flanders, was compelled to retreat precipitately and with considerable loss before Count Traun, the French in Europe were nearly everywhere successful. But in America they sustained a considerable loss in the capital and island of Cape Breton, which were taken by 4000 volunteers from Boston, assisted by a few marines, and supported by Admiral Warren with a squadron of ten ships.

CHAPTER XIX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1745.

GEORGE II.

Charles Edward, the young pretender, resolves to make a landing in Scotland—He is encouraged by the French cabinet—His scanty means for the expedition—His serious loss at sea—His landing in the Highlands with a few attendants—His reception from the Highland chiefs—His interview with Cameron of Lochiel—He is joined by Cameron and other chiefs—Successful skirmish of the Highlanders with a body of the king's troops—Muster of the pretender's adherents at Glenfinnan—His standard erected and war proclaimed—Sir John Cope marches against the pretender—Uncertain movements of his march—The Highlanders elude him and descend into Athole—Trimming of Lord Lovat between the Jacobites and royalists—The pretender enters Perth—His proceedings in Perth to strengthen his cause—He continues his progress unchecked to Callendar—His advance upon Edinburgh—Preparations made in the city to oppose him—Disgraceful conduct of the dragoons—Their cowardly flight called the "Canter of Colt Brigg"—Charles effects an entrance into Edinburgh—Home's account of the pretender's army—His description of Charles Edward—The pretender proclaimed at Edinburgh—Sir John Cope's advance—He draws up at Prestonpans—The Highlanders march out of Edinburgh to oppose him—Movements of the two hostile armies—Battle of Prestonpans—Fierce onset of the Highlanders—Speedy discomfiture of the royal troops—Death of Colonel Gardiner—Return of the pretender to Edinburgh—Hopeless aspect of the royalist cause in Scotland—Condition of the Highlands—Poverty of the people—They are made rebels by their necessities—Plan of Forbes to reconcile the Highlanders to the government—The plan submitted to Walpole—Causes of its being set aside—Continued loyalty of President Forbes.

BUT the flames of a more fatal war were now lighted on our own territory. The battle of Fontenoy and our other reverses in Flanders were made the most of by the French, who were always skilful in such exaggerations. The young pretender was led to believe that his moment was come; and that if he could only unfurl his banner on the hills of Scotland, it would soon be carried through a distracted and defenceless land, to the capital and the palace of St. James's. Charles, who had been shooting at Fitz-James, a seat which had belonged to the late Duke of Berwick, went to Paris to get assistance, and to raise some money, being determined to go even without a French army. He found the French ministers quite ready to countenance his schemes, but very badly provided with cash, and rather averse to any open or decided proceeding, which it appears would have given offence to their ally the King of Prussia, whose schemes and intentions and negotiations were exceedingly complicated. Besides, to secure the advantages they had gained, it was necessary that the French should keep their army in Flanders; and their past experience proved that the sanguine hopes of the Jacobites were not to be relied upon so as to encourage any great adventure with or for them. The French cabinet wished for a diversion in Scotland, but were not disposed to make any great sacrifices for it. The young pretender might go, and little they cared what was his fate. The Highlanders had again expressly told him that his coming would be useless and desperate unless he brought with him at least 6000 disciplined troops, 10,000 stand of arms, and some money. The rashness was Charles's and not theirs—but dearly did they pay the penalty for it. He wrote to inform them that he was determined to come, though he could have neither the troops nor the arms required. As for money, all that he could do was to borrow about £6000 sterling, and to write to Rome for his jewels that he might pawn them. Leaving Paris, where he had long dropped his *incognito*, Charles went towards the coast of Normandy, and fixed his residence for a time at the Chateau de Navarre, near Evreux, the seat of the young Duke de Bouillon, one of his warmest friends. His first business was to procure shipping; and this, it appears, was attended with some difficulty, being done at last in an underhand manner, without the knowledge of the French court.[1] He, however, obtained the *Doutelle*, a fast-sailing brig, carrying eighteen guns, which had recently been employed as a privateer against the English.[2] And he clandestinely got the convoy of the *Elizabeth*, an old man-of-war carrying sixty-seven guns. The *Doutelle* went round to the mouth of the Loire, and Charles and the gentlemen who had made up their minds to accompany him went by different routes to the town of Nantes. On the 2d of July, Charles, disguised as a student of the Scotch college at Paris, embarked in the *Doutelle*, but he was detained till the 13th by the non-arrival of the *Elizabeth*, on board of which were embarked the greater part of the warlike materials he had been enabled to procure, and which consisted of some 1500 fusils, some twenty small field-pieces, some powder, ball, and flints, and some broadswords. The money, which he kept under his own care in the *Doutelle*, was now not much above £3000. At last the *Elizabeth* came to the rendezvous, and then the two ships sailed together, Charles suffering much from sea-sickness. On the fourth day of their voyage a ship bearing the British flag hove in sight. It was the *Lion*, of fifty-eight guns, commanded by the brave Captain Brett, who, as soon as the wind permitted, engaged the two ships. The *Doutelle* presently hauled off and pursued her course, leaving the *Elizabeth* to sustain the combat single-handed, which she did gallantly for five or six hours, when she and the *Lion* parted about equally disabled. In the shattered condition in which his ship was left, the French captain deemed it expedient to return to his own coast; the *Doutelle* meanwhile pursued her original course for the coast of Scotland, safe and unhurt, but cut off from the arms and ammunition that had been put on board the *Elizabeth*. Two days after the parting of the two ships, the *Doutelle* was pursued off the south end of the Long Island by an English ship of superior force; but she was saved by her superior sailing; and, changing her course and ranging along the east side of Barra, she came to anchor off the islet of Erisca, between Barra and South Uist. As they neared the rocky shore, an eagle—no uncommon sight in those quarters—hovered over their ship. "Here," said Lord Tullibardine, one of the daring adventurers, "is the king of birds come to welcome your royal highness to old Scotland!" Charles went on shore and was conducted to the house of the tacksman or tenant of Erisca, who rented all the small islands which composed that group. His quality was concealed, and his attendants gave out that the prince was a young Irish priest. From the tacksman they learned that the lord of those islands was Macdonald of Clanronald, a young chief, who was deeply pledged to the Jacobite cause; that this young chief had just gone himself to the mainland, and was at Moidart; but that his uncle and chief adviser, Macdonald of Boisdale, was close at hand, with his brother, upon the island of South Uist. Charles stayed all night at the tacksman's, having sent a summons to Macdonald of Boisdale. In the morning he returned on board the *Doutelle*, where the chief of Boisdale soon waited upon him. This old Jacobite, on seeing one small ship and no more, thought that the young pretender was mad, and he refused to engage his nephew in so desperate an enterprise. Charles then wished him to repair as his ambassador to Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod, two other chiefs with whom he had been in correspondence; but Boisdale flatly told him that such a mission to the Isle of Skye was useless, as he had very lately seen Sir Alexander and Macleod, who had both declared that if the prince should come they would not join him, unless he brought with him a body of regular troops. The young pretender then ordered his sailors to weigh the anchor, and the *Doutelle*, with Boisdale's boat hanging astern, glided away from the island, and advanced several miles towards the main. As soon as he was allowed—which he was when Charles found all his arguments and persuasions ineffectual—the old Jacobite got over the ship's side into his boat, and rowed back for his island. The *Doutelle* kept her course for the mainland, and came to anchor in the bay of Lochnanuagh, between Moidart and Arisaig. Young Macdonald of Clanronald presently obeyed Charles's summons, and went on board attended by several of his clan, and by the head of one of its branches styled Macdonald of Kinloch Moidart. But this young Macdonald of Clanronald had some sense and discretion; and he represented, as his uncle had done before him, that it would be madness to take up arms without support from abroad. Charles entreated and implored, appealing to their warlike pride and other passions. During this conversation the parties walked backward and forward upon the deck, talking aloud; a young Highlander, armed at all points in the fashion of his country, was leaning against the taffrail, listening with all his ears and with excited glistening eyes. It was a younger brother of Kinloch Moidart, who had come on board without any knowledge of the prince being there. Charles observed the young Highlander's excitement—watched him as his colour went and came, as he shifted his place, compressed his lips, and grasped the hilt of his broadsword—and, then, turning suddenly to him, he exclaimed, "You, at least, will assist me?" "I will, I will," cried Ronald, "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword. I am ready to die for you." The enthusiasm was infectious—it caught both the Macdonalds, who swore that they would take up arms instantly, and endeavour to engage every man that wore the tartan to do the same. "At the first appearance of the royal youth, though I then knew him not," says another of the Macdonalds who had gone on board, "I found my heart swell to my very throat."[1] During the 19th, 20th, and 21st, Charles kept close on board with those who had accompanied him from France and with Clanronald; on the 22d Clanronald was sent to Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod to induce them to join, and Glennaladel was sent to gather Clanronald's clan and enrol some of the best of the men as a body-guard for the prince, and to be employed in landing the arms and ammunition. Clanronald's mission to the Isle of Skye was in vain; Sir Alexander Macdonald and his friend persisting that Charles ought not to have come without some regular troops, more arms, and money; and that, since he had not fulfilled his engagement, they were not bound in honour to concur in the enterprise. But at the same time encouraging messages were brought from the Glengarries and from other chieftains, some of whom came to the coast and carried back arms and ammunition for their people. On the 25th of July (O. S.), Charles, being thus assured of some support, set his foot for the first time on the mainland of Scotland, with a train of only *seven* persons—the Marquis of Tullibardine, styled by the Highlanders the Duke of Athole, which he would have been by right of descent, but for the bar of the attainder provoked by his conduct in 1715; Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been Charles's tutor; Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Kelly, the nonjuring clergyman who had been engaged in Bishop Atterbury's plot; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; Eneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris, but brother to Kinloch Moidart; and Buchanan, who had been the messenger employed by Cardinal de Tencin between Paris and Rome. These were afterwards called "the seven men of Moidart." They were now conducted to Borodale, a farm-house in the neighbourhood, which belonged to young Clanronald, whence Charles despatched letters and messengers to nearly every mountain and glen in the Highlands. The gallant Cameron of Lochiel received the summons and resolved to obey it; not, however, with the intention of joining the prince, but with a design of urging him to forego his rash enterprise and return to France, while he could do so in safety. On his way down to the coast, Lochiel called upon his brother, Cameron of Fassifern, who entreated him not to go forward, but to send his sentiments in writing. "I know you," said Fassifern, "better than you know yourself. If this prince once sets his eyes upon you, he will make you do whatever he pleases."[2] But Lochiel, saying that he must, in respect, wait upon the prince, continued his ill-omened journey to the fatal farm-house of Borodale. As soon as he arrived there, Charles took him aside, and artfully or eloquently laboured to remove his strong objections, which the chief stated to him manfully. Lochiel for some time resisted, and, seeing that the young pretender was determined not to re-embark, he advised him at least to lie concealed where he was. "No," cried Charles, now making his last and strongest appeal,

---

[1] "It will appear strange to you," writes Charles to his father's secretary, Mr. Edgar, "how I should get these things without the knowledge of the French court. I employed one Rutledge and one Walsh, who are French subjects (they were of Irish extraction, the sons of refugees who had followed James II.; Rutledge had been settled at Dunkirk, and Walsh at Nantz, and they had united to their trade as West Indian merchants the profitable calling of privateering against England). The first has got a grant of a man-of-war from the French court to cruise on the coast of Scotland, and is luckily obliged to go as far north as I do, so he will escort me without appearing to do it."—*Stuart Papers*, in Lord Mahon's Appendix.

[2] She had been fitted out for that purpose by Walsh, who now went with the young pretender in her to Scotland.

CHARLES EDWARD STUART, the young Pretender.
From a fine print by J. Daullé.

---

[1] *Lockhart Papers*—Journ. and Mem. of Prince Charles's Expedition into Scotland, 1745-6, by a Highland officer in his army.

[2] *History of Rebellion in* 1745, by John Home, author of the tragedy of *Douglas*. The author says that Fassifern himself in the year 1781 told him this anecdote.

"I am resolved to put all to the hazard. In a few days, with the few friends I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors, or perish in the attempt. Lochiel, who my father has often told me was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and learn from the newspapers the fate of his prince!" This was too much for the "gentle Lochiel," as he was always styled by the Highlanders; his resolution gave way, and he exclaimed with a warmth equal to that of Charles, "No! I will share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune hath given me any power!" And thus was the die cast; for, if Lochiel had persisted in his original intention, there would have been no civil war, and the blood of Culloden would have been spared. Charles then gave a feast "in as hospitable a manner as the place could afford;" men, women, and children crowded to see him, and the Highland chiefs and chieftains drank in deep cups—"*Deochs laint an Reogh*," which was good Erse for "God save the king." Lochiel returned to his clan, and sent messengers through Lochaber, and to every spot where there was a Cameron living, with word that they must march to Glenfinnan and join their chief in arms. Some detachments from the Glengarries were sent down to Charles at Borodale, who then set out for Kinloch Moidart, distant about seven miles; he went himself by sea with his artillery and baggage, but the Highlanders marched close by the shore.[1] In spite of every precaution, a surmise of the prince's landing was now whispered abroad; and the government having notice thereof, sent a detachment to reinforce their garrison at Fort-William. It was upon this detachment that the Highland broadsword was first drawn. The regulars, which consisted of *two* companies, and not of four, as stated by the Jacobites, had to pass through part of the country of Glengarry and Keppoch, in the midst of lakes, mountains, and torrents. They were commanded by Captain John Scott, who set out at a very early hour of the morning of the 16th of August, that he might reach Fort-William before night. Scott advanced cautiously, but without any disturbance, till he got near High Bridge, built over a mountain torrent, which can hardly be passed by any other means; but then he heard a shrill bagpipe, and saw some Highlanders on the other side of the bridge, skipping about with swords and firelocks in their hands. He instantly halted his men, and sent forward a sergeant with his own trusty body-servant to reconnoitre; but they had not gone many steps when two nimble Highlanders darted out from a cranny in the rocks, seized them, and carried them over the bridge. As he knew not what was their force—as they appeared more numerous than they were, and as the pass was so narrow and difficult—Scott turned face and retreated. The Highlanders let the soldiers go quietly for some two or three miles, till they saw them engaged in a very narrow road between Loch Lochy and a mountain, when they opened a murderous fire from behind trees and rocks—a fire which not only wounded Scott's men, but attracted other armed mountaineers to the spot. The regulars hastened their march, hoping to get to Invergary, a place of some strength; but they had not gone far when they saw another body of Highlanders coming down the hill in their front, and heard bagpipes and fierce cries on every side. They were, in fact, surrounded, and Captain Scott was badly wounded, and two of his men were killed. They formed into a hollow square, but resistance was hopeless; and when Macdonald of Keppoch ran to the spot with a fresh party offering quarter, and assuring them that if they attempted further resistance they would be cut to pieces, the soldiers laid down their arms. Matters were in this state when Cameron of Lochiel arrived on the spot with some of his clansmen, took charge of the prisoners, and conducted them to his house at Achnacary.[2]

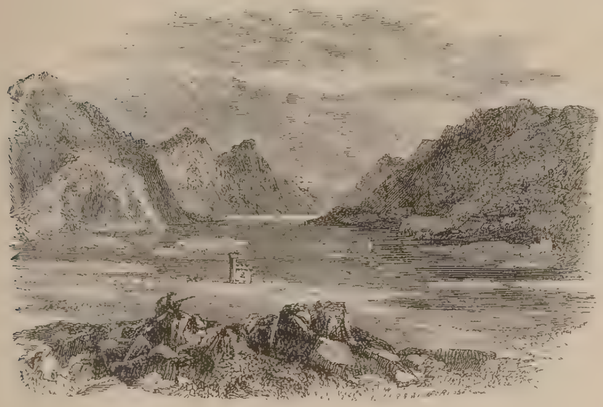
The general rendezvous of the Camerons and other Jacobite clans was appointed to be at Glenfinnan, a narrow vale in which the river Finnan runs between lofty and craggy mountains, inaccessible to horse. The vale is closed at the end by Loch Shiel, a lake about fifteen miles long. Leaving Kinloch Moidart, Charles repaired to this glen, and entered a shepherd's hovel to await the arrival of the clans.[3] For nearly two hours not a soul was seen; but then Lochiel and his men appeared hanging on the top of one of the mountains. The Camerons rapidly descended, and then advanced towards the prince in two lines, each line being three men deep, and the two companies of prisoners without their arms marching between the two lines. They were not all armed, but from 700 to 800 brave Highlanders stood in this martial array before Charles, who instantly gave orders to erect, for the first time, the royal standard.

---

[1] Charles, with his baggage, &c., was conveyed in three boats, furnished by the Highlanders. The *Doutelle* soon returned to France, Walsh carrying with him a letter to the old pretender, in which Charles begged a title for the *armateur* and privateer owner. It appears the vain honour was conferred. There is still in France a *Count* Walsh—a descendant or representative of the original Walsh. This *Monsieur le Comte* has married an English lady.

[2] According to the lord-president of the Court of Session, Duncan Forbes, who did more towards suppressing this rebellion than any man, the Highlanders had not much to boast of in a military point of view. In a letter to Sir Alexander Macdonald, whom he was labouring to keep steady in his determination not to join the rebels, Duncan Forbes says—"Two companies of the royals made prisoners sounds pretty well, and will surely be passed for a notable achievement; but when it is considered that these companies were not half complete, that they were lads picked up last season in the low country, without anything of the royal but the name, and that their officers were raw, the achievement is not by any means so important."—Letters in Appendix to Home's *History of the Rebellion.*

[3] Journal of the Highland officer, in *Lockhart Papers.*



LOCH SHIEL, as seen from Glenfinnan.[1]—From Swan's Lakes of Scotland.

Old Tullibardine unfurled the colours, which were made of white, blue, and red silk, and were twice the size of an ordinary pair of colours; his lordship, supported by a Highlander on each side, held the flag-staff till a manifesto from James and his commission of regency to his son were read, both being dated at Rome, December, 1743. When this was over Charles made a short speech to the chiefs. Few of the common men could understand a word he said, but they all shouted till the mountains rang again, and "such loud huzzas and skimming of bonnets up into the air, appearing like a cloud, was not heard of a long time."[2] On the same day, and shortly after the elevation of the standard, on the 19th of August, Macdonald of Keppoch joined with 300 men, and in the evening some of the Macleods came to Glenfinnan, disclaimed their chieftain as a traitor and coward, and enrolled themselves in the rebel army. All that night they lay in Glenfinnan, which was not above fifteen miles from Fort-William. On the morrow, the 20th of August, they began their march southward; O'Sullivan, an Irish officer, acting as quartermaster-general—an office scarcely needed in a Highland army. When Charles halted at Lochiel's house he was joined by Macdonald of Glencoe, who brought him 150 men; by Stuart of Appin, who brought about 200; and by the younger Glengarry, who brought 200 more. His force now consisted of 1500 or 1600 men; and he confidently assured himself that, as he advanced, it would gather and grow like a snow-ball in motion.

On the very day that the rebel standard was erected at Glenfinnan, Sir John Cope, commander-in-chief for Scotland, put himself at the head of his troops, which had for some time been drawing together near Stirling. A hint had been sent to Edinburgh on the 2d of July that the pretender's eldest son was expected to land in the Highlands that summer; and Cope, whose force was weak, had written repeatedly to London to the Marquis of Tweeddale, the secretary of state for Scotland, representing the necessity of providing against invasion and insurrection. After some scarcely pardonable delays, a little money and some instructions were sent down to the general. Sir John Cope then hastened his preparations, proposing to march his troops into the heart of the Highlands, and fight the rebels wherever he might find them. Tweeddale and the lords of the regency, without knowing what force Charles had collected, and apparently without reflecting on the danger of engaging the only army they had in Scotland in the glens and defiles of the Highlands, and leaving the capital and the whole of the Lowlands open to attack, sent down an express with positive orders to Cope to march forthwith. That general sent out officers and intelligent sergeants in various directions to examine the ground; and the attempt was made to reinforce Fort-William with two companies, of which we have seen the unfortunate issue. He continued to remain completely in the dark as to the force of the insurgents, and as to the positive whereabouts of the young pretender; and the Jacobites spared no pains to prolong this darkness, and to bewilder one that never saw very clearly—a man of routine, a martinet, that could play only one regular game in war, and who was disconcerted, like a bad chess-player, by every move except the most straightforward or transparent ones. Having collected all the men he could, Sir John Cope found himself at the head of about 1500 foot and two regiments of dragoons—Gardiner's and Hamilton's; both infantry and cavalry being chiefly composed, if not of raw recruits, of men that had never seen any active service. Considering that the horse would be unserviceable and difficult to subsist in the rough country, he left both the regiments of dragoons behind him; and with the foot, four field-pieces, four cohorns, a great number of provision carts and baggage carts, and 700 stand of arms to distribute among the well-affected Highlanders, he marched away from Stirling to Crieff, intending to proceed to Fort-Augustus. At Crieff he expected to be joined by hundreds, but not a soul came to his standard. He therefore sent back to Stirling 400 of the spare muskets he had brought with him, well knowing that arms were much wanted —that the whole of the Lowlands was most lamentably deficient of this means of defence—that there was a far greater want of guns and swords than of heart and courage. From Crieff, Cope advanced to Dalnacardoch, where he arrived on the 25th of August, and where he met Captain Swettenham, who had witnessed the raising of the standard of the Stuart in Glenfinnan. The captain told the general that when he left the rebels on his parole their number did not exceed 1400 men; but he added that he had since met upon the road several parties going to join them, and had heard at Dalwhinnie a day or two before that they were 3000 strong. Yet Cope, assuming that they must be very indifferently armed, thought that even 3000[1] Highlanders might be beaten by 1500 regulars; and he continued his march to Dalwhinnie, where he arrived on the 26th. Captain Swettenham had assured him that the Jacobite clans, perfectly well aware of his approach, intended to bar his passage at Corryarrick, an immense mountain that lay between him and Fort-Augustus, and directly in his line of march; and now this assurance was confirmed by the active and vigilant Duncan Forbes, who was fortunately in the Highlands at his seat called Culloden House, near Inverness and Fort-George. Cope determined to change his route, but not before consulting a council of war, to which he summoned every field-officer and every commander of a separate corps in his little army. He made them give this their opinion in writing; and then, on the following day, he quitted Dalwhinnie, and marched towards Garviemore, on the road to Corryarrick.

---

[1] The small tower marks the spot where the pretender's standard was first raised. It was erected by Macdonald of Glennaladel, in 1815, and bears an inscription in Gaelic, Latin, and English, commemorative of the event.

[2] Letter in *Culloden Papers.*

But while he had been halting and hesitating, the light-footed Highlanders had been moving with their usual rapidity, and before he got eight miles from Dalwhinnie, when his line was thin and far extended, he saw some tartans darting along the hill-sides; and then he called a halt, faced about, and, leaving the road to Garviemore, took, more rapidly than he had intended, the road which diverges there and leads to Inverness. No one had joined him, but not a few had left him. Early that morning Charles had ascended the summit of Corryarrick, expecting to see Cope advancing on the zigzag road; but he could see nothing but a few Highlanders, who proved to be deserters, and who assured him that Cope was going a different way. Instantly detachments were hurried in advance along the declivities of the mountains, and these men presently saw the English army moving off by the route to Inverness. The Highlanders exulted, and wished to run down and pursue, and give battle; but the chiefs thought it would be far better to let Cope go his way, and strike off themselves into the Lowlands by the route which he had left completely open to them, and so advance to Stirling and the capital. And while Sir John proceeded by forced marches to Inverness, where he arrived on the 29th of August, the Highland army, moving far more rapidly, went through the mountains of Badenoch into the vale of Athole, being joined just before or during their march by 100 men of the clan of the Grants of Glenmoriston, and by other little troops, all hot for Prince Charles and for the plunder of the south. On the 30th of August Charles reached the strong mansion of Blair Castle, from which the Whig Duke of Athole fled at his approach, while his brother Tullibardine (the Jacobite Duke of Athole) prepared to take possession of his paternal dwelling. Tullibardine, who was above sixty years of age when he entered on this desperate enterprise, feasted the prince and his ancestral vassals in the castle, and seems to have fancied that he had got his own again for good after a quarter of a century of exile and attainder. They stayed two days at Blair, and were joined by several Highland gentlemen bringing all the men they could; but still Fraser, Lord Lovat, whose influence was immense, kept aloof, though Charles had sent him his patent to be *Duke* of Fraser, and his commission to be lord-lieutenant of all the northern counties. Cameron of Lochiel had waited upon this wily head of the Frasers; but Duncan Forbes, true and stanch to the established government, was at the same time labouring to keep the old man quiet. "Lord Lovat," writes Forbes, on the 9th of August, "was with me here (at Culloden House) last Thursday, and has, by the bad weather, been detained at Inverness till this day. He has declared to me his full purpose to be prudent, and I verily believe him."[2] On the very next day, Forbes, writing to Sir John Cope for a supply of arms, expresses his apprehension that, should the pretender move that way, Lord

---

[1] "We were not," says the Highland journalist, "when our little army was encamped and provisions provided, above 1200 men, under the command of Clanronald, Lochiel, and Keppoch. The Macdonalds of Glengarry, being 600 good men, and the men of Appin being 200 more, joined afterwards."—*Lockhart Papers.*

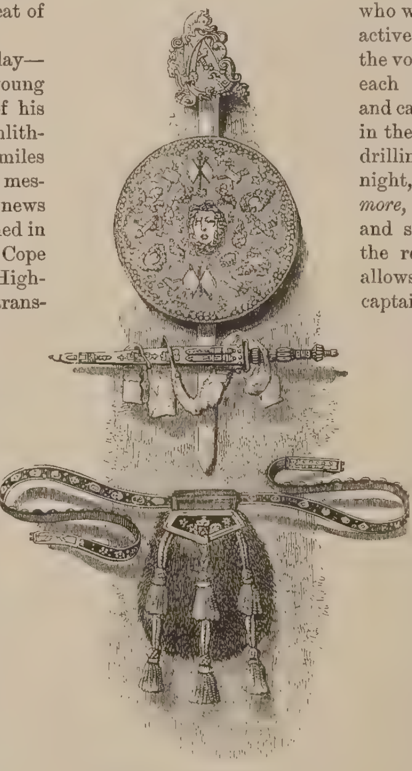
[2] Letter to Sir Alexander Macdonald, in Home's Appendix.

Lovat and others of "the well disposed" might be under considerable difficulties, as their clans had got no arms. He adds, however, that Lovat and Lord Fortrose had been with him again, and had promised to collect all their people to act in defence of the government. Lovat wrote in a somewhat different strain to Lochiel—"My service to the prince," said the old fox; "I will aid you what I can, but my prayers are all I can give at present." This hoary sinner, who had crowded nearly every page of a long life with crime and guile—who had been of all parties and had betrayed all, but whose first public act was carrying off the Frasers to fight under the banner of Dundee for James II., as his last act was dying on a scaffold for the Stuart cause—evidently wished to gain time and to see what was likely to be the success of the young pretender before he joined him. With such a man, to be prudent meant merely to join the stronger. No doubt he also wanted to obtain some of the arms for which Duncan Forbes was writing, before he should give any the least suspicion to the friends of government.[1] His son-in-law, Macpherson of Cluny, the head of a clan, was less circumspect; for, being taken prisoner—apparently a willing one—he forgot his oaths and obligations to government, which had appointed him captain of an independent company, and, after some conversation with Charles, joined him at once, and engaged to raise his clan for that service. After his two days' rest at Blair-Athole, the young pretender resumed his march to the south, and on the 4th of September he entered Perth. The money he had brought from France was already spent, and he had only one louis-d'or in his pocket; but, showing the coin to Mr. Kelly, he gaily assured that nonjuring parson that he should soon get more cash. And, as active collectors, he forthwith detached armed parties of Highlanders through Angus and Fife, who proclaimed King James VIII., seized all the public money they could find, and levied the duties and taxes due to the established government. The city of Perth furnished him with £500; but he prudently abstained from plundering the merchants and dealers that were attending the fair at Perth on his arrival. It must, however, have been absolutely impossible wholly to prevent the wild Highlanders from indulging in their inveterate habit of "lifting." Still further to lengthen his diminutive purse, some hot Jacobites in Edinburgh and other places clandestinely sent him donations or loans, which were to be repaid when his father King James got his own again. But few of the Lowlanders appeared to recruit his little army. He fixed his residence in the town of Perth, in an old house belonging to Lord Stormont; and there he entertained the ladies of the place with a ball. At Perth, James Drummond, in the Jacobite Red Book, Duke of Perth, came and joined him after a narrow escape of arrest by the government. This Perth was young, brave, courteous, and inexperienced—a pleasing, shallow-headed person.[2] Lord George Murray, a much older and a much abler man, who had been engaged with his brother Tullibardine in the affair of "the fifteen," came in at the same time to offer his sword and his military experience. Lord George had served several years abroad in the armies of the King of Sardinia. He has been generally esteemed the best officer and planner of a campaign that ever followed Charles. He had genius enough to soar above the pedantry of his art, and, seeing that there was no time to complete that military transformation, he recommended that no attempt should be made to perplex and confound the Highlanders with new tactics, new weapons, and new modes of marching and fighting; but that they should be left to their old methods, with merely a little improvement in the way of training. A printing-press was set to work at Perth, and proclamations were thrown off and widely distributed. One of these, as a retaliation, offered *thirty pounds* to any person or persons that should seize and secure George, Elector of Hanover, &c. This was considered merely as a joke, or as a cutting way of expressing contempt; but, shortly after, this offer of reward was raised to £30,000. On the 11th of September, with his army strengthened by above 200 men brought in by the Duke of Perth, by 100 who had joined under Robertson of Struan, and by a handful of Lowland recruits, Charles left Perth; and, marching at the head of a detachment, he reached Dunblane that evening, having been joined on the road by Macgregor of Glengyle, with 250 Macgregors—"all with red hair"—and by Macdonald with sixty Macdonalds. He was now in a hurry to reach Edinburgh, for he had received news that General Cope, after getting to Inverness, was marching to Aberdeen, with the intention of embarking at that port and returning with all the speed that winds and waves would permit for the defence of the capital; and on the 12th he pushed forward from Dunblane for the Frith of Forth. Knowing that several ships of the royal navy were stationed at the head of the frith, and that the bridge of Stirling was commanded by the artillery of the castle, he directed his steps to Frew, a spot about eight miles above Stirling, where the Forth is fordable at low water. When he got to the ford of Frew, Gardiner's dragoons were on the opposite bank; but, instead of attempting to defend the ford, or to annoy the Highlanders on their passage, these unwarlike horsemen wheeled round, and trotted off towards Leith,[1] whither Hamilton's (the other body of horse which Cope had left behind him) had repaired some days before. Having crossed the river on the evening of the 13th, Charles lay that night at Leckie House. Continuing his march on the following morning he passed within a mile of Stirling Castle, from the ramparts of which one or two cannon-shots were fired at him. Traversing the field of Bannockburn he proceeded to Falkirk, quartered his men in that town, and took up his lodging for the night at Callender House, the seat of the Earl of Kilmarnock.

---

[1] *Culloden Papers.*

[2] The caustic Horace Walpole calls Perth "a silly race-horsing boy."



Military Accoutrements worn by Prince Charles Edward, in 1745.[2]

On the evening of that day—Sunday the 15th—the young pretender and the whole of his army were quartered in Linlithgow, which is only sixteen miles from Edinburgh. A timid messenger carried this ominous news to the capital, which remained in a very defenceless state, for Cope had not got back from his Highland promenade, though transports had been despatched on the 10th to convey him and his troops. The citizens, who had been so long accustomed to a life of quiet, were thrown into consternation. At first, underrating the force of the Highlanders, they had despised the danger; and government had been extremely remiss in providing the means of defence. The reader by this time must have formed a pretty correct notion of what Cope's two regiments of dragoons were worth: these were now collected outside of the town, at Corstorphine, between Leith and Linlithgow, about three miles from the city walls; and within the town the only force consisted of the old worn-out town-guard—"the Edinburgh regiment," a very indifferent body of men, who had been levied and embodied a week or two before—and the corps of Edinburgh volunteers, who knew nothing of war, and whose number never amounted to 500 men. The chief command rested with the lord-provost or principal magistrate, Archibald Stewart, who was afterwards suspected of Jacobitism, but who probably was merely unmartial and confounded like the rest. The city was indeed surrounded by a wall which had parapets; but the wall in many places was not ten feet high, and not stronger than a garden inclosure; and as for the parapets, they were for the most part too narrow to admit the mounting of proper cannon, if there had been proper guns to use, which, it appears, there were not. The castle on its steep rock was safe; but General Guest, a brave old soldier who commanded there, had a very small garrison, and could hardly spare a man beyond the walls of the fortress. Still, however, according to Home, who was himself one of the most active and zealous of the corps, the volunteers, who had received each man a musket, bayonet, and cartridge-box from the depôt in the castle, and who had been drilling, morning, noon, and night, for three days *and no more*, kept a good countenance, and seemed determined to fight the rebels. But the historian allows that Mr. Drummond, their captain, could only answer for 250 of the number. As their houses were high and strongly built of stone, and as the streets were narrow, they might have defended Edinburgh when the Highlanders had climbed the walls or forced the gates, if they had only had a sufficient supply of fire-arms and a little more confidence; but it appears that this idea was never suggested. Their own arms were few, and they had got it into their heads that the young pretender was coming with a regular train of artillery, with which he might have battered down their houses. Even the ardour of the 250 volunteers, for whom Mr. or Captain Drummond too confidently undertook to answer, cooled at the near approach of danger. The officers complained that their men would not follow, while the men complained that their officers would not lead; and when Captain Drummond, preparatory to a sortie against the enemy, halted near the town-gate called the West Port, and looked behind him, he could scarcely see a volunteer, except the forty men of his own company.[1] Drummond marched back with his company to the college-yard; and the provost ordered his precious town-guard of ninety men and some of the Edinburgh regiment to join the dragoons without the volunteers. He might as well have sent the levies which marched through Coventry with Sir John Falstaff. On Sunday evening, while the provost and the other notables of Edinburgh were debating and speech-making in the Goldsmiths' Hall, Colonel Gardiner, having left an advanced post at Corstorphine, retreated with the rest of his dragoons to a field between Leith and Edinburgh, and sent back the worse than useless supply of infantry into the town. In the course of the night Brigadier Fowkes arrived from London, and took the chief command.

---

[1] Highland officer's journal, in Appendix to *Lockhart Papers*.

[2] The claymore is in the possession of the Duchess of Gordon; the target and the sporran, with belt of the time of the Knights Templars, are at Cluny Castle; the dirk and ribbon are in the museum of the Scottish Antiquarian Society.—From the Abbotsford edition of *Waverley*.

The Highlanders lay that night upon a rising ground between Linlithgow and Edinburgh, at the distance of about twelve miles from the capital. But early on Monday morning they began to move, the pretender contriving to send beforehand a message to the people of Edinburgh, to acquaint them, that if they would admit him peaceably, all would be well; but otherwise they must make up their minds for military execution. As the rebels approached Corstorphine they saw the advanced party of dragoons; but they had scarcely more than a glimpse of them: for without touching sabre, pistol, or carbine, the dragoons wheeled about, and rode off to the main body, which was now posted by Fowkes and Colonel Gardiner at the east end of Colt Bridge, about two miles from Edinburgh, on the way to Corstorphine. "But the main body did not long stand there: before the rebels came within sight, orders were issued to the dragoons to wheel, which they immediately did with the greatest order and regularity imaginable. . . . Orders were repeated every furlong to quicken their pace, and, both precept and example concurring, they quickened it so well, that before they reached Edinburgh they had quickened it to a pretty smart gallop. They passed in inexpressible hurry and confusion through the narrow lanes at Barefoot's Park, in the sight of all the north part of the town, to the infinite joy of the disaffected and equal grief and consternation of all the other inhabitants. They rushed like a torrent down to Leith, where they endeavoured to draw breath; but some unlucky boy (I suppose a Jacobite in his heart) calling to them that the Highlanders were approaching, they immediately took to their heels again and galloped to Prestonpans, about six miles farther."[2] Six or seven hundred men, consisting of the trained bands, the Edinburgh volunteers, and some other volunteers who had come in from Musselburgh and Dalkeith, still mounted guard at the different gates of the capital; but the young pretender's message, which was promptly delivered, and then the sight of the fleeing dragoons, presently settled the question of resistance or non-resistance in the hearts of most of the notables that had assembled to debate in the Goldsmiths' Hall. Yet the meeting thought it would take a middle course, and a deputation was sent out to Charles, desiring that hostilities might not commence till they had had more time for deliberation. The deputies had scarcely taken their departure, when the provost and magistrates received intelligence that the transports with General Cope's army on board were off Dunbar; and that as the wind was unfavourable for coming up to Leith, the general intended to land at Dunbar, and then march with all speed to the capital. This piece of intelligence materially changed the face of affairs; and it was resolved to recall the deputation, and to apply to General Guest for arms, and for the recall of the fugitive dragoons. Guest had some doubts about risking his muskets, bayonets, and cartridge-boxes again in the hands of men who had given them up; and he told the magistrates that it was absolutely necessary for his majesty's service that the dragoons should be ordered to join General Cope, who had no cavalry with him. It is fair to doubt whether any messenger could have run fast enough to catch these performers of the "Canter of Colt Brigg;" or whether, if the message had reached

PISTOLS THAT BELONGED TO PRINCE CHARLES, now at Cluny Castle.

---

[1] The author of *Douglas* hints, in a note to his *History*, that even Drummond's courage was all make-believe; that "he did not intend to fight the rebel army; but that his real intention was to make himself popular at the eve of an election, by showing extraordinary zeal."

[2] "A true account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart, Esq., late Provost of Edinburgh, in a letter to a friend. London, 1748." This pamphlet is attributed to the historian David Hume. Walter Scott says that there is strong evidence, both external and internal, for attributing it to that pen.

them, the dragoons would have had heart to obey it. Scared from Prestonpans they had galloped on to North Berwick, and seemed determined to stop nowhere till they should get under cover of Cope's infantry. There was another cause of embarrassment: the gentlemen composing the deputation could not be overtaken before they reached Charles, and they were now in his hands as hostages, and ready to be hanged—so thought their tender friends—if the town should ring the alarm-bell again, or attempt resistance. At about ten o'clock at night, the town being quiet the while, the deputies returned from Gray's Mill, a place within two miles of the city, where Charles was now quartered. The answer they brought was very peremptory. Charles demanded immediate possession of the city, threatening military execution if the citizens should refuse or delay. What was to be done? Cope was still some thirty weary miles off, and the pretender was at hand with an army, whose force had been multiplied by their fears, and by ingenious arts employed by the Jacobites. The poor provost resolved to send a second deputation; and about two o'clock in the morning it set out in a hackney-coach for Gray's Mill. But Charles refused to see them, and the deputies returned in their coach with heavy hearts, and were set down near their houses in the High Street. It was near five o'clock in the morning when the coachman turned his horses' heads to lead them to their stables in the Canongate, which suburb was then separated from the town by the walls and the strong gate called the Nether Bow. And, as the Nether Bow port was now opened to let this coach go out, Cameron of Lochiel and 800 Highlanders rushed in. The rest of the work was like a trick in a pantomime—easy and instantaneous; the town-guard and all the guards and sentinels upon duty were made prisoners without a blow, and the Highlanders occupied their posts and took possession of the city as quietly as one guard relieves another. Charles, who in the course of the preceding evening had been joined by David, Lord Elcho, eldest son of the Earl of Wemyss, and a man of distinguished bravery, put himself in motion with the main body of his little army, at about ten o'clock, and, marching by Duddingstone to avoid the fire of the castle, he entered the King's Park by a breach which had been made in the wall, and halted his men under Arthur's Seat, in the hollow between the hills. It was there that Home carefully examined them, being anxious to carry some useful intelligence to Sir John Cope, to whom he was fleeing. They did not exceed 2000 men! They seemed to be strong, active, and hardy; but many of the men were low in stature, and, if clothed like low-country men, would, in Home's opinion, have appeared inferior to the men in the king's troops; "but the Highland garb favoured them much, as it showed their naked limbs, which were strong and muscular." As to their arms, Home says that they had no cannon nor artillery of any sort, except one small iron gun, which he saw, without a carriage, lying upon a cart, drawn by a little Highland horse; about 1400 or 1500 of the men were armed with firelocks and broadswords, those firelocks being of all sorts and sizes, including many fowling-pieces; some of the rest had firelocks without swords, and some swords without firelocks; many of the swords were not Highland broadswords, which they best knew how to use, but French swords; one or two companies were armed with scythes fixed in the shafts of pitchforks. Home also took a glance of Prince Charles, as he crossed the King's Park on his way to Holyroodhouse; and he has left us an admirable picture of his personal appearance, which was by far the best part of the young pretender. "The figure and presence of Charles Stuart were not ill-suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth,[2] tall and handsome, of a fair complexion; he had a light-coloured periwig, with his own hair combed over the front; he wore the Highland dress, that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, a blue bonnet on his head, and on his breast the star of the order of St. Andrew. Charles stood some time in the park to show himself to the people; and then, though he was very near the palace, mounted his horse, either to render himself more conspicuous, or because he rode well, and looked graceful on horseback. The Jacobites were

Prince Charles Edward,
In the Costume he wore at his Receptions at Holyrood.[1]

---

[1] From a miniature in possession of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., of Newe and Edinglassie.

[2] He was in his twenty-fifth year.

charmed with his appearance; they compared him to Robert the Bruce, whom he resembled, they said, in his figure, as in his fortune. The Whigs looked upon him with other eyes." When he came in front of Holyrood Palace a cannon-ball fired from the castle struck James V.'s Tower, and fell into the courtyard with a quantity of rubbish; but it harmed no one, and he entered the porch, preceded by a gentleman who had suddenly stepped from the crowd, and who now, with a drawn sword in his hand, walked upstairs before him.[1]

Lochiel and his Highlanders, in securing all the arms they could find on first entering the town, had also secured the heralds and pursuivants which then, as still, were carefully and pompously maintained as emblems of Scottish royalty and independence. At the hour of noon these functionaries, with their trumpets and gaudy dresses, were marched up to the old cross, where the clans were drawn up under arms, and were there forced to proclaim King James, and to read the commission of regency to Charles, the declaration dated at Rome, and a manifesto in the name of the regent. While this was doing some of the mob huzzaed, and a number of Jacobite ladies, stationed in the windows, waved their white handkerchiefs; but very few gentlemen were to be seen in the streets or in the windows, and amongst the poorer people many showed their dislike of the pageantry by a sullen silence. By the unceasing exertions of the gentle Lochiel, the wild Highlanders were kept from plunder and from whisky. It is even said that they refused whisky when offered to them by the people of Edinburgh; but this almost incredible fact rests upon Jacobite authority. In the evening the long deserted and dingy apartments of Holyrood were enlivened with lights, crowds of company, and a ball; and the younger of the Jacobite ladies were charmed into still warmer enthusiasm by seeing that Charles was an excellent dancer.

While they were proclaiming the young pretender at Edinburgh, Cope was landing his troops, artillery, and stores at Dunbar; an operation that was not completed till the morning of the 18th. His men were discouraged at once by the panic-stricken regiment of dragoons, which had continued fleeing on till they came to Dunbar, many of them without swords, pistols, or any other weapon. It was resolved, however, to move instantly upon Edinburgh; and Sir John Cope, with his usual fatality, chose the worst road by which he could go. It is true, however, that the shortest road was enticing, as a speedy arrival at the capital was deemed of the highest importance; but then Cope should have sent exploring parties up the hills and across the country to have an eye on the march of his enemies; and this he neglected to do—he caused to be reconnoitred nothing but the high post road, and two or three diverging paths. And even to this end he employed persons unfit for the duty—some of the young volunteers who had fled with the poet Home from Edinburgh. It was on the 19th of September that he left Dunbar with his little army, which made a great show with its cavalry, artillery, and long train of baggage waggons. He went no farther than to a field a little to the west of Haddington, which town is only twelve miles from Dunbar. About nine o'clock at night, it being feared that during the dark hours the Highlanders might advance and surprise them, eight of the young volunteers, mounted on horseback, went by parties of two to examine the main road, and some other paths that diverged to Duddingstone. These young men returned at midnight to the camp, and reported that all was quiet; and then other eight of them mounted and rode in the same manner till peep of day—but two of this last division of explorers never came back to Cope's camp. On the following morning Sir John continued his march; but when he came near Haddington he suddenly quitted the high post road, because, as he afterwards said, there were defiles and inclosures near it where cavalry could not act, and took the lower road by St. Germains and Seaton. The van of the army was entering the dead flats which lie between Seaton and Preston, when Lord Loudon, who was acting as adjutant-general, and who had gone forward to reconnoitre, came back at a round pace, and informed Cope that the rebels were in full march towards him—not by the road and the open country to the west, where alone Sir John had been looking for them, but by the ridge of hills to the south. Cope, however, thought that the plain he was in was good ground, and he pushed forward along the high road to Preston and Seaton, till he came to Prestonpans, where he formed his army in order of battle. The young pretender, having previously been joined by the Earl of Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Sir Stewart Threipland, Sir David Murray, and a few other Lowland gentlemen, and having exacted tents, targets, and shoes from the citizens of Edinburgh, and carried off all their arms—including, it is said, about a thousand muskets—had resolved to come forth and meet Cope. He was further encouraged by the timely arrival of Lord Nairne, who brought up from the north 500 men — Maclauchlans and other Macs from Athole. On the night of Thursday, the 19th, Charles repaired to the village of Duddingstone, where the troops lay upon their arms; and at an early hour on the following morning he put himself at their head, drawing his sword and exclaiming—"Gentlemen, I have thrown away the scabbard!" The Highlanders moved on in a long narrow column, crossed the bridge at Musselburgh, and then struck away over the hills to the right, leaving the post road entirely. They paused on the heights of Carberry, where many a year before Mary Stuart had been led captive by her insurgent subjects. They did not halt again till they came in full sight of the king's army.[1] The regulars set up a tremendous shout, to which the Highlanders replied. Cope, who had shifted his front and re-formed his army, now lay with his right leaning on Colonel Gardiner's park-wall and the village of Preston, having on his left Seaton House and the sea, and a little in his rear the village of Prestonpans. At the distance of less than a mile the Highlanders formed on the declivities near the little town of Tranent. But between them and the king's army there was a swamp or morass cut by hedges, dry stone dykes, and willow trees; and close in front of the king's army there was a ditch with a thick and strong hedge. It was about three in the afternoon when Kerr of Gradon, mounted upon a little white pony, rode down the hill-side to see if he could discover a passage for the Highlanders across the morass. He performed this duty with great coolness, notwithstanding the shots that were fired at him, but upon his return he assured Charles that the morass was impassable—that Cope's front was not to be attacked in that direction. Both armies lay inactive the rest of the day, except that Cope fired a few cannon-shots, and dislodged a party of Highlanders who had occupied the churchyard of Tranent. The night which followed, and which proved dark and cold, was still more tranquil, the two armies lying upon the ground with their sentinels and pickets very close to each other.[2] But during that night several of the few Highlanders that had been induced to follow Cope from Aberdeen, deserted to their countrymen; and Robert Anderson, a Jacobite gentleman of the neighbourhood, who knew the country step by step, told Hepburn of Keith that he would undertake to show the prince's army a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and form without being exposed to their fire. After consulting with Lord George Murray, Hepburn conducted this Anderson to Charles, who was found sleeping on the ground with a sheaf of pease for his pillow. Awaking, the young pretender summoned Lochiel and the other chiefs to council, and it was soon resolved to trust to the guidance and loyalty of the Lowland gentleman, whose father had been out in "the fifteen."

---

[1] This was James Hepburn, of Keith, a man esteemed by all parties. In his youth he had been out in "the fifteen." Since then he had compounded the spirit of Jacobitism with the spirit of liberty; for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings. He also condemned and abhorred the act of union, as something injurious and humiliating to his country, and which had made a Scotch gentleman of small fortune nobody.—*Home.*

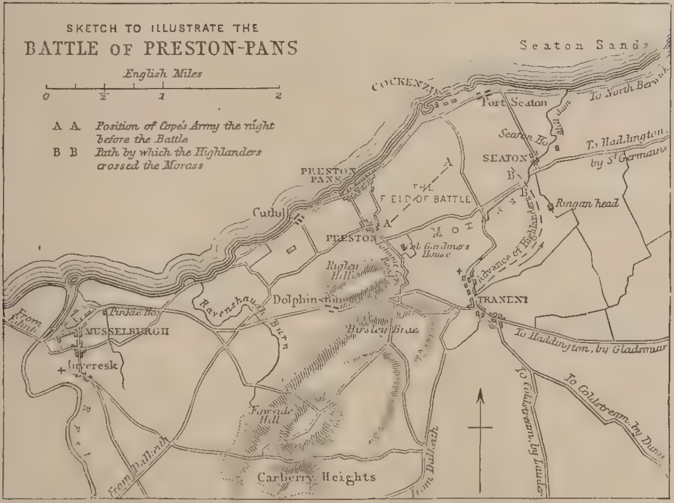
HOUSE AT DUDDINGSTONE, where Prince Charles slept the night before the Battle of Prestonpans.—From a view by Paton, in the Abbotsford Waverley.

At the earliest peep of day, the 21st of September, and under the favouring veil of a frosty mist and the fog that hung over the swampy ground, the Highlanders began to move, with the Clanronalds in front, marching in column, three men in a rank. They came down by a hollow that winded through the farm of Ringanhead—not a whisper was heard amongst them. They were close to the place where Anderson intended to lead them through the morass, when some of the dragoons in picket heard their footfalls, and shouted through the mist—"Who goes there?" Apparently, without waiting for an answer, which would not have been given, these doughty horsemen reined up, turned their horses' heads, and rode off to give the alarm—the only thing they could do. The clans, still as silent as death, pushed on rapidly, in spite of the boggy nature of the ground, in which they sometimes sank to their kilts. They crossed the ditch upon a little narrow wooden bridge; and then the Duke of Perth, who led the column, ordered them to halt, face to the left, and form as usual. The first line consisted of six regiments, with the Clanronalds, the men of Glengarry and Keppoch on the right, the Macgregors and the Duke of Perth's men in the centre, and the men of Appin and Lochiel on the left. Behind this first line stood a body of reserve, or second line, consisting of the Athole men, the Robertsons of Struan, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, and the Maclauchlans, who were all commanded by Lord Nairne, but who were never engaged. Charles took his post in front of this body of reserve, and behind the first line. Sir John Cope, who had not been sleeping with his troops on the field, but had gone to more comfortable quarters in Cockenzie, a little village on the sea shore close by, being warned by the dragoons, was now on the field, and obliged to change his front and alter his dispositions in face of the enemy. Even with the best disciplined troops, such sudden manœuvres, under such circumstances, are likely to produce some confusion. The outposts of the front had not time to find out the regiments to which they respectively belonged; and they formed awkwardly on the right, so as to cramp the cavalry, and not leave them sufficient room to act. The mass of the infantry, consisting of four regiments—"Lees'," "Guise's," "Lascelles'," and "Murray's"—two of which were very incomplete, stood in the centre, Hamilton's dragoons occupied the left, and Gardiner's dragoons and the artillery were posted on the right, next the morass. There was no body of reserve; but they still had in their rear Preston, some strong stone walls, and Prestonpans. Their baggage was to their left in the village of Cockenzie, which has a small harbour. The ground which intervened between the two armies was an extensive corn field, plain and level, without a bush or a tree; and it was now lighted up by the morning sun, which had dispelled the fog and mist, and revealed the enemies to each other. "Harvest was just got in, and the ground was covered with a thick stubble, which rustled under the feet of the Highlanders as they ran on, speaking and muttering in a manner that expressed and heightened their fierceness and rage."[1] Their first attack, under Lochiel, was upon the guns. "The cannon," says a Jacobite that was present, "consisting of seven pieces and four cohorns, fired upon them as they marched, but did no execution, and was immediately seized; and the Highlanders (who never after that did regard cannon, which formerly had been very terrible to them) continued their march with loud huzzas."[2] The fact was, that Cope, having no regular artillerymen with him, had pressed a number of unskilful, unpractised seamen to serve these guns; and the sailors being badly defended, or rather not defended at all by the dragoons, turned and fled after one or two random fires. Colonel Gardiner, who deserved to have had better men under him, advanced at the head of his regiment, and did all that he could to make them charge the Highlanders and recover the guns; but the dragoons had no heart in them, and after receiving one irregular fire they wheeled about and galloped off, making a canter at Prestonpans as they had done at Coltbridge. Abandoned by their horse, and seeing their artillery in the hands of the enemy, the infantry gave one weak, desultory discharge—the Highlanders threw down their muskets and rushed on them with their sharp claymores—the line broke—Hamilton's dragoons were galloping away as fast as Gardiner's—Murray's regiment of foot, which occupied the left, fled also: in a few minutes from the firing of the first gun the whole army, both horse and foot, was in flight, and the disgraceful affair of Prestonpans was over almost as soon as begun. Not one of the regular soldiers attempted to load his piece a second time—not one English bayonet was used. Charles had no cavalry—the whole amount of horse with him did not exceed the number of fifty, consist-

---

[1] Jacobite "Account of the Young Pretender's Operations"—Appendix to *Lockhart Papers*.—*Home*.

[2] The Highland officer says—"We lay in sight of them till the evening, when our people grew very impatient to be engaged; but, with difficulty being restrained by authority, both armies lay upon their arms all night."



---

[1] Home.

[2] "Account of the Young Pretender's Operations."

ing chiefly of gentlemen and their grooms; but with a part of this Lord Elcho and Sir Peter Threipland spurred after the panic-struck dragoons; while the light-footed Highlanders followed the foot to cut them down or make them prisoners. Few had courage enough to provoke the broadsword—the men threw down their arms and surrendered in heaps, and the actual loss on the side of the royalists in killed and wounded did not exceed 200 men and five officers, but eighty officers were taken prisoners; and the cannon, the tents, the baggage, and the military chest were all left to fall into the hands of the Highlanders, whose loss amounted to four officers and thirty private men killed, and six officers and seventy private men wounded. One hundred and five of Cope's foot escaped and got to Edinburgh Castle, and about seventy found their way to Berwick. Sir John, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, collected about 450 of the dragoons, who fled too fast to be taken, and marched them by Soutra Hill and Lauder down to the banks of the Tweed at Coldstream, where they are said to have arrived that very night.[1] Colonel Gardiner, probably the best man and the best officer there, remained dead on the corn field at Prestonpans. The veteran, disdaining to flee with his dragoons, though he was badly wounded, put himself at the head of a small party of the foot—a knot of true-bred Englishmen, who, though left without officers, stood their ground on a corner of the field. "These brave fellows," said he, "will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" and, riding to their front, he took the command and cheered them; but he was presently cut down by a fierce Highlander armed with a scythe, and he sank under other wounds close to his own park-wall, and within sight of his happy home. They carried him senseless to the manse or parsonage of Tranent, where he soon expired, and was buried by the side of his children in that village church. He was a truly virtuous and religious man; his bravery was indisputable; and his memory still continues to be fondly cherished in Scotland as the model of a Christian hero. The young pretender, who had been with the body of reserve, which had nothing to do in the fight,[2] is said to have shown some magnanimity after it was over: he remained on the field till mid-day, giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, and for the disposal of his numerous prisoners. He lay that night at Pinkie, and returned the next morning to Edinburgh with the £1500—a seasonable supply—which had been found in Cope's military chest. He entered Holyroodhouse to the joyful tune of "The king shall have his own again," flags flying, pibrochs playing, and the Highlanders making a *feu de joie* by firing their pieces in the air. At a review a few days after, there appeared only about 1400 Highlanders; some had been killed and wounded, it is true, but the large majority of those missing had gone home with the plunder and spoil they had made at Prestonpans. With the brave old General Guest still in the castle, with the majority of the inhabitants of Edinburgh wishing every "sharp-edged claymore-man" behind Strathbogie, and the pretender back in France or Italy, or in a still hotter atmosphere, any competent commander with 1200 or 1400 proper men might have settled the rebellion if he had come to Edinburgh on the 21st or 22d; but there was no one at hand to take up the card which Cope had thrown away: there was scarcely the

COLONEL GARDINER'S HOUSE AND THE FIELD OF PRESTONPANS.
From a view in the Illustrated London News.

---

[1] Sir John—"*Johnnie Cope,*" as he will be for ever called in Scotland—was merely ridiculed at first, but hotly prosecuted afterwards. It is reported that when he went fleeing on with his dragoons to Berwick, his brother officer, Lord Mark Kerr, received him with the sarcastic observation, that he believed him to be the very first general on record that had first carried the tidings of his own defeat. The Jacobites made epigrams and songs about him, one of which, commemorating his sudden wakening and his rapid flight, is known to every one that is a Scot, or that has lived in Scotland.

Jn Cope

AUTOGRAPH OF COPE.

[2] "One does not hear the boy's personal bravery cried up."—Horace Walpole to Mann.

fraction of an English regiment anywhere north of Tweed; and thus the Highlanders were allowed at their leisure to go and come, to deposit their plunder in the mountains, and to return on the look-out for more. Duncan Forbes and some other friends of the government still remained in the north, about Inverness and Fort-George, in the hopes of raising the Whiggish clans and sending them to take the pretender in the rear. The Duke of Argyle's vassals were resolute and ready to march for King George; but the duke was left without proper orders or instructions, and the men without arms. In vain had Duncan Forbes and Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, the loyal and able justice-clerk, repeated their applications for muskets and bayonets—the government at London seemed to be stupified, or confident that Cope's ill-supplied army must have proved more than enough.

Without underrating the disinterested Jacobitism of the gentle Lochiel, and two or three other chiefs, on the one side, or the predatory habits of some score of chiefs and chieftains on the other, it may be believed that the great mass of the Highlanders who followed Charles were urged on by poverty and by the hopes of improving their condition; and that, if proper means had been adopted by government to furnish them with employment and bread, the name of the Stuarts would have been no more a magical name in the Highlands than it was in the rich plains of England. Since the Revolution, both nations had been making prodigious strides in wealth, civilization, and comfort; but these blessings were not extended to the hungry mountains of the north, which remained in their primitive poverty, augmented by the increase of population. The numbers of many of the clans had, long before the year forty-five, exceeded the means of subsistence afforded by the ground they occupied. In some of the straths and glens they were huddled together, and hundreds were compelled to live upon a bit of ground which, in England, with all the superiority of soil and industry, would not have been made to support scores. In the wintry season it was no uncommon thing for them to support life by bleeding their black cattle, mixing the blood with a little barley or oat meal, and frying the whole into a sort of cake. Trade they had none, except in occasionally exporting to the Lowlands their small black cattle: shipping they had none, because they had nothing by which to create and employ it; and because, like all the Celtic tribes, they had a strong aversion to a seafaring life. The Highlanders were as inapt as sailors, as they were apt as soldiers. Their clannish institutions, their devotion to their chiefs, and other obstacles both natural and artificial, made it difficult for any government to change or suddenly improve their condition; but a wiser and more spirited government would assuredly have tried the effect of a gradual and gentle change—would have laboured to find out better means of subsistence and of education for a brave and excitable people—and would, most assuredly, never have rejected the proposals which had been made over and over again for employing the Highlanders, and disengaging them, by the influence of better feeding, from the desperate cause of the Stuarts. Seven years before this their last and terrible outbreak, Duncan Forbes, who was thoroughly acquainted with the Highlands, waited upon Lord Milton, at his house at Brunstane, one morning before breakfast. Milton, surprised to see him at so early an hour, asked what was the matter. The lord-president replied that the matter he had to communicate was of some importance. "You know very well," said he, "that I am like you, a Whig; but I am also the neighbour and friend of the Highlanders, and intimately acquainted with most of their chiefs. For some time I have been revolving in my mind different schemes for reconciling the Highlanders to government; now, I think, the time is come to bring forward a scheme, which, in my opinion, will certainly have that effect." After remarking that a war with Spain was at hand, and a war with France in all probability not distant, and that the struggle would demand far more troops than the present standing army, Duncan Forbes proposed that government should raise four or five regiments of Highlanders, appointing an English or Scotch officer of undoubted loyalty to be colonel of each regiment, leaving the posts of lieutenant-colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns to be filled by the chiefs and chieftains of the disaffected clans, who, if left at home in their present poverty and discontent, were the very persons whom France and Spain would call upon to take arms for the pretender. The Highlanders who had been raised and sent to serve in the army abroad had always been not only among the bravest, but among the steadiest and most contented of our troops; their Jacobitism never followed them beyond their own bare mountains. "If," continued Duncan Forbes, "government will pre-engage the Highlanders in the manner I propose, they will not only serve well against the enemy abroad, but will be hostages for the good behaviour of their relations at home; and I am persuaded that it will be absolutely impossible to raise a rebellion in the Highlands." Forbes gave his scheme in writing, and with more detail, to Lord Milton, who fully approved of it, and submitted it to Lord Ilay, who had then the chief management of the king's affairs in Scotland. This brother of Argyle, who since then (by the death of his brother in 1743) had become Duke of Argyle himself, was delighted with the plan, carried it up to London, and presented it to Walpole. Sir Robert declared at once that it was the most sensible plan he had ever seen; and that he was surprised nobody had ever thought of it before. [If Walpole had looked a little back, he might have seen that a plan very like it had been suggested to William III.] Summoning a cabinet council, the minister laid Duncan Forbes's paper before them, and recommended the measure as one which ought to be carried into execution immediately, in case of a war; but every member of that council, except Sir Robert, instantly declared against it, saying, that if government should adopt the plan, the English opposition in parliament would instantly exclaim that he (Walpole), ever intent on subverting the British constitution, was raising an army of Highlanders to join the standing army, and enslave the people of England.[1] The king, too, wanted to employ Hanoverians and Hessians, and to subsidize all his little neighbours in Germany; and the majority of the ministry knew that they could keep their places only by gratifying his majesty in this particular. Thus Hanoverians were preferred to Highlanders; and instead of five full regiments of the latter, only one was raised—the famed forty-second, or the Black Watch, as it was then generally called—and this, it appears, was chiefly raised among the Campbells and the clans already attached to the house of Hanover.

In general, when project-makers find their plans rejected they are apt to become disaffected; but, happily for his country, this was not the case with the Lord-president Forbes, who, in the moment of extreme danger, when the battle of Prestonpans was fought, remained in the Highlands; and, by unceasing exertions, by employing his own money and his own credit, by exercising all the talent of a true statesman and the virtue of a true patriot, he was now succeeding in assembling such a force about Inverness and Fort-George, as served to distract the counsels and interrupt the supplies of Charles, and to pave the way for his final downfall.[2]

CHAPTER XX.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1745—1746.

GEORGE II.

Alarm in England at the commencement of the civil war—The alarm followed by confidence and indifference—Preparations made for suppressing the rebellion—Patriotic conduct of the Archbishop of York—Effects of his example—Charles prevents the Scotch members from repairing to parliament—Selfishness of the English Whig nobles who had offered to raise regiments for the national defence—Contrast afforded in Ireland—The Duke of Cumberland returns to England as commander-in-chief—Proceedings of the pretender in Edinburgh—He blockades the castle—The blockade withdrawn to save the city—Scottish nobles and gentry who join the pretender—Double-dealing of Lord Lovat—Remissness and selfishness of the Scottish Whig lords—Charles proclaims the abolition of the union—He receives a few supplies of arms and money from France—Highland mode of levying contributions—The pretender's council of state—Vacillating conduct of Lovat continued—Charles commences his march into England—Amount of his forces—His progress—He besieges Carlisle—Its cowardly surrender—Quarrel between the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray—Question of advance or retreat in the rebel army—Its advance to Penrith—Its entrance into Preston—The town regarded as an evil omen to Jacobitism—Singular irruption of the rebel "advance party" into Manchester—The Manchester regiment raised—Gathering of the royalist troops to oppose the rebels—The pretender advances to Derby—Unpromising aspect of his cause—Question of a retreat again discussed—Aversion of Charles to the measure—He is compelled to acquiesce—The retreat commenced—Alacrity of volunteering in England—Accumulation of troops to suppress the rebellion—Particulars of the pretender's retreat—Marshal Wade unable to overtake it—Skirmish between the rebels and part of the royalist army at Clifton—The rebels re-enter Scotland—The Duke of Cumberland besieges their garrison in Carlisle—The garrison compelled to surrender—Glasgow laid under contributions by the rebels—Discord among the Jacobite chiefs—The rebels march from Glasgow to Stirling—General Hawley makes preparations to attack them—Confidence and negligence of his proceedings—Battle of Falkirk—Varied events of the conflict—Hawley defeated—Linlithgow palace burned in his retreat—The Highlanders unsuccessfully besiege Stirling Castle.

THE English had certainly no right to accuse the unarmed Lowlanders of Scotland of a want of spirit, for their own spirit was, at moments—we mean, of course, in the beginning of the rebellion—at an exceedingly low ebb. They cried out for succour to the Dutch, as if English hearts and hands were not sufficient; and the government pressingly demanded the 6000 auxiliaries which the states-general were bound to furnish. The rich and peaceful citizens of London were for a time as much afraid of the pretender, though more than 300 miles distant, as had been the burghers of Edinburgh when he was only three miles off. Even Fox, a member of the administration, said in a confidential letter to a friend—"England is for the first comer; and if you can tell whether the 6000 Dutch and the ten battalions of English we have sent for from Flanders, or 5000 French or Spaniards will be here first, you know our fate." This was written on the 5th of September; and on the 19th of the same month Henry Fox wrote to the same friend—"The French are not come, God be thanked! But, had 5000 landed in any part of this island a week ago, I verily believe the entire conquest would not have cost them a battle."

---

[1] The venerable author of *Douglas*, and of the *History of the Rebellion*, says that all these particulars were communicated to him by Lord Milton himself.

[2] Duncan Forbes to Sir Andrew Mitchell.—*Culloden Papers*.

The bad news had brought George rapidly over from Hanover to London, where he had arrived on the 31st of August; but he seemed to think, first, that Sir John Cope would be enough—then, that the 6000 Dutch and ten English battalions would be more than enough; and no pains were spared by Lord Granville (Carteret) and his party, who were still constantly consulted, to persuade his majesty that there was no danger whatever, and to hint, less directly, that if they had been in office the insurrection would not have happened. On the 20th of September, when three battalions of Dutch had been landed at Gravesend, and had received orders to march to the north of England, Horace Walpole wrote—"Lord Granville and his faction persist in persuading the king that it is an affair of no consequence; and as for the Duke of Newcastle, he is glad when the rebels make any progress, in order to confute Lord Granville's assertions." In this manner was the civil war neglected, and the property and lives of thousands left to depend upon the desponding or sanguine humour of majesty, and upon the intrigues of ministers and ex-ministers, base enough to manœuvre for place and favour at a critical moment like this. The common council of London was as much split into parties as the privy council of his majesty, and equally capable of overlooking the real dangers of the country in their indulgence of jealousy and animosity against each other. The merchants of London, however, opened a subscription at Garraway's coffee-house in order to raise a fund of £250,000, to be spent in troops, and several of them subscribed as much as £200 a-piece. They also entered into associations and subscriptions for sustaining the Bank of England, upon which a run at one moment began to be made, and for supporting the public credit in general; but self-interest would, without any extraordinary patriotism, have suggested this latter course.

The household troops, horse and foot, a regiment of horse grenadiers, and some of the battalions as they came from Flanders, were encamped in Hyde Park. In the provinces several great lords professed to raise regiments at their own expense; meaning, however, to be more than paid for their outlay. Few or none of these lords were either so disinterested or so prompt as Doctor Herring, the excellent Archbishop of York. "He," says Horace Walpole, "has set an example that would rouse the most indifferent: two days after the news arrived at York of Cope's defeat, and when they every moment expected the victorious rebels at their gates, the bishop made a speech to the assembled county that had as much true spirit, honesty, and bravery in it as ever was penned by an historian for an ancient hero."[1] Under this prince of the church bodies of horse and foot were raised in Yorkshire with admirable rapidity, and not one gentleman there thought of making a profitable job out of his courage and patriotism.[2] The archbishop, who, in such a case, may be excused—nay, applauded—for following the warlike conduct of more ancient prelates, was constant at muster and review, and declared that he would be ready to fight with the gentlemen and burghers of the north.[3] His example had the best of effects: the nobility and gentry of Lancashire entered into an association to raise 3000 men; similar measures were adopted, under the bishop and Sir Robert Grosvenor, in Chester, where even the Catholic gentlemen associated and subscribed, declaring that this mad attempt of the Stuarts tended only to ruin them and their religion in Britain. A similar association was set on foot in Surrey, under Lord Onslow.

Parliament assembled on the 18th of October, when George announced in form the breaking out of the unnatural rebellion, and the dangers of Popery and arbitrary power to which the nation was exposed. The House of Commons did not assemble in full force, for many of the Scotch members could not have come if they had been willing, as the young pretender had published a declaration, threatening to confiscate the estates of all Scots that should dare to attend this parliament; and though it was doubtful whether his edict of confiscation could be lasting, it was quite certain that he had the power of letting his Highlanders loose in the Lowlands, and of wasting or plundering every estate there. In the same declaration Charles denounced as traitors all the English members that might meet at Westminster.

The session was scarcely opened when it was seen that the Jacobites who attended, and who in all probability had been encouraged to attend, in spite of the declaration, had wonderfully plucked up their spirits. They opposed the address, and offered many obstructions to the suspension of the habeas corpus act. But what was a far worse sign than this Jacobite opposition, which was too weak to venture upon any division, was the mean selfishness of the Whig magnates and others who had offered to raise regiments for the defence of their country. The Dukes of Devonshire, Bedford, Rutland, and Montague, the Lords Herbert, Halifax, Cholmondeley, Falmouth, Malton, Derby, and four more, insisted that their regiments should be put on the regular establishment, and be paid by the king—and, "not much to the honour of the undertakers, or of the firmness of the ministry," this was carried. Those noble and most disinterested colonels had named none but their own relations and dependants as officers; and these officers were to have rank with the brave old part of the army which had served all the war —with veterans who had grown gray in the service. People at once left off praising the heroism and patriotism of these great lords to abuse their littleness of soul; nor are we prepared to say that on this head the popular clamour was a single note too high. The king was much averse to the new men taking rank as if they were in his own old army. He could not, however, refuse the lords what they demanded; but he hoped or wished that the House of Commons would feel the meanness of the demand, and address him not to grant it. But, though there were plenty of members to oppose the raising of the regiments altogether, there appears not to have been one that took his majesty's view of the case, or that ventured to urge the arguments he wished. In effect, though the levies "of these patriot heroes, the regiment-factors," swelled the army-list with lordlings and other utterly unexperienced officers, and had cost the government more money than regiments raised in the ordinary way, they were of exceedingly little use in the field—the men mutinying on some occasions when called upon to march out of their own counties, and the officers not knowing how to command the men anywhere. In Ireland, where apprehensions were entertained of a rising, and where the young pretender's brother was for a long time expected with Louis XV.'s Irish brigade, the Protestants of all denominations made vigorous exertions, and a nobleman was found that could make a splendid offer without demand or hope of usurer's interest. This was James Fitzgerald, twentieth Earl of Kildare, and subsequently first Duke of Leinster. He proposed to ministers to raise, clothe, and arm a regiment at his own and sole expense; but, though his loyalty was undoubted and the motives which attached him to the established government as obvious as they were powerful, ministers told him in reply that the king had no occasion for his regiment.

---

[1] Letter to Horace Mann.

[2] "That county," says Horace Walpole, "raises 4000 men, besides a body of fox-hunters, whom General Oglethorpe has converted into hussars."

[3] Doctor Herring was promoted to Canterbury in 1747. He lied in March, 1757, universally respected.

Meanwhile troops—Dutch, Danes, and English—came over, and the Duke of Cumberland arrived from Flanders to take the chief command. The flower of that brave army which had stood the murderous fire of Fontenoy began to rendezvous in the centre of England, about Lichfield and Coventry; and old Marshal Wade advanced into the more northern counties of England. Charles had thus lost his opportunity of marching into England when it was bare of troops; and to march now, as he was actually doing, was an act of madness, or at the best an expedition which could only end like a Highland raid or foray. After the battle of Prestonpans he lay at Edinburgh while his father was proclaimed in almost every town in Scotland. The civil authorities had all fled, leaving all the attributes of government to him and his adherents. The banking companies had made themselves and their money safe within the strong walls of the castle, where they continued in spite of his tempting proclamations. The Presbyterian clergy, who still exercised an immense and a paramount influence over all the Lowlands, absented themselves from their pulpits in the capital, and one of the few that remained—the famed Macvicar —is said to have continued praying for King George, his lawful sovereign, adding to his prayer, "And as for the young man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee in mercy to take him to thyself and give him a crown of glory." Although the Highlanders were not good missionaries to convert the Whig Lowlanders and change their Presbyterianism and their Whiggery, they were uncommonly effective as collectors of the taxes which Charles imposed to support himself and his army. Out of Glasgow they got £5000, and minor sums were raised in many other places under the sharp claymore and the Highland buckler. In returning to their homes with the booty they had made at Prestonpans, they had promised as soon as they had gotten their harvests in to return to head-quarters five times more numerous than before; and it behoved Charles to wait for them. It appears that at one time he flattered himself that Edinburgh Castle would be put into his hands by the treachery of some within that garrison. The Highlanders at first kept guard in some old buildings near the castle-wall, but allowed necessaries of every kind to pass into the garrison. But, disappointed in his first hope, and being informed that the castle was badly provided, Charles resolved upon a blockade, and on the 29th of September orders were given to the Highlanders to allow no person to pass or repass into the castle. General Guest, the governor of the castle, forthwith sent a letter to the provost, who, as yet, continued at his post, acquainting him that, unless a free communication was allowed between the castle and town, he must begin to use his cannon on the latter, to dislodge the rebels who were blockading him. Guest, however, agreed to suspend his cannonade until the return of an express from London. But the wild Highlanders understood little about truces and suspensions; and some of them, probably tempted by a good mark, or anxious to get the good things they were carrying, fired at some people that were conveying provisions up the castle-hill. Guest, interpreting this irregularity as a breach of the agreement, opened a fire from his battlements, using both cannon and small arms, against the houses that covered the Highlanders on the blockade. Charles then strictly prohibited all correspondence with the castle upon pain of death, and strengthened the blockade by posting additional troops on several points. Hereupon Guest informed the magistrates that he must forthwith demolish those houses that stood nearest the castle, but that care should be taken to do as little damage as possible to the peaceful inhabitants. From two o'clock on the 4th of October till sunset a terrible fire was kept up by the castle; and as soon as it grew dark the garrison made a vigorous sally, set fire to some houses, and made a trench between the castle and the upper end of the High Street, where they planted some field-pieces, and fired down the street with cartridge-shot. Next day the cannonade was continued, and several of the Highlanders and a few of the unfortunate inhabitants were killed or wounded.[1] The loud cries and murmurs of the people were calculated to make many impressions besides that of compassion; and in the evening the young pretender published a proclamation recalling his former orders, withdrawing his troops from the blockade, and allowing a free communication between the town and the castle. During the contest with General Guest, which lasted from the 29th of September to the 6th of October, very few people either in Edinburgh or its neighbourhood joined the pretender; and no men of quality whatever except Lord Kilmarnock and Arthur Elphinstone, who became soon afterwards, by the death of his brother, Lord Balmerino. But the nobility and gentry of the mountains, and of that part of Scotland which lies nearest the Highlands, began to come in rather freely. The first of them that reached Edinburgh was Lord Ogilvie, eldest son of the Earl of Airlie, who brought with him a good regiment of 600 men. The very next day —the 4th of October—Gordon of Glenbucket arrived with another regiment of 400 men; and on the 9th Lord Pitsligo presented himself with six companies of infantry and a great many gentlemen from Aberdeen and Banff, who, with their servants well armed and mounted, formed a respectable-looking body of cavalry. But Pitsligo, by the force of character and example, was of more value to the cause than another man would have been, though he had quadrupled his actual levies. His lordship was not rich—few Scotch lords then were, unless they jobbed at court—but he was exceedingly beloved and esteemed by all his neighbours, who considered him as wise as he was amiable, and who gave him so much credit for wariness and caution, that they concluded the cause must be both good in itself and likely to be prosperous in its issue when he could make up his mind to join it. But still those powerful island chiefs, Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of Macleod, kept sternly aloof; while the still more powerful Lord Lovat quibbled and hesitated. Notwithstanding all the representations of Duncan Forbes, that old chief had been wonderfully elated with the news of the battle of Prestonpans, declaring that it was a victory not to be

EDINBURGH CASTLE AT THE PERIOD.—From Slezer's Theatrum Scotiæ.

---

[1] It appears that during the cannonade the young pretender left Holyroodhouse for a much safer place—that is, for Duddingstone, where the mass of his army was encamped, and where Guest's cannon-balls could not reach him.

paralleled in history; and that, as sure as God was in heaven, his right master would prevail. He had already connived at sundry little levies and marchings of the Frasers to join his son-in-law, Macpherson of Cluny; and now he began to complain to Duncan Forbes, with whom it was necessary to wear a mask to the last, that, while he, Lord Lovat himself, was in a deplorable state of health—with a most terrible stitch in his side—with a shortness of breath—with horrible tortures that would not yield even to warm brandy—his eldest son and heir, losing all fear of God and of his father, was exerting himself for the false prince and carrying off his vassals from their allegiance to King George.[1] But the truth, which became perfectly clear soon after, was this: "the obstreperous and unnatural son," as Lovat chose to call the heir of his house, was in reality set on by his truly unnatural father, who had ever behaved to the young man in a tyrannical and brutal manner, and who was now intending to make him his stalking-horse, and, if need were, his scape-goat.[2] The artful blind was further intended for his own security—for there had been repeatedly a talk of putting him under arrest—and for keeping together unhurt and in arms all the rest of his clan, so that he might declare himself with weight and effect at the most proper moment. The person he most feared was Lord Loudon, who had kept together a good strong regiment in the Highlands, and was daily enlisting more men for the service of King George. Meanwhile the other great Whig lords of the Highlands were far from being so active and honest as Loudon and Duncan Forbes. Whether residing about court, or being at the time in the north, most of these noblemen betrayed an astounding degree of selfishness. One of the greatest among them—the Duke of Hamilton—was discontented because government had not given him the lord-lieutenancy of his county; the Duke of Queensberry had other grounds of personal dissatisfaction, and so had the Duke of Montrose, the Duke of Buccleuch, the Marquis of Lothian, Lord Dumfries, and nearly all the rest. These thanes seldom agreed among themselves, except upon the single point of jealousy and hatred to the Duke of Argyle. Lord Marchmont confesses without a blush, that they had a party purpose in view, and meant all they did or offered for a political use—that is to say, to show that they could serve King George better than Argyle could, and that, consequently, they were better fitted for honours and employments, and the real men that ought to have the government of Scotland in their hands.[3] In this manner did the dissensions of a corrupt and jobbing aristocracy tend to leave the people in the Lowlands of Scotland at the mercy of the Jacobite clans, and to favour the pretender's march into England, which could hardly have been undertaken now if half of the great lords had raised their men in his rear.

On the 10th of October Charles had published a proclamation, abolishing for ever the act of union, or announcing that his father would never ratify this "pretended union," though he was ready to approve and confirm all other laws or acts which had been passed since the Revolution, if called upon so to do by a free and legal Scottish parliament. Charles thought at one moment of calling a Scottish parliament at once to meet in Edinburgh, but in the face of many difficulties he readily gave up that scheme. As the weather grew more stormy and foggy, a few more French ships braved the vigilance of the English cruisers and privateers; one got into Montrose with about £5000, and two or three others contrived to land on the same coast 5000 stand of arms, six field-pieces, a little more money, and several experienced officers, French and Irish. Nay, in one of these ships there ventured over M. de Boyer, who brought a letter of congratulation from Louis XV. Charles received this monsieur as a regular ambassador from the court of Versailles, and paraded him as such among his Highland chiefs, whom he deluded into the belief that Louis was soon going to send an immense army. Another gentleman was forthwith sent to France to give a magnified account of his successes, and to press for further and immediate supplies. Indeed, £5000 or £6000 would not go far with as many thousand hungry Highlanders. Various odd and irregular methods were resorted to in obtaining more cash. The Highlanders in and about the camp at Duddingstone were still less particular, for they occasionally demanded *bawbees* from the peaceful passengers with levelled muskets or brandished claymores; and, to make matters worse, the young pretender had thrown open all the jails, and the emancipated felons, putting on the Highland kilt and mounting the white cockade, levied more considerable contributions as real Highlanders.

Charles had by this time a regular council of state, consisting of the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, his two lieutenant-generals; O'Sullivan, his quartermaster-general; Lord Elcho, a colonel of his horse-guards; Murray of Broughton, his secretary; Sir Thomas Sheridan,

---

[1] Lord Lovat to the lord-president, in *Culloden Papers*.

[2] "It appears," says Walter Scott, "from the evidence of Fraser of Dunballoch and others upon Lord Lovat's trial, that all this while the threats and arguments of the father were urging the son (afterwards the highly esteemed General Fraser) to a step of which he disapproved, and that he was still more disgusted by the duplicity and versatility with which his father qualified it."—Article in *Quarterly Review*.

[3] Diary of Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, in the Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose's *Selection from Papers of Earl of Marchmont*.

PRINCE CHARLES'S AUTOGRAPH AND SIGNET-RING.
The AUTOGRAPH, from a letter, dated Edinburgh, 21st October (O. S.), 1745.
The SIGNET-RING is preserved at Cluny Castle.

his former tutor; the Lords Ogilvie, Nairne, Pitsligo, and Lewis Gordon; Cameron of Lochiel, and all the greater Highland chiefs. But, if we are to believe Lord Elcho, one of the members of it, Charles might just as well have had no council at all, being prevented by the old family obstinacy of the Stuarts from taking its advice. "His royal highness," says Elcho, "could not bear to hear anybody differ in sentiment from him, and took a dislike to everybody that did." His lordship also assures us that about one-third of this council consisted of true Tories and Divine-right men, whose principle it was that kings and princes could never do or think wrong.[1] The place where he was seen to most advantage was indisputably the ball-room; and Charles entertained the fair Jacobites with several gay balls while he stayed at Edinburgh. But this kind of life could not last; it was necessary to hear the louder music of cannon-balls, and do something, unless he intended to remain to be attacked at Edinburgh. He had all along expressed his determination of marching into England. His uneasiness about his rear was partly removed by the assurance of Fraser of Foyers that old Lord Lovat would now declare on the right side, and that not only the Macintoshes and the Mackenzies, but also the Macdonalds and the Macleods of Skye, had engaged in honour to join Lovat and the Frasers on the Corryarrick.[2] But the selfish, cunning old chief was deceived as to the intentions of the Macdonalds and the Macleods of Skye, the most powerful of the clans; and he despatched his secretary, Hugh Fraser, to acquaint Charles that he had once expected to have assembled a body of 4000 or 5000 men, and to have marched at their head to Edinburgh, but that, as some people had not acted up to their engagements, and as he was so old and infirm, he had resolved to stay at home, leaving his eldest son, with the clansmen he had with him, to serve the prince. And as Lovat did not declare himself until some time after Charles had left Edinburgh, and as few of the Frasers went farther than Perth, they were of little use to the insurgents. The Highlanders who had fought at Prestonpans returned, however, to their standard; and by the end of October, Charles mustered, in all, from 5000 to 6000 men, of whom about 400 were cavalry, and 4000 real Highlanders. All the regiments of foot wore the Highland dress. The council in Holyrood was much divided in opinion: some proposed waiting until the arrival of that French army of which the prince had spoken so confidently; some wanted to wait at least till they had got more money from France; and some were of opinion that he ought not to go to England at all, nor aspire to the possession of that throne, but content himself with the ancient kingdom of Scotland, as his ancestors had done before him. But at last it was resolved to march, sanguine hopes being entertained of a Jacobite rising in England as soon as they should get across the Borders; and on the last day of October, at six o'clock in the evening, the young pretender left Holyroodhouse. That night he slept at Pinkie House, as he had done the night after the battle of Prestonpans; and on the 1st of November, having appointed Lord Strathallan to command in Scot-

HOLYROODHOUSE AT THE PERIOD.—From a view by T. Hearne.

---

[1] Lord Elcho's MS. memoirs, as quoted by Walter Scott, in his *Tales of a Grandfather*.

[2] Foyers' letter to Tullibardine, in Home's Appendix.

land during his absence, he began his march.[1] He was now joined by Macpherson of Cluny and by Menzies of Sheen, who brought about 900 more Highlanders; and this was the last reinforcement that joined. The whole army was divided into two columns: the first, with the baggage, artillery, &c., to move upon Carlisle by the direct road through Moffat; the second, headed by Charles in person, to take the more circuitous route by Kelso, as if it intended to enter England, not by Cumberland, but by Northumberland, and to meet Marshal Wade, who lay at Newcastle, in front. It was soon observed that the common men of the clans were less enthusiastic than usual. To make raids and forays on the Lowlands of Scotland, was work to which they had been accustomed, and the success of which in all times was recorded in a thousand ballads and traditions; but the country beyond the Cheviot and the Tweed was an unknown world to them, and they liked not to go so far from their homes, uncertain as they were of the intentions and the power of the Whig clans they had left behind them. Charles crossed the Tweed at Kelso, and halted one day at that little town. From Kelso he sent forward to Wooler with sham orders to prepare quarters there for his troops, as if he intended to march eastward; but when he moved he struck to the westward, marching down Liddesdale; and, crossing the river Esk on the 8th of November, he and his men occupied that night a place called Reddings, in Cumberland, on the road to Carlisle, from which important city the attention of Wade had been completely withdrawn by the deceptive movements of the Highland army.[2] Next day the other column, which had gone by the Moffat road, having turned suddenly westward, as agreed upon, joined on the Carlisle road, and the whole army marched forward for that city, which they summoned in form on the 10th.[3] Carlisle, like all our old inland fortified towns, had been suffered to go to decay since the cessation of the fierce Border wars between the Scots and English. It was surrounded by a very old and very infirm wall; it had a castle of great antiquity, and stronger than the wall, but with no other garrison in it than a company of invalids, commanded by Colonel Durand. Within the city, however, there was a considerable body of Cumberland and Westmoreland militia; and the officers of that force, Colonel Durand, and Mr. Pattison, the mayor, resolved to defend the place, and return no answer to the summons. They, no doubt, expected that General Wade would soon come across from Newcastle to their relief; and, in effect, before the Highlanders could break ground, intelligence was received that Wade was in full march, by Hexham, to raise the siege. Upon this the whole rebel army was ordered to march to Brampton, in the forest of Inglewood, seven miles from Carlisle, to wait for Wade there; but at Brampton no English troops were seen or heard of; and, after losing three days, it was resolved to return to Carlisle and besiege that place in form. The Duke of Perth had the direction of the siege, which Lord George Murray covered. Charles himself remained with a strong detachment at Brampton, and appears not to have moved till the business was finished at Carlisle. For a short time the Cumberland militia-men fired very briskly all along the walls, making a great noise, and hitting a very few of the enemy; but when they saw Perth erecting a battery, or rather preparing to erect a battery, with a few contemptible light pieces upon it, their hearts failed them, and they hung out the white flag. Perth and his officers refused to admit the town to a separate capitulation, and insisted that the castle should be included in the surrender; and both town and castle were accordingly surrendered on the 15th of November, at the very moment when Marshal Wade in reality had begun to move from Newcastle to their relief. This easy acquisition was matter of great triumph; but during the short siege Perth had quarrelled most violently with Lord George Murray; and, as Perth was allowed the honour of signing the capitulation, the quarrel became still further envenomed. The mass of the Highlanders were a sort of Protestants, and were therefore disposed to hate the Duke of Perth, who was a Papist. The army murmured; and Lord George Murray insisted upon resigning his commission as lieutenant-general, telling the prince he would continue to serve as a volunteer to the last drop of his blood; this was presently followed by a petition from several officers, praying Charles to dismiss all Roman Catholics, and reinstate Lord George Murray. Perth then waited upon the prince, and resigned his commission of lieutenant-general, assuring him at the same time that he would remain at the head of the regiment which he had raised. The young pretender could do nothing but submit to circumstances. Perth was left to serve as a colonel of a regiment, and the sole command was intrusted to Murray, who was far the more competent of the two.

---

[1] Strathallan was to remain at Perth with some Jacobite gentlemen, and a few French and Irish officers and their men, to look after the succours expected from France, and to form an army of reserve of such other Highland clans as might come in.

[2] "Account of Young Pretender's Operations," *Lockhart Papers.*

[3] "November the 9th, the rebel army appeared on a moor, two miles distant from Carlisle, on whom the garrison began to fire, and continued it briskly for some time. The pretender took up his quarters at Mr. Lowry's, of Blakewell, from which, on the 10th, he despatched a messenger, to whom he gave two guineas, with a letter to the garrison, which was received in at the sally-port. . . . On which the garrison thought proper to confine the messenger, and returned no other answer but from the mouths of their cannon."—"*A Complete History of the Rebellion*, from its first Rise, in 1745, to its total Suppression at the glorious Battle of Culloden, in April, 1746. By James Ray, of Whitehaven, volunteer under his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland." This Volunteer Ray was rather a silly, vapouring person, but he saw a good deal of the military operations, and is to be depended upon when he describes what he has seen with his own eyes. In other particulars his very absurdities render him amusing.

Carlisle Castle.—From a view by Luke Clennell.

On the 17th Charles made a triumphal entry into Carlisle, where the people seemed stupified, but by no means disposed to welcome him or to join him. A council of war was called, to decide what was to be done next: some proposed to march towards Newcastle, and bring Wade to an action; some thought it would be better to march directly upon London, by the Lancashire road; and others thought it would be best of all to go back into Scotland, as there was no appearance of an invasion from France, and just as little of a Jacobite rising in England. Charles, it is said, declared that he would adhere to his original resolution in marching forward at all hazards. If, instead of advancing, Charles had chosen to retire, he would not very easily have got back to his old lodgings in Holyrood. He had scarcely turned his back upon Edinburgh, when the crown officers re-entered that city in solemn procession. While he was resting at Kelso the garrison of Edinburgh Castle was reinforced, levies of men were made for King George, and now Wade had sent forward two regiments of cavalry to support the forces assembled in Edinburgh. Charles now sent back orders to Lord Strathallan to march from Perth with all speed, and join him in England with his whole force; but Strathallan was in no condition to move, for the Earl of Loudon and the Lord-president Forbes were gathering in great force in his rear—levies of Highland Whigs were coming down from the mountains—Glasgow, Paisley, Dumfries, nearly all the towns where there was trade or industry, were beginning to give alarming symptoms of loyalty to King George. The same demonstrations took place at Dundee; and Strathallan told the pretender he could not move yet. It is said that M. de Boyer, who had accompanied him on his march into England, confidently declared that a French force would presently land; and that Charles himself proclaimed with equal confidence that he was sure his old friends of Lancashire would join him as soon as he appeared among them. With these hopes, and with an army reduced to 4500 men, Charles renewed his march, leaving 200 men to garrison Carlisle. The Highlanders marched in two divisions: the first, consisting of six regiments of foot and the first troop of horse-guards, and commanded by Lord George Murray, moved first, and marched to Penrith on the 21st November; the second division, under the command of Charles, arrived at Penrith on the following day, and there occupied the quarters which the van and Lord George Murray had left. In the rear of this division were the cannon, guarded by Perth's regiment, the second troop of horse-guards, and some other mounted gentlemen, whom it was a stretch of courtesy to call hussars. There was a short halt at Penrith, on account of a rumour that Wade was crossing the Westmoreland and Cumberland mountains to attack them in flank; but, as this intelligence was disproved, they pushed on by Shap, Kendal, and Lancaster, to Preston, where both columns met and rested on the 27th. The catastrophe in 1715, when Macintosh and Forster laid down their arms before Generals Carpenter and Wills, had made a very deep impression on the Highlanders; and perhaps there were other traditions which pointed out that town as their *ne plus ultra*. It is at least certain that there was a general impression among them that they could not, or ought not to venture farther into England than Preston. "Preston," says one of the pretender's officers, "was so fatal to the Scots that they never could get beyond it; but Lord George Murray, in order to evade the *freet* (or superstition, which the Highlanders are full of), crossed the bridge immediately, and quartered a great many of the men on that side of the water; where they halted next day, expecting some intelligence, in which, it is to be presumed, they were disappointed."[1] Their march from Kendal had not been altogether undisturbed, for some of the Cumberland farmers, who had been robbed of their horses, being better mounted upon other steeds, followed the so-called hussars, dismounting some of them, and recovering their lost property. Wherever the young pretender came he demanded the public money. From Preston the Highlanders marched to Wigan, where they arrived on the 28th, when a party of them went through Leigh, and what was called an *advance party* entered Manchester the same day. This advance party, according to all accounts, consisted of a sergeant, a drummer, and a drunken woman. "Manchester, says Ray, "was taken by a sergeant, a drum, and a woman, about two o'clock in the afternoon, who rode up to the Bull's Head on horses with hempen halters (a just emblem of what they deserved), where they dined; after dinner they beat up for recruits, and in less than an hour listed about thirty. They were likewise joined by several others, some of desperate fortunes, who were modelled into what they called the 'Manchester regiment'—mostly people of the lowest rank and the vilest principles, which occasioned him who called himself the Duke of Perth to say, that if the devil himself had come a-recruiting, and proffered a shilling more than his prince, they would have preferred the former."[2] When all these roadside recruits had been joined to the Manchester men, the total number was about 200. This Manchester regiment was put under the command of Mr. Francis Townley, a Roman Catholic of a very ancient family, and almost the only gentleman that joined in Lancashire. In the meantime Marshal Wade, with the Major-generals Howard and Oglethorpe, and Brigadiers Cholmondeley and Mordaunt, had marched as far as Hexham in the direction of Carlisle, where he arrived on the 17th, with a considerable body of Swiss troops for his van. Receiving intelligence there that Carlisle had surrendered, Wade had returned to Newcastle, where he arrived on the 22d, with his forces much fatigued and distressed by inclement weather. But after a rest he again put himself in motion, and was now marching through Yorkshire to attack the pretender in the rear. In the front lay the Duke of Cumberland at his head-quarters at Lichfield, and with an army that counted at least 5000 disciplined troops and from 2000 to 3000 militia and new levies; and behind the duke, between him and London, a third army was rapidly collecting on the borders of Hertfordshire and Middlesex. Nor was this all: the city of Chester, where there were many Catholics, who were all —somewhat unreasonably—expected to join the standard of rebellion, had been secured for government by the Earl of Cholmondeley, and put into a posture of defence in a surprisingly short time; while, still nearer to Manchester, the important town of Liverpool was secured by the magistrates, merchants, and other inhabitants, who showed as much spirit and resolution as the people of Manchester had shown indifference.

The wisest, and even the most resolute of the Highland chiefs, recommended an instant retreat. But the prince, who was quite certain of being joined by thousands as he approached the Trent, induced them to agree to go on as far as Derby. On the 1st of December they resumed their onward march, fording the Mersey near Stockport, and carrying the baggage and artillery across, lower down the river, at Cheedle, by means of a rude temporary bridge made of the trunks of trees. On the Cheshire bank they found assembled an enthusiastic old lady, and some few old Jacobite gentlemen; but no reinforcements, no insurgent bands of English, no money. On the same day on which he crossed the Mersey, Charles, with the main body of his army and all his artillery, entered Macclesfield, where they busily employed themselves in putting their fire-arms in order, as if they expected a battle. From the Cheshire bank of the Mersey Lord George Murray marched to Congleton with a strong body of horse and foot, and sent forward Colonel Kerr, who drove before him a small body of the Duke of Kingston's horse, who fled in the direction of the Trent, to which the Duke of Cumberland was now advancing. Kerr also seized "the famous Captain Weir, well known to all about court, and carried him to Congleton, from which he was sent to Prince Charles to be examined."[3] This Weir, who was reconnoitring for Cumberland, was threatened with the gallows as a spy, and thereupon, it appears, he revealed all he knew about the motions of the duke. This was, that his royal highness, deceived by Lord George Murray's side movement, had been led to believe that the Highlanders intended to get into Wales, and that the best thing he could do was to interpose between them and that country, where some hot-headed gentlemen were suspected of Jacobitism. And, in effect, Cumberland went on that wrong scent as far as Stone, thus leaving the London road, as it were, open to the Highlanders. Lord George

---

[1] "Account of the Young Pretender's Operations," in *Lockhart Papers*.

[2] Lord Mahon has found in the State Paper Office, Scotland, several letters of secret intelligence written by a gentleman at Manchester to the Duke of Cumberland; and one of these letters completely agrees with the accounts given by Ray and others of the mighty force that took for the pretender the good town of Manchester.—See *Hist. Eng. from the Peace of Utrecht.*

[3] Jacobite "Account," in *Lockhart Papers.*

Murray instantly turned off to the left, and gained the highroad to Derby and the capital, at Ashburn. The other division of their army also made straight for Ashburn, and by the evening of Wednesday, the 4th of December, Charles, with his united and entire force, was at Derby, and some two days' march nearer to London than his deceived opponent, the Duke of Cumberland. The young pretender took up his quarters at a house in the town belonging to the Earl of Exeter.[1] His artillery, consisting of thirteen pieces, was stationed upon Nun's Green; his troops were dispersed through the town, and amounted to nearly the number of the inhabitants. On inquiring for the Derby magistrates, they were told that they had all run away. They, however, afterwards seized upon Alderman Cooper, who was too lame to run, and forced him to proclaim the pretender. Articles of dress were applied for, as being much wanted by the Highlanders, who had torn and worn their clothes in their rough progress, "and some they had with money, but more without."[2] They demanded the land-tax, excise, &c., and actually received about £2500. They demanded also £100 from the post-office, which was refused; they then reduced it to £50, and, not getting even that, they seized and took away a post-chaise. On the following day one Coppoch, whom the chevalier had chosen to make Bishop of Carlisle, preached at All-Saints' Church, Derby; and the drummers and sergeants beat up for volunteers, offering 5*s.* in hand, and five guineas when they should arrive in London. Cook, an itinerant journeyman blacksmith; Edward Hewitt, a butcher, who had had a brother hanged; and James Sparks, a stocking-maker, took the 5*s.* and enlisted; and these were all the recruits Charles got at Derby.[3] Another council was held, apparently more stormy and discordant than that of the preceding night, which had been violent and contradictory enough. The Highland chiefs insisted that they had shown no want of alacrity and daring—that they had already run hazards equal to their ardent love for the cause, but that now they could not in common sanity go farther, and that they ought not and could not lead the brave men who followed them to certain destruction. Lord George Murray, now the real commander-in-chief, and the man of most military ability and knowledge, agreed with the chiefs, and told Charles that, as there was no rising among the English, no sign of a descent from France, not one circumstance to encourage their going forward, they must retrace their steps and get across the Borders while it was yet time; for, if the Duke of Cumberland should get between them and Scotland, and join Marshal Wade's army to his own, retreat would be impracticable. Murray also represented that, by going back instantly they might greatly increase their force; for news had reached them that Lord John Drummond had landed at Montrose from France, with some pickets of the Irish brigade and some Scottish troops in the service of Louis XV.; and if Lord Strathallan could only keep his forces together at Perth, there was reason to hope that there would be 4000 brave men on foot to meet them on their return to the north. Lord George offered to occupy the post of danger, which, in a retreat, is in the rear. There are several discrepancies and contradictions in the contemporary accounts of these proceedings; but the majority of them agree in stating that Charles was much averse to the retreat; and hence occasion has been taken to commend his personal bravery at, as appears to us, the expense of his discretion. Nobody, however, seems to have reflected that he may have considered it as dangerous to go back as to go forward, or that cowardice itself is capable of desperation, or that it was not cool manly courage, but absolute madness to think of rejecting the strong arguments offered to him by Murray and the chiefs, who were, assuredly, no cowards themselves, no timid, cautious, formal campaign-

EXETER HOUSE, the Pretender's quarters at Derby.—From a view by Jewitt.

---

[1] This edifice still exists. It is situated at the bottom of Full Street, Derby, and is known as Exeter House.

[2] Bateman's letter, in Hutton's *History of Derby*.

[3] Of these Derby recruits Cook and Hewitt escaped when the game was up; but Sparks, the poor stocking-maker, was caught and hanged.

makers, that could deem the capture of a town work enough for a season, and a retreat no disgrace, but as brave and daring men as ever drew sword in a desperate cause. And what had the young pretender to answer to the arguments they urged? Nothing, absolutely nothing, but childish dreams and a trusting in chance, or, as he termed it, in Providence. The reasoning generally put into his mouth is no reasoning at all; and if he actually employed it to men of sense he must have excited their contempt or compassion. It is reported that the men in the ranks, or at least all the common Highlanders, were eager to go forward, and employed themselves while at Derby in taking the sacrament and sharpening their broadswords; but these poor mountaineers, who could speak no English, were probably ignorant of the intelligence that was familiar to their chiefs; they had seen no enemy since they had left Carlisle, and they may have fancied that they should see none between Derby and London. With all our high notion of their hardihood and daring, we cannot allow ourselves to believe that they could have been anxious to advance if they had known the real force of the several English armies, which by this time made, in the aggregate, upwards of 25,000 men. Under no circumstances, however, could the common Highlanders have been in a state to judge and decide; but among their leaders there were men of proper military judgment, and they were unanimous. It is said that Sir Thomas Sheridan, his tutor, and Murray of Broughton, his secretary, at length prevailed over the obstinacy or woful stupidity of Charles, and that he at last sullenly agreed to a retreat, saying that in future he would summon no more councils, that he was accountable to nobody except to God and his father, and that he would no longer be advised by any man.

If Charles had stayed only two days longer at Derby, the Duke of Cumberland would have been upon him with a far superior force, and men very different from Cope's dragoons at Prestonpans—with veterans who had fought at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who were devoted to their leader. If he had meant to go on to London, he ought not to have rested a single day at Derby; for the Duke of Cumberland soon found out his mistake, and retraced his steps: he was at Stafford on the 5th, with detachments at Burton-upon-Trent and at Lichfield; and, on the 6th, he had his head-quarters at Lichfield, whence he moved to cover the highroad to the capital, and to take post at Northampton. Marshal Wade, on the 5th, was at Wetherby, with his horse and dragoons thrown forward to Doncaster. On the morning of the 6th, before daylight, the Highlanders began their retreat from Derby. Charles, who, during the advance, had generally walked on foot at the head of his men, now mounted on horseback, "for his spirit was heavy; he could not walk, and hardly stand, as was always the case with him when he was cruelly used."[1] The first night they got back to Ashburn; on Saturday, the 7th, they reached Leek, destroying in their passage whatever might be of use to the government troops, and resenting the disappointments they had met with, which provoked the country-people to do them all the mischief they could; and on Monday, the 9th, about the hour of noon, they re-entered Manchester, where the mob gave them some visible marks of their dislike. On the 8th the Duke of Cumberland sent forward General Hawley, from Meriden Moor, near Coventry, with the dragoons and some mounted infantry, to try and harass the Highlanders in their retreat, and detached an aide-de-camp across the country, with orders to Marshal Wade to hasten his march, so as to intercept them in their northern route. On Friday, the 6th, when the last news in London was that the young pretender was at Derby, between the army of the Duke of Cumberland and the capital, there was a considerable panic in the city, and men feared the worst when the Highlanders were actually retreating. The consternation was so great, as to obtain for that day the name of "Black Friday." But on the next day news was received of their retreat, and by the 9th the alarm was entirely dissipated. Volunteers of all descriptions offered themselves to serve in the ranks; and the whole body of the law had formed themselves into a regiment, under the command of Lord Chief-justice Willes, and were to have done duty at St. James's, to guard the royal family, in case it had been necessary for the king to take the field with the army that lay encamped about Barnet and Finchley Common. Luckily that force was not required, and did little more than scare away the highwaymen from their usual beat. Weavers and other London artisans were probably not the best of troops, and it became the fashion to turn the Finchley camp and the march to Finchley into ridicule; but there were nevertheless some good regular troops on that point, both horse and foot, with thirty-two pieces of artillery; and the life-guards and horse-grenadiers were ready to march out from London at a moment's notice. As soon as the retreat of Charles was known, these regular troops, which, without the household corps, amounted to 3000 foot and 1000 horse, were marched from Finchley Common and Barnet to the coasts of Essex and Suffolk; and London and the neighbourhood was besides enabled to send 4000 foot and 1500 horse to the coasts of Kent and Sussex, to meet any attempt that might be made at invasion. If it had been necessary for the king to take the field, if the Highlanders had really given Cumberland the slip, it is quite certain that his majesty could have covered London with a regular army far superior in number to that of the pretender; and we cannot think so lightly of the spirit of the English people, as to believe that the thronging thousands of volunteers and new recruits would have counted for nothing in a battle. As, however, the rumour still rang of an invasion, which France certainly never seriously entertained a notion of, his majesty notified to parliament that he had sent for 6000 more foreign troops—Hessians of good name and repute, that might serve in Scotland.

---

[1] John Hay's account, in Home's Appendix.

FIRE-PAN ON THE TURRET OF HADLEY CHURCH.[1]
From a sketch by J. W. Archer.

The young pretender, meanwhile, continued his retreat, apparently taking little or no charge of the army, riding on in the van on his black charger, getting gloomily into quarters every night as soon as he could, and leaving the rear to take care of itself. Having levied some heavy contributions from Manchester, which were to be repaid when the country should be settled under his government, he left that city on the 10th of December, and hurried on to Wigan. On the next day, he and the Highlanders reached proud Preston, in the neighbourhood of which they were extremely apprehensive of some sudden attack. On the 13th, they were at Lancaster, where they threw open the jails and committed other disorders. The discipline preserved on their advance—which, though not so perfect as described by some writers of Jacobite propensities, was still very remarkable for an army of Highlanders—disappeared on the retreat. "The meaner part of them pilfered and stole everything portable for their purpose; and their chiefs sent ruffians to plunder and extort money from gentlemen who had exerted themselves most against them."[2] This conduct provoked the peasants of Lancashire and Cumberland so, that they ceased to have any awe of a fleeing army. Thus, when the Duke of Perth was sent in advance, with a party of hussars for his escort, to get across the Borders, and, if possible, to bring up Lord John Drummond and his so-called French army, he was attacked, between Penrith and Kendal, by a party of the country-people, and forced to return to Charles at Kendal, after losing several of his horses and horsemen. This was on the 14th; and on the 15th, when Perth advanced again, with a greater force, to Penrith, the townsmen rose, and fell upon him with such fury, that he was again obliged to turn rein and flee. Several gentlemen and farmers of the neighbourhood mounted their horses and pursued Perth as far as Shap, a little village between Penrith and Kendal; and that night beacon-fires were lighted on every hill-top to raise the country. The night of the 16th was spent by Charles and the whole rebel army in and about Shap. Lord George Murray, who had charge of the rear and of all the baggage, found it extremely difficult to proceed over the mountains; for his carts broke down, his gun-carriages stuck in the ruts, and the horses were worn out. He was even compelled to throw a great deal of the powder into one of the mountain tarns, from want of means of transport. On the next day they pushed forward for Penrith with all their force, being watched by some troops of government light horse, who continued to hover on the heights. Marshal Wade was not quick enough for the rebels, and he made a bad guess as to the route they would take. When he got to Ferrybridge, he called a council of war, wherein it was resolved to march by Wakefield and Halifax into Lancashire, as the most likely way to intercept the Highlanders. But when he reached Wakefield he learned that they were already at Preston, and judging it impossible to come up with them with his fatigued infantry, he detached Major-general Oglethorpe with all his horse to look after the pretender; and then, with the foot, turned back towards Newcastle. Oglethorpe and his horse marched 100 miles in three days over ice and snow, and got to Preston on the 13th, not many hours after the Highlanders had left it. On the same day, the Duke of Cumberland, with part of his light horse, reached Preston also. On the 14th, Oglethorpe continued his pursuit at the heels of the Highlanders. On the 17th, when the mass of the Highland clans were near Penrith, both Cumberland and Oglethorpe arrived in considerable force of cavalry, and with the duke's 1000 mounted foot, at Kendal. They had then good hopes of coming up with the enemy; but they were obliged to rest their men and horses that night, and during the night Charles rested at Penrith, where Lord George Murray strained every nerve to bring up the encumbered rear with all the baggage, &c. On the morrow, the 18th, Cumberland and Oglethorpe moved so early that their light horse came in sight of the Highland rear as it was toiling across Clifton Moor about three miles from Penrith: but the pursuers were too weak to attempt any important attack; and the Cumberland squires and farmers that were acting with them wheeled about when the clan of Glengarry set up a shout and threatened to fall upon them. The baggage was sent forward to Penrith, with a small escort, and Lord George Murray turned aside to surprise Lowther Hall, the princely residence of Lord Lonsdale, with about 300 foot and a troop of horse. The mansion was easily taken by the rebels, and so was a running footman of the Duke of Cumberland, who told them that his royal highness had appointed to sleep at Lowther Hall that night, and was coming on with all possible speed with 4000 horse, and with some infantry following him. Lord George Murray then moved back to the village of Clifton, and sent notice to Charles, who was reviewing his men on the moor behind Penrith, but who soon detached some regiments to Clifton to reinforce Lord George. The day was now spent, but the moon arose in a clouded sky, and gave an occasional and fitful light. Murray in a short time discovered some of Cumberland's and Oglethorpe's horse, and part of the infantry that had now quitted the horses which had carried them forward so rapidly, stealing between the hedges and stone walls, as if they hoped to take him by surprise. But Murray had already lined most of those hedges and walls; and, though the English troops came on with a great deal of bravery and resolution, they were checked by a most unexpected cross fire; and then Lord George, shouting "Claymore! claymore!" rushed down with Cluny and the Macphersons, and attacked them sword in hand. The English dragoons soon retired; Colonel Honeywood was wounded and left for dead; and the intended surprise ended in a complete discomfiture. "Night coming on," says one of the warm Jacobite partizans, "put an end to the affair, and both parties retired—the Duke of Cumberland, it was said, towards Appleby, and the Highlanders to Penrith." Late at night as it was when the affair was over, Charles instantly resumed his march, leaving Clanronald's and Keppoch's regiments between Penrith and Clifton Bridge, to cover his retreat, or to make Cumberland believe that he intended to stay and fight the next day. The duke slept neither at Appleby nor in Lowther Hall, but was fain to take up his lodgings with a loyal Quaker, whose house was close to the village of Clifton.[1]

---

[1] Fire-pans were beacons erected upon turrets or other eminences, and served not only on occasions of alarm, but also as points of guidance on roads, or on the sides of rivers and on sea coasts. The fire-pan on Hadley Church is placed at the south-west angle of the tower, opposite the highway. This beacon is said to have been used the last time during the encampment on Finchley Common.

[2] Letter from a gentleman of Lancaster, in Ray's *Complete History*, &c.

PENRITH.—From a view by P. Dewint.

The affair of Clifton Moor seems to have discouraged Cumberland's dragoons, who left off their close pursuit, and allowed the rebel army, rear, baggage, artillery, and all, to get to Carlisle without any disturbance. Even at Carlisle the rebels only rested part of a day and night, setting forward early on the morning of the 20th, and moving so rapidly that they crossed the deep river Esk that very night, and so got back to Scotland. To go the faster, and at the same time to improve the defences of Carlisle, where they changed their garrison, they left behind them there, all their cannon except three, called the "Swedish pieces," all their cohorns, and a great deal of their baggage. Ray says that they chose rather to venture drowning than to stay to give Cumberland battle; and he adds that some of them were drowned in crossing the deep river. The duke was certainly not far behind them; for, while they were crossing the Esk, he advanced to within eight miles of Carlisle; and on the next day that place was invested by the king's troops, who were aided and assisted most zealously by the country-people. As Cumberland had already begun to show the natural severity of his temper by hanging some prisoners and spies as soon as caught, few or none ventured to give any assistance or information to the beleaguered garrison, which consisted of some men from a regiment of Lowland Scots, a few Frenchmen and Irishmen, and the recently raised Manchester regiment: in all they were about 400 unpractised soldiers, under the incompetent command of Mr. Townley and one Hamilton, who had formerly been steward to the Duke of Gordon. At first they seemed disposed to make a vigorous defence, firing their cannon on everybody that appeared; but they were astonished and palsied, as at the shock of an earthquake, when the duke began to reply to their four and seven gun batteries with six eighteen-pounders; and on the morning of the 30th, when shot and shell were falling fast about them, they hung out a white flag, and proposed to surrender. Cumberland told them that the only terms he could grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle were, that they should not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the king's pleasure; and at three o'clock in the afternoon both town and castle were thrown open to Brigadier Bligh; the officers yielded themselves prisoners, and the men, piling their arms in the market-place, retired into the cathedral, where a strong guard was set upon them. The French part of the garrison was found to amount only to three officers and five men! Among the prisoners were seven that had deserted from Cope's army at Prestonpans, or had taken service with the pretender after that catastrophe; the duke hanged them instantly, together with four others of the same sort. Poor Thomas Coppoch, the young pretender's intrusive Bishop of Carlisle, was also taken, and reserved for the gallows in another place. The duke, leaving the command to Hawley, set out from Carlisle on the 3d of January to travel post back to London.

---

[1] The house of Thomas Savage, mentioned by Ray.

The 20th of December, when Charles recrossed the Scottish border, was his birth-day, but there was small time or means to celebrate it. It appears he expected that Lord John Drummond, with the army from Perth, would have crossed the Forth, and have been well advanced towards the Borders to meet him; but there was no news of this reinforcement, and it was not found possible to keep together all the army that had been in England. As soon as they were on their own territory many of the Scots began to run home. Those that remained were, for convenience of quarters, divided into separate columns, and marched by different routes. Charles went with one of these divisions to the town of Annan, where he arrived that night; Lord George Murray went with another to Ecclesfechan; and Lord Elcho advanced with the horse to Dumfries. The point fixed for the re-union of the divisions was not Edinburgh, but Glasgow, where they all arrived by the 26th of December, Lord George Murray entering that town a day before Charles. The Duke of Perth was then sent to hasten the march of his brother, Lord John Drummond; the rest remained seven or eight days in Glasgow, levying contributions and forcing the Whiggish and Presbyterian inhabitants of that thriving place to furnish shirts, coats, shoes, bonnets, and all that the Highlanders and their allies wanted. The king's troops, which had assembled in and about Stirling to guard the passage of the river Forth against the rebels collected at Perth, consisted of two regiments of foot and of the two regiments of dragoons (Hamilton's and Gardiner's) that had behaved so shamefully at Prestonpans, and they were backed by about 3000 volunteers from Glasgow, from Edinburgh, and from other places. During the same interval, or while Charles had been marching towards London, Lord Loudon had raised his little army in the north to more than 2000 men, who, when the money was spent with which government had furnished his lordship, were kept together through the credit and influence of the Lord-president Forbes. On the other side Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, had raised a regiment for the pretender, and several Jacobite gentlemen had made levies in Aberdeenshire, Angus, and other places in the low country of the north, in expectation of the arrival of Lord John Drummond with a great force from France. But Lord John had been very unfortunate at sea: more than half of his transports had been captured by the English cruisers, or driven back to Dunkirk; and when he landed in Scotland he had only his own regiment of foot, and that not complete, and two troops of horse from Fitzjames's, or the Duke of Berwick's regiment, a few companies of the Irish brigade, a very petty train of artillery, some arms, and a very little money. Lord Strathallan's head-quarters at Perth had been the scene of constant quarrel—the Highlanders and Lowlanders, the Irish troops and the French, all disagreeing in opinion, and indulging in old antipathies and prejudices. Though old Lovat had finally thrown the dice, and sent all the Frasers to Perth—though the Macintoshes, the Mackenzies, the Farquharsons, and other clans had assembled there—it was considered by Lord Strathallan and a council of officers, that the order received from Charles to march forward to the Borders and advance into England could not be obeyed. Strathallan was supported in his opinion by all the Frenchmen, all the Irish, and most of the low-country Jacobites; but the Highlanders declared that he ought not to examine and criticize, but obey the prince's order; and they were actually on the point of taking forced possession of Strathallan's money, arms, ammunition, and stores, when Rollo of Powhouse arrived at Perth just in time to prevent a battle. Rollo announced that the young pretender was in Scotland, was marching from Dumfries to Glasgow, and expected Lord Strathallan to hold himself with his forces in readiness to join him as soon as he should send further orders from Glasgow. The cause of the quarrel was thus removed, but not the bad blood which it had excited.

On the first news of Charles's return from England, the king's troops and the volunteers at Stirling fell back upon Edinburgh, not being strong enough to keep their ground on the river Forth, between two armies. Thus the passages of that river were again left open, and there was no obstruction whatever to the junction of the two armies of Charles and Strathallan. The spirit of the capital was good, but still liable to cold fits and ague-like attacks of fear and misgiving, until the 2d day of January, when two regiments of foot arrived from the south at Edinburgh, with news that General Hawley was following with nearly the whole force of Marshal Wade.

A.D. 1746. On the same day the Highland army left Glasgow, and began their march towards Stirling, to meet Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond: they moved in two divisions, one led by Charles, marching by Kilsyth, and the other, under the command of Lord George Murray, going by Cumbernauld. During their march they received certain accounts of the surrender of Carlisle from two gentlemen that had made their escape from that place. On the next day Charles took up his quarters in the house of Bannockburn, near Stirling, and his men were cantoned in the neighbouring villages: Lord George Murray occupied the town of Falkirk, and threw out some of the clan regiments as an advanced post. Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond presently came up from Perth and joined; and then the pretender's army amounted to 9000 men, by far the greatest number he had ever assembled. Yet instead of wheeling round to meet Hawley, and to check the English troops that were constantly marching along the east coast from Berwick and Dunbar to Edinburgh—instead of attempting some bold and decisive blow—Charles and his officers resolved to sit down before Stirling Castle, which was exceedingly well provided, and sure to be well defended by the brave General Blakeney. With extreme difficulty they got their French artillery across the Forth, broke ground, and began the siege. Nothing could well be more absurd than this siege, except the method which Hawley took to raise it. That very confident English general reached Edinburgh on the 6th of January, breathing fire and destruction. He had seen some service both at home and abroad, having served as an officer of dragoons in the battle of Sheriffmuir, and having fought in Flanders under the Duke of Cumberland, who had favoured and promoted him. He appears to have been fitter for the post of provost-marshal and hangman than for that of general. He had scoffed most unmercifully at the sad failures of poor Sir John Cope, and had boasted in a company of officers, "that *he* knew the Highlanders, that they were good militia, but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dra-

STIRLING CASTLE, the side attacked by the Rebels.[1]

---

[1] This view, and the French cannon, on p. 303, are from drawings of the period in the King's Collection, British Museum, by "John Elphinstone, ingineer, and humbly inscribed to his royall highness the Duke of Cumberland." The remains of the rebels' works are seen in the foreground of the view, and the original drawing, which is large, shows distinctly the marks of their shot upon the walls and buildings.

goons who attacked them well."[1] Hawley had now with him twelve old regiments of foot, who for the most part had served on the Continent, the Glasgow regiment of foot recently raised, and Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons. On the 13th of January he sent forward the dragoons, the Glasgow men, and six of his old regiments of foot towards Stirling, by Linlithgow and Borrowstounness, under the command of General Husk; on the 14th he sent forward his other six regiments; and upon the 16th he left Edinburgh himself, and encamped that evening with all his forces collected at Falkirk, only nine miles from Bannockburn, where Charles had now fixed himself with all his troops, except about 1000 men, left to carry on the siege of Stirling Castle. On the morning of the 17th Hawley was joined by Cobham's regiment of dragoons, and by 1000 Argyleshire Highlanders under Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyle. He was thus, even numerically, equal to the young pretender, or nearly so, having between 8000 and 9000 men. Between night and morning Charles's forces had advanced a little, and were now drawn up upon Pleanmuir, about two miles to the east of Bannockburn. The Torwood lay between the two armies, the whole of the intervening distance being about seven miles. It appears that the Highlanders expected Hawley would attack them, and that Hawley expected the Highlanders would run away at the mere fame of his approach. But the mountaineers had no such notion; and, seeing that Hawley was in no hurry to begin upon them, they determined to attack him. At about eleven o'clock in the forenoon a body of the rebels appeared upon the highroad which traversed the Torwood and led from Stirling to Bannockburn and Falkirk, moving about with standards and colours to attract the attention of the English camp. Hawley was not at his post—he was refreshing his inward man with a good luncheon at Callender House, at some distance from the field;—but his officers and men fully expected that the Highlanders would attack them right in front from the quarter where they were showing themselves. But a little before one, Captain Teesdale, of the third regiment of foot, and another officer, climbed a tree, and with the aid of a telescope discovered the mass of the Highland army in full march, not by the highroad through the centre of the Torwood, but by another road on the southern side of the Torwood. In fact, the Highlanders had already crossed the river Carron near Dunnipace, and were pointing towards Falkirk Moor and some high ground on the left of the king's army. General Husk, the second in command, had been completely deceived by the demonstrations on the highroad; but Hawley was so blind, or so absorbed by his good cheer, that he could not make out the design even when Lieutenant-colonel Howard, of the third regiment, reported to him what Teesdale had seen from the tree: he said that the men might put on their accoutrements, but that there was no necessity for them to be under arms; and he continued where he was, feasting at Callender House. The officers on the field were heard saying to one another, "Where is the general? What shall be done! We have no orders." Warned, however, of the close approach of the rebels, by some gentlemen well mounted, who attended the army and rode about to procure intelligence, the commanding officers formed their regiments in the front of their camp; and then—when there was nothing but Falkirk Moor between the two armies—Hawley came galloping up with curses and confusion, and without his hat. In the middle, the rugged moor, covered with heath, rose to a considerable elevation, which it was the object of both armies to occupy first. Hawley threw forward his three regiments of dragoons, ordering the infantry to follow with fixed bayonets; and, on the other side, Lord George Murray threw forward his light-footed mountaineers. The English cavalry went considerably in advance of their infantry, spurring over the rough heath; and for a time it seemed a sort of race between the Highlanders and the dragoons, which of them should get first to the top of the hill. The Highland foot, however, outran the English horse, occupied the height, and formed along the ridge of it, while Hawley's men were compelled to halt a little below them, with a storm of wind and rain beating right in their eyes and wetting their muskets. The Highlanders formed in two lines: the first line consisted of the three Macdonald clans, Keppoch, Clanronald, and Glengarry, who stood on the right; of the Farquharsons, the Mackenzies, and the Macintoshes, who stood in the centre; and of the Macphersons, the Frasers, the Camerons, and the Stuarts, who occupied the left; their second line, including a considerable number of Lowland levies, who were neither so fond of fighting nor so passionately attached to the cause as the mountaineers, comprised the Athole brigade, Lord Ogilvie's regiment, Lord Lewis Gordon's two battalions, the Maclauchlans, and Lord John Drummond's regiment. Charles was neither in the first line nor in the second; he stood not even *between* the two lines, as he had done at Prestonpans; but he took up his post in the rear of the second line, on a mound which still goes by the name of *Charlie's Hill*. When Hawley's men formed, the three regiments of dragoons were in front; the infantry which had followed them stood in two lines; and the rest of the army, consisting of the Argyleshire Highlanders and the Glasgow regiment, remained as a body of reserve at a considerable distance. Artillery there was none on either side, for the Highlanders in their rapid advance, had left their guns behind them; and in crossing the moor the English guns had stuck fast in a bog and could not be removed in time. But Hawley heeded them not: he had got his horse, and they were to do everything; though two of the three regiments had not yet cleansed their banners of the foul dirt of Prestonpans. On his word of command to charge, Colonel Ligonier led on all the horse towards the enemy's right. That right, consisting of the Macdonalds, advanced to meet Ligonier, reserving their fire till they were within pistol-shot; but then they gave such a volley as made the dragoons reel in their saddles; and the rest of the Highland line stepping forward, Lord Lovat's regiment gave a similar discharge with equal effect. This was enough for the heroes of the "Canter of Coltbrigg;" — Hamilton's and Gardiner's regiments wheeled round, disordered the foot behind them, and fled with loose bridle. Cobham's dragoons behaved better; but the Highland fire was terrible, the ground was unfavourable for horse, and they wheeled to the right and went off between the two armies, receiving many a murderous shot as they passed the left wing of the Highlanders. Many of the fleeing horse ran into the bogs, and sinking to the saddle-girths, were cut to pieces by the Highland claymore. Some of the hotheaded clans continued to run into the bogs after the floundering dragoons, and some ran furiously upon the left of Hawley's army, who received them with a general discharge. But while the Highlanders had had the rain, which continued still to fall in torrents, at their backs, and the conveniency of their kilts and plaids wherewith to keep their pieces dry, the English infantry, with the rain full in their faces, and with no such convenient drapery, had got their muskets and powder-pans so wetted that hardly more than one piece in five went off. The Macdonalds, little hurt by this irregular fire, poured in a much more effective volley, and then, throwing down their muskets in their usual way, they fell upon the English infantry with their broadswords, attacking them both in front and flank. The left gave way, the centre followed their example, and the second line as well as the first was thrown into confusion. It seemed a total rout, and Hawley, who had been standing a little behind the three regiments of dragoons when they advanced to the attack, had got involved in a crowd of fleeing horse, had been swept down the hill-side, and now had not the means of knowing whether any of his regiments of foot stood firm. But Burrell's regiment stood as firm as a wall, and, being joined by part of two other veteran regiments, it moved to the Highland left wing, and when it came directly opposite to the Cameron and Stuart clans, it began to fire with good effect. A narrow ravine that lay between them prevented the Camerons and Stuarts from charging with the claymore, and, soon finding that they were losing a considerable number of men, and that their fire was not equal to that of the English veterans, they fell back from the opposite edge of the ravine in some disorder. Cobham's dragoons, who had soon rallied, now came up to support these gallant regiments of foot. In the meanwhile the fiery Macdonalds had broken loose and fought loosely in pursuit, as if the battle was over; but the steady fire of Burrell's regiment, and other signs now seen in their rear, induced these Macdonalds to run speedily back to the ground which they had occupied at the beginning of the battle, and upon which Lord George Murray had been very anxious to keep them. But when they got there they found that their second line had vanished! The want of discipline of those Highlanders that formed the second line had been equal to that of the Macdonalds; most of the men, seeing the wonderful success of the first onslaught, and being fearful that if they stayed where they were they should get no horses, saddles, and bridles —no part of the booty—had broken away from their lines to join in the pursuit, and when their comrades, who were more obedient to orders and remained on their ground, saw the Camerons and Stuarts repulsed, and heard the steady and increasing fire of the king's troops that stood, and saw Cobham's horse compact and firm, and ready, as they thought, to charge them in their loose and broken lines, they lost heart, and had gone off rapidly to the westward. Lord George Murray, however, succeeded in getting some of these men into line, and brought up some of his own men who had been cool enough to obey orders; and then Charles, who had moved off with the second line, came back with the Irish pickets and some other troops, and when the Highlanders had collected their muskets which lay thick upon the ground, he led them to the brow of the hill. This movement of so considerable a body disconcerted Cobham's dragoons, who had been again attempting to cover the ridge: they turned back, went down to the place where Burrell's regiment and the portions of the two regiments acting with them were standing, and retreating with them in good order, they joined the rest of the army, which had rallied on the ground in the front of their camp, except the heroes of the "Canter of Coltbrigg," who for the most part never drew rein till they got to Linlithgow.

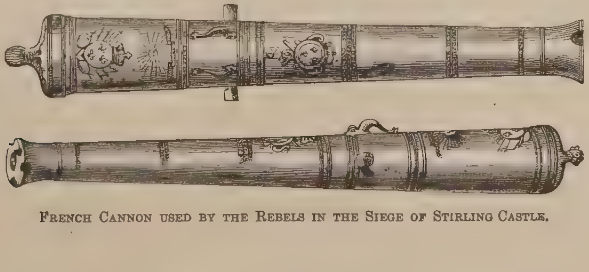
---

[1] Lieutenant-colonel Hepburn, who was one of the company of officers, told this anecdote to Home.

This was the whole of the battle or affair of Falkirk, which did not last altogether half an hour. But it was now drawing near five o'clock of a wintry evening, and the early darkness of the season was increased by the storm and the black rolling clouds, which continued to deluge that uncomfortable moor. Before it grew quite dark Hawley set fire to his tents, and marching through Falkirk, retreated for Linlithgow, leaving behind him bag and baggage, artillery, ammunition, and provisions. As for his tents, they were so soaked by the rain that they would not burn, and the Highlanders got possession of most of them also. Lord George Murray immediately advanced, and took possession of the abandoned town; and Charles entered Falkirk by torchlight, late in the evening, and was conducted to a lodging prepared for him. Hawley had left behind him between 300 and 400 killed and wounded, and a considerable number of prisoners, including many of the Glasgow regiment and the Edinburgh volunteers, who, on the whole, had behaved rather manfully. The poet Home was among the captives.

Having rested at Linlithgow, General Hawley continued his retreat to Edinburgh; but not till the 19th, and then rather to dry his wet gunpowder, and get more, than out of any fear of Prince Charles. On his leaving Linlithgow, by accident or by design, fire was set to the palace, and that "royal dwelling"—"the fairest in all Scotland"—was reduced to a ruin. Charles was in no condition to follow or molest King George's army. On the morning after the battle thousands of his Highlanders went off to their mountains, to secure the plunder they had made; and violent dissensions broke out between Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond, and between several of the Highland chiefs. Some unlucky accidents and quarrels between clan and clan, which occurred in Falkirk the morning after the battle, greatly augmented the discontent and anarchy.

After staying two days at Falkirk, Charles returned to Bannockburn, leaving Lord George Murray to observe the motions of the enemy, and cover the siege of Stirling Castle, which he was still resolved to prosecute. He employed a printing-press, which had been brought from Glasgow, to print a quarto sheet, with an exaggerated account of the battle of Falkirk. This was the last of his gazettes, or proclamations. When Lord John Drummond summoned Stirling Castle, and threatened terrible things in case the surrender were any longer delayed, old General Blakeney answered as before—that he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and the rebels should find he would die so. Instead of destroying the old fortress, the besiegers seemed to run a chance of being destroyed by it. The Highlanders soon grew desperately weary of work for which they were unfit; and on the 24th of January, after suffering severely from the hot and exact fire of the castle, they refused to man their batteries, or go any more into the trenches; and the operations of the siege were then left to the pickets of the Irish brigade and Drummond's regiment from France, who had been better trained to such service.[1]



French Cannon used by the Rebels in the Siege of Stirling Castle.

---

[1] "Neither were the actions of the Highlanders under Prince Charles, though sufficiently glorious for their arms, altogether so wonderful as to be regarded as miraculous. Without detracting from their undoubted bravery, it must be said that the chevalier was fortunate in meeting with two such antagonists as Cope and Hawley, neither of whom seems to have dreamed of maintaining a second line of effectual reserve, though rendered so necessary by the violence and precipitance of the Highland attack, which must always have thrown a certain degree of disorder into those troops that were first exposed to its fury, but at the same time have brought confusion among the assailants themselves. The two regiments of dragoons that fought, or rather fled, at Preston, having previously lost their character by a succession of panics, must be also looked upon as affording to the Highlanders an advantage unusual to those who encounter an English army. Of the general plan of insurrection, it may be safely said to have been a rash scheme, devised by a very young man, who felt his hopes from France to be absolutely desperate; and by piquing the honour of Lochiel and his friends, wrought them to such a height of feeling as to induce them to engage in what their common sense assured them was positive ruin."—Sir Walter Scott, *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 557.

CHAPTER XXI.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1746—1747.

GEORGE II.

The Duke of Cumberland arrives in Scotland—The rebels hastily retreat across the Forth—Cumberland advances upon them—Ministerial revolution in London—The ministers resign—Formation of the Granville ministry—Perplexity of George II.—The old ministers restored—The pretender retreats to Inverness—He takes Fort-George and Fort-Augustus—The royal troops close upon him—Cumberland's advance—His severe proceedings—The Highlanders draw up upon Drummossie Moor—Their attempt to surprise the royalist army—Failure of the attempt—Arrangement of the Highland clans for battle—Dispositions of the Duke of Cumberland—Battle of Culloden—Utter defeat of the rebels—Alleged cowardice of the pretender in the conflict—Merciless proceedings of the victors—Lord Lovat escapes to a concealment—Charles commences his fugitive course—Sanguinary devastations committed by the royalists in the Highlands—Extravagant rewards voted by parliament to the Duke of Cumberland—Ingratitude of government to President Forbes—He dies impoverished by his patriotism—Wanderings of Charles in the Highlands and among the isles—His privations and dangers—His narrow escapes—Matchless fidelity of his adherents—Flora Macdonald's exertions in aiding his escape—She is arrested, and sent to London—Charles continues his wanderings—He is sheltered by Highland freebooters—Their devotedness to his safety and comfort—Description of his "cage" in which he found shelter—He effects his escape to France—Merciless proceedings continued against the rebels—Trial of the leaders—Trial of Lord Balmerino—Execution of Balmerino and other Scottish lords—Trial of Lord Lovat—His strange behaviour—His execution—An act of indemnity passed—Acts for the extinction of Jacobite rebellion in Scotland.

THE tragi-comedy was now drawing rapidly to its close: the curtain was about to fall on the bloody field of Culloden. On the 30th of January, the anniversary of the execution of Charles I., the chevalier's loving cousin, William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, arrived in the Scottish capital, with full powers to finish the war in his own way.

On the 31st, the very day after his arrival, Cumberland put himself at the head of the army to go in search of Charles. The men "banished all remembrances of the late untoward accident, and the troops showed uncommon ardour to be led (bad as the weather was) into the field again."[1] They were formed and marched in two columns, consisting of fourteen battalions; and the Argyleshire men and Cobham's dragoons led the van. Instead of sending Hawley to London to be tried by a court-martial, as he most richly deserved, the duke kept him with him as one of his lieutenant-generals, the other lieutenant-general being William, Earl of Albemarle. He quartered that night at Linlithgow with eight battalions; Brigadier Mordaunt was at Borrowstounness; the dragoons lay in adjacent villages; and Colonel Campbell, with his brave loyal Highlandmen, took post in the front of the army. A considerable body of Charles's army, that was still lying in that town, now immediately retired from Falkirk towards the Torwood, giving out that they would await the English there, or repeat upon them at Bannockburn the chastisement which the great Bruce had given their ancestors at the same place. The next morning the Duke continued his march, all his officers and soldiers showing the greatest alacrity; but before he reached Falkirk he was informed that Charles had no intention of meeting him at Bannockburn, the Torwood, or at any other place in the south, and that the Highlanders were actually repassing the Forth with headlong speed. As the English troops marched on, they saw the advanced guards retiring everywhere with the utmost precipitation; and presently they heard a most tremendous noise—two loud reports, like the blowing up of powder-magazines. By this it was understood that the siege of Stirling Castle was raised, and that old Blakeney was safe.

Cumberland, who entered Stirling with the main body of his army at about one in the afternoon on the 2d of February, or many hours after the last of the Highlanders had wetted their trews and their active limbs in the Forth at Frew, did not attempt a vain pursuit. He paid a fitting compliment to General Blakeney; he gave directions for repairing Stirling bridge, one of the arches of which had been blown up some time before by the garrison of the castle. While this work was performing, a whole company of the Irish brigade, that had deserted from Lord John Drummond, came to Stirling and delivered themselves up; and a considerable number of the rebels, who had hid themselves in holes and corners, were brought prisoners to head-quarters. The repairs of Stirling bridge were finished by the 4th of February, and at six o'clock in the morning Cumberland and his army crossed the Forth. The advanced guard, consisting of the

---

[1] *Ray.*

Argyleshire men and the dragoons, marched that day as far as Crieff; but the duke and the main body of the infantry halted in and about Dunblane, and passed the night there. On the following day the advanced guard took quiet possession of Perth, being welcomed as deliverers by the large majority of the townspeople. On the 6th the Duke of Cumberland, with the main body, reached Perth, where he remained several days.

While he was thus advancing in Scotland against the rebels, there happened a ministerial revolution at London. The Duke of Newcastle, and his more important brother, Mr. Pelham, who was prime minister, had both pledged themselves to Pitt to get him into office as secretary-at-war; and, urged on by the impatience of that able and aspiring man, and suspecting that the king, who had never withdrawn his confidence from Lord Granville (Carteret), was intending to place that ex-minister at the head of affairs, they demanded, in a peremptory manner, an office for Pitt. On the 6th of February Lord Bath (Pulteney) announced that the king would not employ Mr. Pitt as secretary-at-war, that he himself had advised his majesty to negative that appointment, and that if Mr. Pitt was forced into that office his majesty was fully resolved never to transact business with him, or admit him to his presence. "The ministry," says Horace Walpole, "then gave up that point; but finding that a change had been made in a scheme of foreign politics which they had laid before the king, and for which he had thanked them, and perceiving some symptoms of a resolution to dismiss them at the end of the session, they came to a sudden determination not to do Lord Granville's business by carrying the supplies, and then to be turned out; so, on Monday morning, to the astonishment of everybody, the two secretaries of state threw up the seals, and the next day Mr. Pelham, with the rest of the treasury, the Duke of Bedford with the admiralty, Lord Gower, privy seal, and Lord Pembroke, groom of the stole, gave up too: the Dukes of Devonshire, Grafton, and Richmond, the lord-chancellor, Winnington, paymaster, and almost all the other great officers and offices, declaring they would do the same. Lord Granville immediately received both seals, one for himself, and the other to give to whom he pleased. Lord Bath was named first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; Lord Carlisle, privy seal; and Lord Winchelsea re-instated in the admiralty. Thus far all went swimmingly; they had only forgot one little point, which was, to secure a majority in both houses. In the commons they unluckily found that they had no better man to take the lead than poor Sir John Rushout, for Sir John Barnard refused to be chancellor of the exchequer; so did Lord Chief-justice Willes to be lord-chancellor; and the wildness of the scheme soon prevented others, who did not wish ill to Lord Granville or well to the Pelhams, from giving in to it."[1] While this sudden and mad Granville ministry found that there was no chance of obtaining a majority in either house, and that courtiers and placemen were running a race to resign their white staves and golden keys, Hoppe, the Dutch ambassador, made matters worse by declaring that the states-general, which could have no confidence in such a cabinet, would be almost sure to accept terms offered by France, and leave England to manage the war without their alliance. Lord Bath, whose ambition and avarice were now counted equally great, had not courage to undertake the treasury, and on Wednesday morning he went to the king and told him he had tried the House of Commons, and *found it would not do.* "The poor king," adds Walpole, "who, from being fatigued with the Duke of Newcastle, and sick of Pelham's timidity and compromises, had given in to this mad hurly-burly of alterations, was confounded with having floundered to no purpose, and to find himself more than ever in the power of men he hated, shut himself up in his closet, &c. At last he sent for Winnington, and told him he was the only honest man about him, and he should have the honour of the reconciliation, and sent him to Mr. Pelham to desire they would all return to their employments. Lord Granville is as jolly as ever; laughs and drinks, and owns it was mad, and owns he would do it again to-morrow."

But the Pelhams and their adherents, who had great advantages to secure to themselves from the false move he had made, would not return to their posts without driving a hard bargain with their perplexed and bewildered master. They demanded that Lord Bath should be removed from the cabinet, and that his few dependants who had places should be deprived of them; that Lord Barington and Mr. Legge should both have seats at the board of admiralty; that Mr. James Grenville should have a seat at the board of trade, and that Mr. Pitt should be in the war office; and George, however unwilling, was obliged to accede to these demands—but mitigated in one essential; for, as he passionately declared that he would risk everything rather than make Pitt secretary-at-war, they agreed that, for the present, the terrible orator should be only joint vice-treasurer of Ireland; and *he* who had so often proclaimed that he would never accept anything less than the war secretaryship, was fain to rest satisfied with this lucrative office.

The Duke of Cumberland, from Perth, detached 500 foot and some Whig Highlanders to

---

[1] Letter to Horace Mann.

Dunkeld, under the command of Sir Andrew Agnew; sent forward Colonel Leighton with a similar detachment to Castle Menzies, and then continued his own march, with the main body, to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 26th of February. Scarcely a Highlander with the white cockade was seen anywhere; the rebel army seemed to have vanished into thin air; but here and there the duke's exploring parties discovered and made prize of muskets, bayonets, ball, and gunpowder, hid among the mountain heather or buried in the snow-heaps. It began to be generally believed, not only in London, but at Edinburgh and Aberdeen, that the war was over, that the young pretender had fled back to France, and that the clans would not again attempt to make head anywhere. Nevertheless considerable reinforcements—including the 6000 Hessians—continued to be sent to Perth, or still farther to the north, to join the duke. Meanwhile Charles had reached Inverness, which was in no disposition to bid him welcome. Lord Loudon lay there with a little army steady to King George, and protected from attack by a ditch and a palisade. The chevalier therefore turned aside to Moy Castle, ten miles from the town of Inverness, and, while there with only a few of his followers, Loudon *almost* succeeded in making him prisoner by a night attack. Yet, a day or two after this attempt, the Highlanders gathered in such numbers round him at Moy Castle that Charles felt himself strong enough to attack Loudon at Inverness; and on the 18th of February his lordship found it expedient to withdraw his men and to cross the ferry of Kessock into Ross-shire. The good lord-president, Duncan Forbes, who had exhausted his own private resources, and remained at his chosen post at Inverness, doing everything that man could do for a blundering and an ungrateful government, accompanied Loudon in this retreat, and shared in his subsequent hardships and dangers.

Upon Loudon's retreat into Ross-shire, the chevalier entered the town of Inverness. Siege was laid to Fort-George, which surrendered in two or three days; and from this exploit, which put them in possession of sixteen pieces of artillery and a considerable stock of provisions and ammunition, the Highlanders marched away thirty-two miles from Inverness, and laid siege to Fort-Augustus, battering its walls with the heavy guns they had just taken at Fort-George. In a very few days the flag of the Stuart floated over Fort-Augustus. Lochiel and General Stapleton were then sent, with the Camerons, the Macdonalds of Keppoch, the Stuarts of Appin, and 300 of the French-Irish pickets, towards the western end of the chain of forts, to lay siege to Fort-William. But this enterprise was not destined to be so successful: the way was long, the roads and mountain paths were steep and terrible, the heavy guns had, in many places, to be drawn by the men, and it was the 20th of March ere Stapleton and Lochiel could get them placed in battery before the fort. But, in the meantime, while snow and ice impeded Cumberland's advance, and the cutting, cruel March winds, doubly cruel on that north-eastern coast, blew life and spirit out of the English troops (accustomed to the old routine of winter-quarters), the hardier Highlanders, indifferent to the inclemencies of the season, carried on a series of attacks and expeditions. Loudon, with about 800 men, and Duncan Forbes, and Macleod of Macleod, quitted the mainland and went over to the Isle of Skye: the rest of his independent companies dispersed in different directions.

But, though the rebel clans had been thus allowed to make head, the king's troops were gradually closing upon them, and shutting them up within their hungry mountains, while the king's ships were intercepting the inadequate supplies sent from France. The chevalier was again reduced almost to his last louis-d'or, and compelled to pay his troops in oatmeal or barley-meal. As the weather became milder, the army of King George began to draw still more closely round the Highlanders; and they effectually shut up the passes into the low country, where alone provisions and money could be obtained. As it was believed his royal highness would march very soon to attack Charles in his head-quarters at Inverness, all the detached corps of the Highlanders were called in and united on that point. Lord George Murray was thus compelled to give up his blockade of Blair Castle, and Lochiel and Stapleton their siege of Fort-William. Lord George carried his two light pieces back with him, but Stapleton found it necessary to spike his heavy guns. Cumberland had got up to Perth the 6000 Hessians, who, however, according to his own account, behaved sadly. Overwhelming as was his force, the duke resolved to proceed with extreme caution. He waited till the southerly wind brought up to Aberdeen a fleet of transports with Bligh's regiment, forage, and provision. Then, upon the report of two officers that the river Spey was fordable, he put his troops in motion on the 7th of April; and on the next day he himself marched from Aberdeen with six battalions of foot and Lord Mark Kerr's dragoons. He kept to the sea-coast road, having his right flanked by the English fleet. All the Highlanders he could catch were hanged. Every day summary executions of this kind took place; so that Cumberland's line of march and his halting-places were to be traced by gibbets. He also set fire to the chapels of the Episcopalian Scots, who had always given unequivocal proofs of Jacobitism.

From Banff Cumberland proceeded to Cullen, and from Cullen to Fochabers, on the right bank of the Spey, seldom losing sight of the men-of-war and transports. On Sunday, the 13th of April, the English and their allies advanced on the left bank of the Spey to the moor of Alves, and encamped near the parish church. On Monday, the 14th, the army moved on to Nairn, about seventeen miles from Alves. On coming up to the bridge of Nairn, this van found that Lord John Drummond's rear had not left the town, and there was a short skirmish with muskets on the bridge between Drummond's Irish pickets and the English grenadiers. When Lord John Drummond's men quitted the town of Nairn their retreat was covered by two troops of horse, and they ran as fast as their legs could carry them to a place called the Loch of the Clans, some five or six miles beyond Nairn. At that point the young pretender very unexpectedly came up in person from Inverness with the clan Macintosh and some of his guards; and then the English pursuers, seeing themselves outnumbered, fled in their turn, and hardly stopped till they rejoined the main body of the army. That night Charles took up his lodging in Culloden House, the seat of Duncan Forbes, his troops lying out upon the moor, where the heather served both for bedding and fuel, the cold being very severe.[1] Early on the following morning, the 15th of April, the Highlanders rose from their rough bed, and, expecting an attack, they formed in order of battle upon Drummossie Moor, a part of the Culloden plain, and about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden House. The gentle Lochiel, with the bold Camerons, had joined in the course of the preceding night; but Cluny, with the Macphersons, was still away in Badenoch; Lord Cromarty, with about 700 men, and also Mackinnon, Glengyle, and Borisdale, with their clans, were still in Sutherland, where Duncan Forbes and Loudon had made work for them; and the Master of Lovat, with the Frasers, had gone up to his father's country. Yet it is said, notwithstanding all these deficiencies, it was resolved *by*, or *for*, the Highlanders, that they should stand their ground, and seek rather than avoid an action. They kept looking across the moor in the expectation of seeing Cumberland's columns; but, when mid-day came and not a red coat was seen, Lord Elcho was detached with his troops of horse to reconnoitre. His lordship soon returned with intelligence that the English were halting at Nairn, and that, as it was the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day, the troops were keeping a feast and a holiday, drinking, and singing, and showing no intention of moving forward. The generality of accounts state the fact differently; but we believe that it was Elcho's intelligence which really induced the Highlanders to stay where they were, instead of falling back upon Inverness to strengthen themselves with the junction of Lord Cromarty, Mackinnon, Cluny, Fraser, and the rest; we believe that they were completely fascinated by the prospect of making a night surprise and attack upon a drunken camp—that, when this surprise failed, as it did, they stood and fought without their clans in the rear, because they could not avoid a battle, because the men, worn out with a long night march and countermarch, were too tired to run, and because a retreat, with the English now close at their heels, must have been more dangerous and bloody than even an unequal action. It is recorded that upon Lord Elcho's report a council of war was assembled; that there Charles made a speech, and proposed a march with all the forces he had with him, and to make a night attack; that Lord George Murray insisted and enlarged upon the advantages of a night attack, which would render artillery and cavalry—in which the superiority of Cumberland's army chiefly consisted—of little service; and that it was finally agreed to make the attempt, as the best thing that could be done in their present circumstances, as they were almost entirely destitute both of money and provisions. It is said, indeed, that on that day the poor Highlanders got no other food than a single biscuit a man. To quiet their murmurs they had been promised payment of all their arrears two days before a battle; and now that they were drawn up in battle array there was not a farthing to give them. When the council of war rose, and the officers and chiefs returned to their regiments and clans, they found that many of their famishing men had gone off to Inverness in order to get something to eat. By this time it was between six and seven o'clock, and the army was appointed to march at eight. Many were of opinion that the hunger-defection ought to put an end to the design; but Charles, it appears, thought otherwise, and ordered Lord George Murray to put himself at the head of the men that remained and march upon Nairn with all the speed possible. "Accordingly," says one of the actors, "we set out about eight o'clock that night, with express orders to observe the profoundest silence in our march. Our word was, 'King James the Eighth.'"

The river Nairn passes within half a mile of Drummossie Moor, where the Highlanders had been spending the day, and runs from that point directly east to the town of Nairn. The distance from the moor to the town was about twelve miles by the regular road; but considerably farther by the route which part of the Highland army was instructed to take—for Lord

---

[1] MS. Memoirs of Captain Daniel, as cited by Lord Mahon.

George Murray intended to divide his troops at Kilravock and to cross the river with the van some two or three miles above Nairn, in order to attack Cumberland both in flank and rear as well as in front. The whole army marched from Culloden in a long irregular line, with an interval in the middle, as if there had been two columns, one following the other. Lord George Murray was in the front with the Athole brigade; Charles and the Duke of Perth were in the interval in the middle, and Lord John Drummond was in the rear. The night was very dark; yet, to avoid some houses on the highway, they quitted the road, and struck aside through some very wet and heavy ground, which retarded their march, and caused the men, hungry and in a bad humour when they started, to murmur and to curse and swear. Those in the rear moved so slowly that they were left far behind. An officer forced his way to the front and ordered the van to halt; but the van would not halt, and the rear was left more and more behind. Other orders were sent to the front, and then Lord George Murray made his men go somewhat slower; but, as the rear moved slower still, they continued to lose time. It was now two o'clock in the morning. By this time most of the officers of distinction had got to the van, and, for the first time, there was a general and regular halt. Lord George himself says, "If all the line had marched as quickly as the four or five first regiments, they might all have been at or near Nairn by two in the morning; but even the van, as the thing happened, was four full miles from Nairn at two in the morning. . . . At the halt, all the principal officers who were come to the van, agreed that the thing was now impossible. A surprise was designed, but now it was palpable they could not, even by a quick march, advance two miles before day-break, so that they must be for two miles in the enemies' sight before they could come at them: add to this that the officers were also convinced that they had not half of the men that had been drawn up the day before."[1] Lord George, on whose honour and veracity we are disposed to rely, says that Charles never came up to the front, but sent O'Sullivan with a message, importing that his royal highness would be very glad to have the attack made, but that Lord George was the best judge whether it could be made in time or not. Great pains have been taken to prove that the chevalier was determined to make the attack, or, in other words, to prove that he was mad; and that Lord George Murray, in defiance of his authority, insisted upon returning. It is scarcely worth examining whether the young pretender wanted to make a *night* attack, with such a force, in broad *daylight* or not. Lord George says distinctly that there was not one officer present but agreed that the best thing to do was to get back to Culloden as fast as possible. It is said, moreover, by Home himself—and the fact is exceedingly probable—that the Duke of Cumberland had certain information of this night march towards Nairn, from several people in his pay who spoke the Highland language, wore the Highland dress, mixed with the rebels as they marched, and stole away from them at different times—a thing easy to do in the darkness, and when so many were lying down from exhaustion in the wood or lagging behind. All accounts agree that the Highland army hurried back whence it had come, and that most of them were at or near Culloden by five in the morning. But the Duke of Cumberland, with his men fresh and vigorous, and well fed, was close behind them, having marched away from Nairn between four and five. Orders had been given for collecting some meat and drink on the field; but either the supply was insufficient, or did not arrive in time; for many of the Highlanders slipped off in search of food. Others, exhausted by hunger and want of sleep, fell upon the moor, as if careless whether the English dragoons rode over them or not.

In the meanwhile the English army was coming on with a broad front, divided into three columns of five battalions each, with the artillery and baggage following the first column on the right, which moved by the sea-coast, and with the cavalry covering the left wing, which stretched towards the hills. About eight o'clock a Cameron, one of Lochiel's lieutenants, who had been left dead asleep in Kilravock wood, when the halt had been made, came running into Culloden House and informed Charles and his principal officers, who were taking a little rest in Duncan Forbes's mansion, that the English were in full march. Thereupon hurried orders were issued for the clans to draw up in order upon Culloden Moor. The Highlanders formed in two lines with a body of reserve. Great discontent was given to one of the bravest and most powerful of the clans, whose superstitions were excited as much as their honour and pride were piqued.[2] Instead of the Macdonalds, who had enjoyed that honour ever since the days of Bruce and the battle of Bannockburn, the Athole brigade had the right of the first line; in the centre stood the Camerons of Lochiel, the Stuarts of Appin, the Frasers, the Macintoshes, the Maclauchlans, the Macleans, the Fergusons, and the Roy Stuarts; and on the extreme left were the Macdonalds, who formed three regiments under their respective chiefs, Clanronald, Keppoch, and Glengarry. Lord George Murray commanded on the right, and Lord John Drummond on the left. The second line consisted of Lord Ogilvie's regiment, which had the right of Lord Lewis Gordon's men, Glenbucket's regiment, the Duke of Perth's, Lord John Drummond's, and the Irish pickets, who stood on the extreme left. This second line was commanded by Stapleton. On the right of the first line, and somewhat behind it, were two or three troops of horse—nearly all that remained in the service, or that remained mounted, for the rapid marches and countermarches, the sad roads of the Highlands, and the sadder want of proper forage had knocked up all the rest of the horses. The body of reserve, in which Charles placed himself on a small eminence, behind the right of the second line, consisted of Lord Kilmarnock's regiment of footguards, and some two or three dozen of horse, the miserable remnant of Lord Pitsligo's and Lord Strathallan's cavalry. The right flank of the Highland army was covered by a strong stone wall. It appears that the Duke of Cumberland hardly expected that the Highlanders would stand for a battle; but he found them arranged in this order when he came up with them at about eleven o'clock. He halted within half a mile of their first line, and then formed his columns into two lines of foot, with a morass on his right, between him and the sea-shore, which secured that flank: he placed two of his regiments of dragoons and four companies of Argyleshire Highlanders on his left, to fall upon the enemy's right; and, in addition to his two lines, he formed a very strong body of reserve with the Duke of Kingston's horse, the rest of the Argyleshire foot, and two or three English regiments. The Scots Royals had the right of the first line, and Burrell's regiment, which had behaved so well at Falkirk, had the left of the foot. In the second line, which, like the first, consisted of six full regiments, Howard's regiment had the right and Wolfe's the left. Ten pieces of well-served artillery were placed in the intervals between the regiments of the front line; the right flank was commanded by Major-general Bland, the left by Lord Ancrum, the centre by the Earl of Albemarle: this was the front line. In the second line the Duke of Cumberland was on the right, and his favourite, General Hawley, on the left. While these dispositions were making, and each army was trying to outflank the other, there set in a heavy shower of rain, "which," says Volunteer Ray, "was very discouraging, remembering the Falkirk affair." But, this time, the English had the wind and rain in their backs, and the Highlanders in their faces.

---

[1] Letter from Lord G. Murray, calling himself De Vallignie, to W. Hamilton, Esq., in Home's Appendix.

[2] *Lockhart Papers.*

When the English came within five or six hundred paces of the enemy they got upon soft and boggy ground, which was also calculated to revive unpleasant recollections; but, when the artillery horses and heavy guns stuck fast in the mire, the soldiers cheerfully slung their firelocks and dragged the cannon across the bog with the strength of their own arms. While this was doing the weather grew fair, and the Highlanders from behind a strip of old wall, began to fire with their cannon. But their pieces were so badly served and so badly pointed that they did no other mischief than carrying off the leg of a common soldier in Bligh's regiment. At about one o'clock Cumberland commenced replying to this cannonade; and, as his guns were exceedingly well served, they made a slaughter-house of the Highlanders' irregular and crazy battery, cutting at the same time lanes through some of the clan regiments. It was with extreme difficulty that Lord George Murray and his officers could keep their men in their positions to face this murderous fire: the Highlanders wanted to run, but forward, and not backward from the field; they wanted to take the cannon with the broadsword, as they had done at Prestonpans. The cannonade lasted nearly an hour, during which time Cumberland made several changes in the disposition of his army; the most important of which was bringing up Wolfe's regiment from the second line, where the men were standing in water up to their ankles, to the front line, and there placing them, *en potence*, or forward at a right angle from the left flank, so as to make a new front, and to fire upon the flank of the Highlanders if they should come forward in full force. The duke then placed himself in the front of Howard's regiment between the two lines, and Colonel Belford, who had the charge of the artillery, threw some ball so well that they broke ground in the midst of Charles's reserve, bespattered the chevalier's face with dirt, and killed one of his attendants. Upon seeing that masses of the Highlanders were breaking from their centre and right to come forward, Belford, who had been using common cannon-ball, loaded his field-pieces with grape-shot. The clan Macintosh came right on to the English centre, but the fire of the field-pieces and the small-arms of the 21st regiment made them incline to the right; other clans, however, advanced to their support; and then, in spite of grape-shot and musketry in front, and the flank fire from Wolfe's regiment, they fired their pieces, threw down their muskets, and attacked the English left, sword in hand, broke through Burrell's regiment in the first line, and pushed forward, through the gap they had made, upon the second line; but there they were checked by Sempill's regiment, which, kneeling down, reserved their fire till they came close up, and then, with their bayonets fixed, gave a terrible discharge, that brought a great many of them to the ground. Most of those who did not fall turned back after they had killed Lord Robert Kerr and some twenty men. A few of the most desperate still pressed on with their broadswords and targets to break into Sempill's regiment; but not a man of them could succeed; they all dropped at the point of the well-directed bayonets.[1] It was calculated that from 400 to 500 of them fell dead or desperately wounded between the two lines of the English army. This was, in fact, almost all the fighting; the rest of the operations at Culloden, and beyond it, were little more than pursuit, slaughter, and butchery. When the regiments on the right of the Highland first line made this attack, the regiments on the left of that line, the Fergusons and the three Macdonald clans, who thought that they ought to have been on the right, did not accompany the forward movement, but hung back till the Macintoshes were goring themselves on the English bayonets. Then they came forward, gave a general discharge, threw down their muskets, and drew their claymores; but the grape-shot and the musket-shot, right in their teeth, made them pause, and when the Macdonalds saw the Macintoshes running back from the gap they had made, they also went off, pursued by some English dragoons. The Irish pickets in Charles's second line fired upon the dragoons, and made them either halt or wheel about. Through this timely check the Macdonalds, the Fergusons, and all that remained of the Macintoshes, got back to the main body, which was now formed into one single line instead of two. But in another direction Cumberland's cavalry performed a more important service than the dragoons that had pursued the Macdonalds. General Hawley, with four companies of the Campbells of Argyleshire, had succeeded in breaking down the east wall of the inclosure, whose north wall covered the flank of the Highlanders; and through these apertures Lord Ancrum led Lord Mark Kerr's dragoons, and some of Cobham's, and formed on the right flank of the rebels, a little behind them. With that mass of horse in such a threatening position, and with the whole of the English infantry and artillery, and other clouds of cavalry coming on full in their front, the mountaineers lost heart completely, and began to go off the field in small parties, some with their chiefs and officers, and others without them. "At this sight," says Ray, who is an uncourteous critic of Charles's military conduct, but whose assertions are supported by every contemporary authority at all entitled to credit, "their mock prince wheeled off and fled; so that he had *then* the honour of being in the front, which held on with so much courage that he crossed the river at the nearest place, at the hazard of drowning, and never stopped nor looked behind him until he got to Lord Lovat's house, where he stayed all night." It is said that Lord

Culloden Moor, looking towards the Beauly Loch.[2]—From a sketch on the spot by R. Blackie.

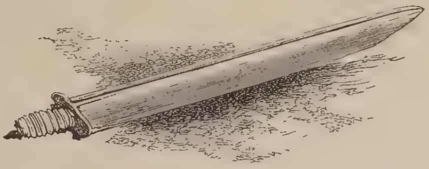
---

[1] According to a letter published shortly after in the *Scots Magazine*, the Duke of Cumberland had made a sensible alteration in the mode of managing the bayonet against the Highlanders:—"Before this the bayonet-man attacked the swordsman fronting him; now the left-hand bayonet-man attacked the swordsman fronting his right-hand man. He was then covered by the adversary's target where he was open on his left, and the adversary's right was open to him. This manner made an essential difference; staggered the enemy, who were not prepared to alter their way of fighting, and destroyed them in a manner rather to be conceived than told."

[2] The mounds in the foreground cover the graves of those slain in the battle. To this day they form a bright green spot amidst the blackness of the moor, and are nearly in the centre of the field.

Elcho, before the bloody game was quite finished, rode up to Charles and implored him to head a general and desperate charge in person; that the chevalier turned pale and refused; and that thereupon Elcho called him an Italian coward and scoundrel, and swore he would never serve him or speak to him again. The authority for the fact is Lord Elcho himself; and, though his lordship lived an exile for the Stuarts' cause, he would never again see Prince Charles.[1]

The fugitives went off in two large bodies: the larger one, consisting of western Highlanders, directing their flight towards Badenoch; the other, and much smaller one, consisting of the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the Irish pickets, retreating to Inverness. The latter body suffered most, being pursued till within a mile of Inverness by the Duke of Cumberland's horse, who made few prisoners, but shot or cut down nearly every man or officer they overtook; for they had learned from their royal commander that rebels had no claim to mercy. Cumberland and the infantry followed leisurely towards Inverness. When near the town a drummer presented himself with a letter from the French officers, and Irish officers that had been in Louis's service, offering to surrender themselves prisoners to his highness, and invoking from the English generous quarter and honourable treatment. The duke promised them quarter, and then sent forward a company of grenadiers, who took possession of Inverness and of the arms which the French and Irish there laid down. It appears that the Highlanders lost three times more men in the retreat than in the battle, and that, altogether, there perished on that bloody day from 2000 to 2500 men. Many of their bravest chiefs were killed or miserably wounded on the field. Maclean of Drimnin, after losing two of his sons, was killed by a random shot, while turning to look for his third son; Cameron of Lochiel fell wounded with grape-shot, but was carried off by two brothers, between whom he was advancing. According to the official returns published by Cumberland and the government, the loss of the English in killed, wounded, and missing, officers and men, amounted only to 310. It is not easy to say what was the *exact* force engaged, but it may be fairly assumed that Cumberland had from 7000 to 8000 men, fresh and in excellent condition; while the Highlanders, with their allies, could not possibly have mustered 4000, and these, as we have seen, exhausted by hunger, incessant fatigue, and that fatal night-march and counter-march, which made their condition—bad enough before—all but hopeless. If *all* the Hessians had been up at Culloden, Cumberland's army would have exceeded 13,000 men! The carnage which had been committed, and which was still committing, by his moveable columns, his royal highness was pleased to style a "little blood-letting."[2] We can almost excuse his royal highness for thirsting for the blood of the doubly-infamous traitor, Fraser of Lovat. Immediately after the battle of Culloden he wrote to ministers, "I believe old Lovat will not escape me." The chevalier, as we have stated, fled straight from the field of Culloden to Lovat's house, and there he and the old fox met for the first and for the last time. They could only exchange mutual condolences. Lovat was then so old and infirm that he could neither ride nor walk, but he agreed with Lochiel and other chiefs in recommending the prosecution of a mountain war, or at least the keeping together of the clans, so as to present a bold countenance to the enemy, and obtain honourable or merciful conditions. But the chevalier's head was completely bewildered: his chief favourites and advisers were only anxious to get back to France; and, changing his dress, Charles stole away by night, and crossed the mountains to Invergary, near Fort-Augustus. Left to shift for himself, old Lovat put himself in a sort of hammock, and was carried away to a good hiding-place on the shoulders of some of his clan.



SKEIN DHU, found on the field of Culloden.
Museum of the Scottish Antiquarian Society.

Lord George Murray had succeeded in rallying at Ruthven about 1200 of the fugitives from Culloden, and was sustained by the confident hope of collecting such an army as might face Cumberland again: but there was no corresponding spirit on the part of the chevalier; there was no means of provisioning an army; and, instead of increasing, the body of 1200 men began to disperse. At Invergary Charles himself became almost a solitary fugitive, and began to trust to holes in the rocks and other hiding-places for his safety. All his company took leave of him except O'Sullivan, O'Neile, and one Burke, a common servant, who knew the country well, and was kept as a guide. With this slight attendance Charles stole secretly from Invergary to Loch Arkaig, in Lochaber, and then to Glenboisdale, where he lurked a day or two, and where he received a message from Lord George

---

[1] MS. Memoirs of Lord Elcho, as cited by Walter Scott.

[2] Letters from the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, in Coxe's *Memoirs of the Pelham Administration.*

Murray, entreating him not to leave Scotland just yet. The chevalier replied to Lord George that he must go to France, but that he *hoped* to return soon with powerful reinforcements, which he was quite sure of obtaining. But to embark was no such easy matter; the English cruisers continued to do their duty well, and no French ship appeared to take off the forlorn adventurer.

The Duke of Cumberland advanced to the smoking ruins of Fort-Augustus, and established himself there in the very centre of the rebellious districts, sending out parties in all directions to scourge the land, to cut off every Highlander found in arms, and to track them to their hiding-places in their glens and mountains. In a short time all the jails were crammed, notwithstanding a great number being shipped off for Newcastle; and more were killed or starved than were made prisoners. Every encouragement was given to the fierce passions of the Argyleshiremen and the other Whig clans or hereditary enemies of the Jacobite Highlanders; and the worst rabble of the regular army were let loose to plunder and destroy. In many places the dispersed clans were hunted down like wild beasts—tracked to their dens and holes in the hill-sides, and either burned or smothered by combustible materials lighted at the mouths of those crannies, or compelled to come out to fall upon the bayonets and swords of their pursuers. These men were not likely to make a distinction which their royal leader could not or would not make: the duke had declared that blood-letting was the best remedy, that every man that wore the tartan in those parts was a rebel and traitor, whose body, soul, and goods were forfeited; and so the soldiers slashed and plundered wherever they came, without any attention to guilt or innocence, or to degrees of guilt or degrees of misfortune. In many places they swept the country so bare of everything, that the inhabitants were left to perish with hunger on the hill-sides; and, if tradition is to be credited, there were not wanting cases where the horrors of hunger led to the atrocities of cannibalism. As a last touch to the horrible picture, we may mention what is asserted on indisputable authority, that the Highland women were subjected to the last indignity and brutality; that their children were frequently shot, stabbed, or thrown over the rocks; and that it became a common spectacle to see men, women, and children, frantic with hunger, following in the track of the plunderers, and imploring for the blood and offal of their own black cattle carried off and slaughtered for the use of the Duke of Cumberland's army. The hangman Hawley distinguished himself in this war of extermination, which lasted without check or pause till the month of July, when his royal highness repaired to London to claim and wear his sullied laurels. He left behind him in Scotland the name of *the Butcher*, and the people of England, disgusted sooner than any other with cruelty, confirmed this title to the hero of Culloden.[1]

But the British parliament set hardly any limits to their admiration, gratitude, or generosity. No less a sum than £25,000 per annum, payable out of the duties and revenues composing the aggregate fund, was added to the duke's income of £15,000, payable out of the civil list. Out of doors this reward seemed sufficiently high, but within doors it was not opposed by a single voice. Pitt, who was now half a deputy-treasurer for Ireland, was himself ready to propose this large annual grant; but the Duke of Cumberland thought that the proposition would come better from the first minister, and so Mr. Pelham made it. The gratitude of the parliament and cabinet seemed to begin and end with his royal highness. On the very day on which £25,000 a-year were proposed for the Duke of Cumberland, we find Duncan Forbes, the lord-president, begging and entreating for £1500, not as a pension to himself, not as a reward for his invaluable services, but to enable him to make payment of sums of money he had borrowed for the service of government. "Above nine months ago," says this able and excellent man, "my zeal led me into this north country to quench a very furious rebellion, without arms, without money, without credit; and if the king's enemies are to be credited, my endeavours were attended with some success."[2] But it was in vain that Duncan Forbes wrote, and his friends and the friends of justice represented his case to a most corrupt, jobbing, and selfish ministry. The amount of his services was known to most men, and it was equally notorious that he had not only begged and borrowed, but that he had expended three years' rent of his own estates in the public cause. He had also exposed himself to more personal danger, and, though a judge, a man of the pen, a quiet domestic man, had undergone far more fatigue than any general engaged in his majesty's service in Scotland. All this, we say, and more than this, must have been known to ministers, and yet the government, of which even Pitt was a member, not only left his merit unrewarded, but absolutely failed to pay him either the money he had spent out of his own private fortune or the debts he had contracted. The blood turns back cold to the heart in contemplating this base example of national or rather ministerial ingratitude.

---

[1] "The king," says Horace Walpole, "is much inclined to some mercy; but the duke, who has not so much of Cæsar after a victory as in gaining it, *is for the utmost severity*. It was lately proposed in the city to present him with the freedom of some company; one of the aldermen said aloud, 'Then let it be of the *butchers*.'"—Letter to Mann.

[2] *Culloden Papers.*

All these things, together with other unutterable wrongs, depressed the spirits and broke the health of the good old man, and he died not long after at Edinburgh (on the 10th of December, 1747), in the sixty-third year of his age, complaining on his death-bed of his reduced fortune and of "the oppression of power," and advising his son never to think of getting into parliament.[1] His ample fortune was, indeed, left in a state of such embarrassment, that the best friends of his family saw no prospect of relief, but in saving one of his estates by selling the other and employing the proceeds in discharging the debts he had contracted.

While the Duke of Cumberland was being welcomed into London with illuminations and skyrockets, his cousin Charles was wandering from place to place in the most wretched condition, and making himself again interesting, not by his own heroism and address, but by the bravery, exquisite fidelity, and promptitude of others. This course of life lasted five long months, from April to September; and during all that time not one of the hundreds of poor people he was obliged to trust could be induced to betray him, even by the government offer of £30,000. Charles, after hiding for a day or two in Glenboisdale, went to Borodale, the place where he landed on his first fatal coming to our island. Macdonald of Borodale procured him an open boat with eight oars at Lochnanuagh, and there Charles embarked, on the evening of the 26th of April, for the Long Island, where he expected to find a French vessel. He was still accompanied by O'Sullivan, O'Neile, and Burke. After encountering a terrific storm and a dark night, the party landed in Benbecula, on the Long Island, a solitary spot, wholly destitute of the means of sustaining life. They had brought nothing with them but four pecks of oatmeal, and upon this and the water of a brook they were obliged to subsist for two days, during which the storm raged. When they put to sea again they were driven from their course by another tempest, which blew them into the small island of Glas. Here they were received by a farmer or tacksman, who lent one of the party a boat to proceed to the island of Lewis, where a small trading or fishing vessel was lying. Donald Macleod got safe to Lewis, hired the little vessel, and sent notice to Charles that he had done so; but when the chevalier got to the port of Lewis he found that the master of the vessel had discovered who he was, and would not stand to his bargain, or take him aboard on any account. Charles and his companions in suffering then returned to the open boat which had brought them from Lochnanuagh, and put to sea, uncertain whither they should go. They had not gone far from Lewis when they saw two men-of-war under sail in the distance, and, taking these ships for English, they put about their helm and ran for the nearest shore, which was a small island to the southward, called Issurt. This was a most unhappy mistake—the continuance of an unfortunate move; for the ships were in fact two French frigates, which had come over with some money, ammunition, and arms, and which had put into Lochnanuagh only a few hours after Charles had left that place. When the two ships were out of sight he crept along the shores of Issurt and Harris: but here was a fresh alarm!—an English sloop of war, lying in a harbour on that coast, spied his boat; but, before she could get out, his boatmen pulled away and got into a small creek on the coast of North Uist. There the party lay hid for many days, supporting life with some dried fish which they found in a lone hut. About the middle of May they put to sea again and made the island of South Uist, where the chief, or proprietor of the greater part of the island—Macdonald of Clanronald—comforted and restored the royal fugitive, whose health and spirits were breaking, with Spanish wine and proper food, and gave him shoes and stockings—for the last of the Stuarts was almost bare-foot. But his humiliations were not over, and it remained for the young hero, who had come with oaths to conquer or die, to cover his manhood with woman's clothes, and to follow in the train of a young lady as a waiting-woman. General Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyle, had a commission to search the islands and secure the fugitives and the disaffected. With a considerable number of men, and several ships of war and transports, Campbell came to Barra, where he made many prisoners; from Barra he sailed to St. Kilda, and from St. Kilda he returned to Barra, with the determination of going to South Uist and searching the island from end to end. And, early in June, South Uist was surrounded on every side by ships and boats, while companies of soldiers were put on shore to scour the interior and search every house, cavern, nook, and corner of the island. But Clanronald had pledged his faith, and the islanders were resolute to respect the sacred rights of hospitality and misfortune; and, by a combination of ingenuity, activity, and vigilance, which must have been incessant, and exercised at one time or other by nearly every man, woman, and child in the place, they contrived to delude the troops and to conceal their guest from the first to the last week of June, when the generous Flora Macdonald undertook to carry Charles to a safer place, and procure the means for so doing. This young lady, the daughter of Macdonald of Milton, in the isle of South Uist, was nearly related to the chevalier's host,

---

[1] *Culloden Papers.*

Clanronald, and was on a visit at his house. She was distressed day after day by seeing the danger the chevalier was running, and by hearing accounts of his distressed condition from his constant attendant O'Neile, who visited the house clandestinely for food and advice. She expressed an earnest desire to see the prince in person, and declared that, if she could in any way save him from his enemies, she would do it. Upon this O'Neile ventured to propose that she should take Charles, dressed in woman's clothes, as her maid, and conduct him out of South Uist to Skye. At first Flora Macdonald thought the scheme fantastical and dangerous, and positively declined it; but soon after this conversation means were found to introduce to her, at a solitary farm-house, the prince in person, and then his sad condition, his thin and wasted habit of body, and his arguments went to her heart and removed all scruples; and she went forthwith from this interview to put the scheme into execution. Nobody could possibly leave the island, or escape the cruisers' row-boats and guards, without a passport. Flora asked and obtained from her stepfather, Hugh Macdonald, who commanded part of the troops assembled in South Uist, a pass for herself and her lady's maid, Betty Burke; and she further induced the captain to recommend to his wife, residing in the Isle of Skye, the said Betty as an excellent spinner of flax, and a faithful servant. We are following Flora Macdonald's own account of the transaction, which is believed to have been written or dictated by herself.[1] It is said there, or rather it is left to be inferred, that her stepfather was not admitted into the dangerous secret, but deceived by Flora's ingenuity; but neither Captain Hugh Macdonald, nor other Macdonalds in South Uist and in Skye, were really imposed upon by the young lady. Having obtained the passport, a boat, six boatmen, and some provisions, and sent a dress to Charles, she walked along the sea-shore with Lady Clanronald, and met the proscribed Stuart in his female attire. On the following morning, the weather being calm and serene, Charles, Flora, and the six boatmen set out for Skye. The generous lady and her maid, the prince, landed safe at Mugstole, the seat of the Macdonalds, where Lady Margaret Macdonald was then residing. This lady, who, like her husband, Sir Alexander, had once been a Jacobite of the deepest hue, gave the lady and her mock maid a good dinner, and, as her house was open to the visits of officers and troops, she sent them forward to her kinsman and factor, Macdonald of Kingsburgh, more in the interior of the island. Near to this place the chevalier put on a Highland dress, and then Flora left him to the care of Kingsburgh, and went home to her stepfather's house.

The day after his arrival at Kingsburgh's house in Skye, the chevalier left that island and went over to the small island of Rasay, which was only six miles off. The chief, Macleod of Rasay, who had fought for the pretender both at Falkirk and at Culloden, was lying hid somewhere on the mainland, but his sons were at home, and they accommodated Charles in a cow-shed. They had no better lodging to give him—there was nothing better left on the island; for a detachment of King George's army had been there a few days before with fire and sword, had carried off all the cattle, and burned every house in Rasay. While the chevalier was lying pinched with hunger in the cow-shed at Rasay, his generous deliverer Flora Macdonald was apprehended by some of the militia in Skye, put on board a king's ship, and carried as a prisoner and a dangerous rebel to London. Her secret had been forced from the poor boatmen who had ferried her and Charles from South Uist. Kingsburgh also was laid in durance and threatened with nothing less than death. In the state in which matters now were, the wisest and best thing to do was to scare the wretched fugitive back to France — to permit and connive at Charles's

THE ISLE OF SKYE, from Rasay, the place where the Chevalier crossed.
From Daniell's Coast Scenery.

---

[1] "Narrative of Flora Macdonald," giving an account of her interviews with Charles, &c., in Home's Appendix.

THE FIRST MEETING OF PRINCE CHARLES WITH FLORA MACDONALD.

After the disastrous Battle of Culloden the Young Pretender became a wandering fugitive in the highlands and islands of Scotland, with the sum of £30,000 offered for his apprehension. Now, while he was in hiding on the island of South Uist, a young lady, the daughter of Macdonald of Milton, undertook to effect his escape to the neighbouring island of Skye, *and for this purpose she was introduced to the Prince in a farmhouse, by O'Neill his faithful attendant.* It was a most dangerous undertaking, because the small island was surrounded by the king's forces, and no one could leave it without a passport. The plan which O'Neill had suggested was, that the prince should be dressed in woman's clothes, and accompany the lady as her maid. This was the scheme adopted, and one morning, the weather being calm, Flora and her attendant, with six boatmen, set out for Skye. The party landed safely at Mugstole, the seat of the Macdonalds, and then pushed on for Kingsburgh. Near to this place the Prince put on a Highland dress, and then Flora left him to the care of her kinsman. Before she was able to leave Skye, however, the courageous lady was apprehended, put on board a King's ship, and carried to London as a dangerous rebel. After twelve months' confinement she was released without a trial, and came back to Scotland, where she married young Macdonald of Kingsburgh.

THE FIRST MEETING OF PRINCE CHARLES WITH FLORA MACDONALD

escape. George II. was not a bloodthirsty prince, and even if his nature had been more severe he would not have chosen to draw down upon himself the odium of Europe and the criticism of every civilized court, by putting to death as a felon and traitor the descendant of many kings. To have kept Charles as a state prisoner either in Scotland or England, or even in the American plantations, would have been very troublesome, and might have proved exceedingly dangerous. For the safety, for the honour of the house of Brunswick, it was better to let him go than to catch him; and we cannot help believing that this was the opinion of a considerable portion of the English cabinet, and of not a few of the officers that were serving in Scotland.[1]

After staying some days with the sons of Macleod of Rasay, the chevalier returned to the Isle of Skye—not to the bounds of the Macdonalds, but to those of Mackinnon of Mackinnon, who had sent his clan to join the rebel army. The Mackinnons received him with great kindness, procured him a boat, and carried him to Loch Nevis, on the mainland, about twelve miles from Borodale. Here he learned that there were lines of troops with sentinels so placed as to watch every road, every path, by night as well as by day, having fires lighted on the hills at regular distances. But some of the Macdonalds of Glennaladel smuggled him through a gulley or narrow channel worn by a mountain stream among the rocks; and after crossing the line of posts, they resolved to conduct him out of the Western Highlands right into the Ross-shire Highlands, and lodge him among the Mackenzies, who had remained during the war on the side of King George, and were therefore not scourged with the visitations of troops now. The chief of Glennaladel thought that the Mackenzies would not betray the helpless fugitive, and that, notwithstanding their exceeding loyalty to the established government, they would assist in the escape of the son of their ancient kings. Accordingly Charles and Glennaladel, with two or three attendants, set out on foot for Ross-shire. The journey was long and rough. When they came to the braes of Kintail, inhabited by the Macraws, the most barbarous of the Highland clans, they were likely to perish for want of food, and were apparently saved only by the timely arrival of another fugitive—a Macdonald—who had fought for Charles at Culloden, from being seized and delivered up; for a Macraw, with whom they had taken up their lodging, exclaimed against the Highlanders who had been in arms, saying that they and those who still protected the young pretender were fools and madmen, and that they ought to relieve themselves and their country by giving him up, and taking the large reward which government had offered. This new Macdonald, who recognized the chevalier at first sight, was of still further service; for he warned him that some troops had got even into Ross-shire, and he told him of a much safer hiding-place, where he himself had passed the preceding night. This was a cave of the rock in the great mountain of Corado, which lies between Kintail and Glenmoriston. "There," said this Macdonald, "live seven men upon whom the prince may absolutely depend; for they are brave and faithful, and most of them have been in his army." Charles and his companions put themselves under the guidance of this Macdonald, who conducted them to the wildest and most craggy part of the mountain, and into the secret cave, where they found six of the seven men assembled at dinner upon a sheep which they had *lifted* that very day. The dwellers in the cave were, in fact, what would have been called in other countries freebooters, brigands, or banditti; but whether they had adopted that course of life recently under the pressure of their difficulties, or whether they were veterans in the profession, is not mentioned.

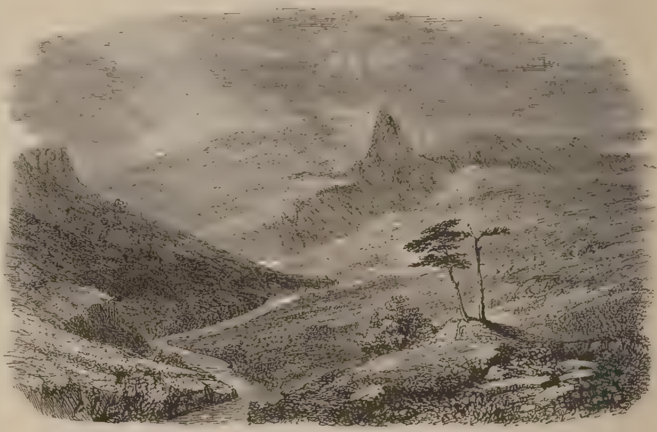
The seven men of the cave fell upon their knees, for some of them knew the person of the prince in spite of his sad and ragged condition. With such hosts his toilet was soon improved and his diet also. The seven brethren *lifted* some clean linen, by stopping the servants of certain English officers who were following their masters from Fort-Augustus to Strathglas with their portmanteaus. Food was procured in an equally unceremonious manner, and some comparative delicacies were bought at Fort-Augustus, under the beard of Cumberland's officers and executioners. That fort was not above eight miles distant. Charles stayed in the cave with the freebooters five weeks and three days; but then he began to long for better company, and instructed Glennaladel to find out some neighbouring gentlemen with whom he might trust himself. The seven conjured Glennaladel to dissuade the prince from this purpose, saying, that no reward could possibly tempt them; for, if they betrayed the prince, they must flee their country, as nobody would speak to them except to curse them; whereas £30,000 was a great reward for a poor Highland gentleman, who could go away to Edinburgh or London with his money, where his treachery would be unnoticed, and where he would find people enough to eat his meat and drink his wine, and live with him as his friends.[2]

---

[1] In a letter dated the 18th of May, or just a month after the battle of Culloden, Horace Walpole says, "The pretender is not openly taken, but many people think he is in their power; however, *I daresay he will be allowed to escape;* and some French ships are hovering about the coast to receive him."

[2] *Home.*

Peter Grant, however, one of the seven, submitted to royal orders, and went into Lochaber to find out some gentlemen of the name of Cameron. The first Cameron he met was the brave chief, Cameron of Clunes, who sent Peter back to the cave to assure the prince that he would meet him at the head of Glenquoich, where he, Clunes, had a little hut in a secret place. Charles instantly left the cave and travelled along the tops of the mountains in a very stormy night; but, as he thought it necessary to lie concealed by day, he did not reach Glenquoich and the little hut at the time appointed, and when he got there he found neither the chief nor food to eat. Peter Grant, however, supplied both these deficiencies: he killed a deer, and found out Clunes again, who forthwith came to the hut with his three sons. The chief informed Charles, who wanted to get to Badenoch, where the gentle Lochiel and Cluny were lurking, that the troops and scouts of government were exceedingly numerous, and that all the ferries of the rivers and lochs were so strictly guarded that such a journey was, for the present, impossible. It was therefore resolved to keep close for a time in or about the little hut in Glenquoich. They were in this situation when Macdonald of Lochgary and Dr. Cameron, Lochiel's own brother, penetrated into the district in search of the prince; for Lochiel and Cluny had both concluded that he must be somewhere to the north of the lakes. These two gentlemen found out Charles, and, after many more dangers and hardships, they succeeded in conveying him into Badenoch, where, at a place called Mellanauir, he met Lochiel and Cluny.[1] The gentle Lochiel was still lame, and suffering from the wounds he had received in the battle of Culloden. After staying a day or two in a hut called Uiskchibra, the two chiefs conducted the prince to a still better hiding-place in the great mountain of Benalder, on the banks of Loch Ericht, which Cluny had fitted up some months before for his own use and that of his wounded friend. It was very appropriately called "the cage."



Loch Ericht and Benalder.[3]—From Scotland Illustrated.

"The cage," says Cluny, "was no larger than to contain six or seven persons, four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking."[2] Here the party remained caged till the 13th of September, when a message arrived from Cameron of Clunes, to inform Charles that two French frigates had put into Lochnanuagh, and were waiting there to carry him and his friends off. The chevalier set out immediately, but as he travelled only by night he did not arrive at the port till the 19th. Other messages had warned other gentlemen lying in concealment up and down the country; and besides Lochiel, Cluny, and Colonel Roy Stuart, about 100 embarked with Charles on the 20th of September at Lochnanuagh, the very spot where he had landed fourteen months before. He disembarked at a little port near Morlaix, in Brittany, on the 29th of September, and thence proceeded to Paris. But, before this time, many of those who had ventured for him had been hanged and beheaded, with the usual and revolting accompaniments of drawing and quartering; and afterwards while Charles was showing his face in the French opera, the heads of braver and better men were exhibited at Temple Bar, on the walls of Carlisle, York, and other places.

---

[1] Cluny's account of Lochiel and himself after the battle of Culloden, &c., in Home's Appendix. The original of this paper, *dictated* by the chief, together with other MSS. and letters relating to the Highland war, was put into Home's hands by Cluny's son and successor.

[2] Cluny's account in Home's Appendix.

[3] In the extreme north-west of Perthshire, and stretching into the shire of Inverness, lies the wild and lonely Loch Ericht. The view is taken from the approach to its southern extremity, in which a glimpse of the loch is caught just under the mountain of Benalder, and of the Water of Ericht, which flows from it. On the east side of the loch, about a mile or two from the south end, a small cave is pointed out as having afforded shelter and concealment to the young chevalier after the battle of Culloden. It is formed by detached blocks of stone, which, having slid into their present situation, form a rude chamber into which two or three individuals might creep. The fugitives, however, had enlarged its dimensions by erecting a hut of trees in front of its entrance, from which circumstance it obtained the name of "the cage," by which it was popularly known at the time.—Wilson's *Scotland Illustrated.*

If there had been no glory, nothing at all striking or romantic, in the war which put an end to the rebellion, there was no mercy, no generosity in princely bosoms after the victory; and statesmen and judges seemed but too well disposed to make the law as sharp as Cumberland's sword. It was to be hoped that, in the course of thirty years, the nation would be found to have advanced in humanity; but the severities exercised now were greater than those which had been exercised against the Scotch rebels in 1715 —far greater, and less necessary. The Duke of Cumberland continued to be "*for the utmost severity.*" Both in Scotland and in England numerous prisons were crowded with victims, and for some time vast numbers were lodged in the holds of ships of war and transports—packed, huddled together, like Africans on board slave-ships. Hence arose, in many cases, fevers and diseases, which robbed the gibbets of their prey, and which did not always respect the government soldiers and sailors, but carried off the victors as well as the vanquished, the jailers as well as the captives. In Carlisle there were nearly 400 unfortunate Scots crowded into a place not large enough for forty; but the common men were allowed to cast lots, one in twenty to be tried and hanged, and the rest to be transported to our West Indian plantations without any trial. In defiance of the recognized rights of the courts of Scotland, and in open contravention of articles in the act of union, the Scottish prisoners were all removed for trial to England, out of dread of the partiality or compassion of their countrymen. After the rebellion of 1715 an English prelate—the Bishop of Carlisle of those days—had lamented that the lenity of government "gave occasion for seditious insinuations, as if only a few beggars were to be sacrificed for the transgression of their lairds." There was scarcely any ground for such a complaint now, for lords, and lairds, and gentlemen, both English and Scotch, were executed in plenty. One of the first that suffered was Francis Townley, the colonel of the Manchester regiment. He was hanged on Kennington Common, had his bowels torn out, and his heart cast into a fire; and eight of his officers and men were treated in the same manner at the same place. Similar executions took place at York, Brampton, and Penrith; and about eighty ghastly heads were kept and exhibited in different parts of the north, as if to drive back the people towards their ancient barbarity. Charles Radcliffe, brother to the unfortunate Earl of Derwentwater, who had suffered in 1716, had escaped the block then by breaking out of prison; but now he had been lately captured on board a French vessel carrying arms and supplies to the young pretender in Scotland, and he was put to death without any fresh trial, but upon his former sentence, passed thirty years ago. He died with the greatest fortitude upon Tower-hill, and his headless body was interred near the headless body of his brother in St. Giles's Church. Elcho and many of the lords and gentlemen had escaped to the Continent —the Duke of Perth had died at sea on his passage—but Cumberland's detachments caught and made fast the Earl of Cromarty and his son Lord Macleod, Lord Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, Lord Mordington, Sir Archibald Primrose, and several other persons of distinction; and, last of all, old Lord Lovat, who, after many escapes, was found concealed in a hollow tree in one of the wildest parts of the Highlands. Parliament had passed an act for attainting all that had escaped, and that did not surrender themselves before the 12th of July. The list was long, and included some of the highest names in Scotland, and nearly all the great Highland chiefs. On the 28th of July the Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, who claimed their privileges, were brought before the peers in Westminster Hall, where the chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, who had been appointed lord high-steward, presided. The scene was solemn and grand. Cromarty, a timid man, shed tears; and the other earl, Kilmarnock, though behaving with more dignity, pleaded guilty, as did Cromarty, both expressing remorse for their past conduct; but old Lord Balmerino, the hero of the party, pleaded not guilty, and took exceptions to the indictment. "He is," says Walpole, "the most natural brave old fellow I ever saw: the highest intrepidity, even to indifference. At the bar he behaved like a soldier and a man; in the intervals of form, with carelessness and humour." While the peers were withdrawn to their own chamber, previous to delivering their verdict, Murray, the solicitor-general (afterwards Lord Mansfield), asked Balmerino why he had put in a plea which his solicitor had previously informed him could be of no use? The old Scot, who was witty as well as brave, asked the bystanders who this person was; and being told, he said, in a tone which must have chilled the heart of that able and rising lawyer—"Oh, Mr. Murray! I am extremely glad to see you; I have been with several of your relations; the good lady your mother was of great use to us at Perth!" Murray, indeed, came of a very Jacobite stock; and his elder brother, Lord Dunbar, was minister or secretary to the pretender. When the peers returned to their places, the lord high-steward asked them severally whether Lord Balmerino was guilty or not guilty; and all said—Guilty, upon honour. He then begged their pardon for giving so much trouble; and, as he went away, he said, "They call me a Jacobite; I am no more a Jacobite than any that tried me; but if the Great Mogul had set up his standard I should have followed it, for I could not starve." If poverty could have excused rebellion, all three lords might have pleaded it. Since the stopping of a pension allowed to him by Sir Robert Walpole, Kilmarnock, though a fourfold earl—being Earl of Errol, of Linlithgow, and of Callendar, as well as of Kilmarnock—had often wanted a dinner; and the Earl of Cromarty was not in better circumstances. On being brought up to receive sentence both these earls sued for mercy. "My own fate," said Cromarty, "is the least part of my suffering; but, my lords, I have involved an affectionate wife with an unborn infant as parties of my guilt to share its penalties. I have involved my eldest son, whose youth and regard for his parent hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved eight innocent children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they know his guilt. Let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears supply my want of persuasion." Lord Kilmarnock, who had infinitely more self-possession, and who had a fine voice, an extremely fine person, and a noble carriage, made what was considered by all an able and impressive speech. He spoke so well, that Lord Leicester went up to the Duke of Newcastle, and said, "I never heard so great an orator as Lord Kilmarnock. If I was your grace, I would pardon him, and make him paymaster to the forces, like Pitt."

The chancellor, as lord high-steward, pronounced the horrible sentence of death, as traitors, upon the three lords. Great intercession was made for the two earls, but apparently little or none for old Balmerino, who would have excited more sympathy in magnanimous hearts than either of the earls. A pardon was granted to Lady Cromarty for her husband, and the two others were ordered for execution on the 18th of August. Kilmarnock was not so light-hearted, but old Balmerino continued to be joyous with his pretty young wife almost to the last.[1] On the fatal morning, just before they came out of the Tower, he called for wine and drank a bumper to the health of King James. Both the lords were made to walk on foot from their prison to the scaffold. Kilmarnock, on account, we suppose, of the superiority of his rank and title, walked first, supported by two Presbyterian preachers, and dressed all in black. Balmerino followed, all alone, wearing a blue coat turned up with red, "his rebellious regimentals," a large loose flannel waistcoat, and under that his shroud and grave-clothes. Their hearses were close behind them. Kilmarnock ascended the scaffold; he seemed terrified, but yet preserved the dignity of a gentleman. He stood and prayed some time with one of the ministers, who wept the while. His penitence was much admired; he delivered a long speech to the sheriff, and stuck to the recantation he had made at his trial, declaring he was satisfied with the legality of King George's title. At last he knelt down "with a visible unwillingness to depart," and the executioner struck off his head at a single blow. The scaffold was then newly strewed with sawdust, the blood on the block was covered, the executioner put on a new dress and took up a new axe. "And then came old Balmerino, treading with the air of a general." He walked round the scaffold, bowed to the people, went up to his coffin, read the inscription on the lid, and, with a nod and a smile, said it was all right. He then gazed around him upon the spectators who had assembled in amazing numbers, and he read a long paper in an audible voice and gave it to the sheriff. He mentioned George as a good kind of prince, but denied his right to the throne, and declared that Prince Charles was so sweet a prince that flesh and blood could not resist following him. In trying the block he exclaimed, "If I had a thousand lives I would lay them all down here in the same cause." He called up the executioner, felt the edge of the axe, asked him how many blows he had given Kilmarnock, and then gave the headsman three guineas, saying he never was rich, that this was all the money he now had, and he wished it was more.[2] Two clergymen came up to offer their assistance, but he declined it. He then pulled off his periwig, took a plaid cap out of his pocket, and put it on his head, saying he would die a Scotchman. He pulled off his coat and gave it to the executioner, whom he patted on the back, and encouraged him to do his work like a man. He stretched his neck across the block, and gave the sign instantly "by tossing up his arm as if he were giving the signal for battle." But the headsman, taken by surprise with so much rapidity, gave him a bad blow, and it cost him a third effort to sever the head from the body.[3]

Old Lord Lovat was not brought to trial till the spring of the following year (1747); for he had not appeared in arms, like Kilmarnock and Balmerino, and it was more difficult to prove against him an overt act. It appears, indeed, that the wily old man confidently expected he should escape the vengeance of the law by a natural death in the Tower, for he was sinking under his age and his maladies. But John

---

[1] "Balmerino," says Horace Walpole, writing on the 12th of August, "is jolly with his pretty Peggy."

[2] A gift of the kind was regular; Kilmarnock had given the headsman five guineas.

[3] Walpole's letters to Mann; *Ray*.

Murray of Broughton, the young pretender's secretary, saved his own neck by turning king's evidence, and sacrificing his former friends and associates. His ample revelations were quite enough to convict Lovat, and even to fix the guilt of treason or treasonable correspondence upon several English Jacobites of high rank. This trial began on the 9th of March, and lasted seven days. According to Horace Walpole, who seems not to have missed one moment of the trial, Lovat's behaviour was the strangest that had ever been witnessed in any court or anywhere else. We believe we shall not go far wrong in adopting the theory of the great Scotch writer, that there was a touch of madness in the old man's composition.[1] But seldom has madness been allied with so much caustic wit. The two last days of the trial he behaved ridiculously; and he joked and made everybody laugh even at the awful crisis when sentence was pronounced. To Lord Ilchester, who sat near him, he said, in the words of an old French song—

SIMON FRASER, Lord Lovat.
From the portrait painted by Hogarth in 1746

> "Je meurs pour ma patrie,
> Et ne m'en soucie guères."

And in withdrawing from Westminster Hall he exclaimed, "Farewell, my lords: we shall never meet again in the same place!" Both before and after trial he made his prison echo with his jests, and he carried the same spirit to the block. Perhaps the greatest weakness and folly he committed was in writing a letter to the Duke of Cumberland, endeavouring to excite his compassion by reminding his royal highness how often he had carried him in his arms as a child. Still there was, even in this letter, a touch of his cunning and remorselessness—a stroke that was likely to tell with the butcher of Culloden—for he offered to make such discoveries as would be a hundredfold more useful to government than the chopping off his old head. He said he should die as a Christian, and as a Highland chief ought to do —that is, *not in his bed*.[2] On the morning of the 9th of April he was led to the scaffold. He made no set speech, but sat down a little while in a chair on the scaffold, and talked to the people nearest to him, lying most deliberately, and quoting Horace. He said he was glad to suffer for his country—*dulce est pro patriâ mori*; that he did not know how it was, but he had always loved his country—*nescio quâ natale solum*, &c.; that he had never swerved from his principles, and that this was the character of his family, who had been gentlemen for 500 years. He quietly laid his head down on the block and gave the sign quickly; and, notwithstanding the awkward shortness and twist in his neck, he was despatched at a single blow.

A few circumstances remain to be noticed in connection with this unhappy civil war. Sir John Cope, after being most virulently abused, caricatured, and put into ballads, was brought to trial by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted. Hawley, who deserved a court-martial far more than Cope, escaped the ordeal through the friendship and protection of the Duke of Cumberland, who continued to treat him as an ornament to the service. Flora Macdonald was released after twelve months' confinement, and went back to the Highlands with some £1500 in her pocket, which had been collected for her chiefly among Jacobite ladies in London.[3]

After many delays, and, alas! too many executions, ministers prepared an act of indemnity, granting pardon to all who had been engaged in the rebellion, except some *eighty* individuals named—a wide and ungenerous exception. This act was passed without opposition through parliament, which subsequently confirmed, with equal facility, a bill, not only for disarming the clans, but for restraining the use of their national garb—a bill making it imperative on the master and teacher of every private school in Scotland to swear allegiance to King George, his heirs, and successors, and to register their oaths—a bill to check the Episcopalian divines, who in Scotland were all Jacobites, and to restrain nonjurors in general—a bill to abolish for ever the system of heritable jurisdictions, by which many Scottish lords and lairds had been allowed, on their own estates, to administer law in their own way. At the same time some encouragement was given to the Highlanders to emigrate to our American colonies, or to enlist in the army; and, by virtue of all these and other measures, and the slow but sure effects of time and custom, the strong remnant of the feudal system in Scotland was rent into pieces, and clanships and distinctive Highland customs were destroyed, with all their evil and with all their good.

---

[1] Walter Scott.

[2] Sir Arthur Forbes to the lord-president, *Culloden Papers*.

[3] Flora Macdonald afterwards married the son of Kingsburgh. At the time when she smuggled the young pretender in her train she was about twenty-four years old. Dr. Johnson saw her in the year 1773, when Boswell contrived to get the great moralist to the Highlands and to the Isle of Skye. Flora, or, as she spelled the name, Flory, was then past her seventh climacteric; but Johnson describes her as "not old, of a pleasing person, and elegant behaviour;" and his companion Boswell sets her down as "a little woman of a genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well bred." Johnson says, in a letter to Mrs. Thrale, "She was carried to London, but dismissed without a trial, and came down with Malcolm Macleod, against whom sufficient evidence could not be procured. She and her husband are poor, and are now going to try their fortune in America—*Sic rerum volvitur orbis*." They did emigrate to America, but returned to Scotland during the war of independence; and Flora died in the Isle of Skye on the 4th of March, 1790.—Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, with Mr. Croker's notes.

CHAPTER XXII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1746—1755.

GEORGE II.

Advantages to France of the rebellion in Scotland—Events of the war on the Continent—Dissensions in the British cabinet—The Duke of Cumberland takes the command of the allied army on the Continent—He is defeated by Marshal Saxe—Successful termination of the campaign for the French—British naval successes—Proposals for peace among the belligerent powers—Agreement to hold a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle—Proceedings of the new British parliament—Selfish and personal divisions in the cabinet—Lord Chesterfield resigns office—Duke of Newcastle's jealousy of his colleagues—Pitt's increasing influence—Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—Louis XV. bound to abandon the cause of the pretender—Conduct of the pretender after returning to Paris—His refusal to leave France—He is forcibly expelled from the country—Pitt's defence of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle—His opposition to Pelham—British colony settled in Nova Scotia—Commercial treaty with Spain—Movements of the opposition, headed by the Prince of Wales—Conflict about parliamentary privileges—Last illness and death of the Prince of Wales—His character—The Princess of Wales forsakes the opposition—Teachers appointed for her eldest son, afterwards George III.—Character and proceedings of the Princess-dowager of Wales—Other deaths in the royal family—Death of Lord Bolingbroke—Fresh changes of office in the government—Interference of Britain against Frederick of Prussia—Adoption of the Gregorian calendar—The Duke of Bedford incited to oppose the Saxon treaty—His opposition ineffectual—Bubb Dodington's negotiation for place and title—Bills passed and rejected in parliament—Bill for the pacification of the Highlands—Approaches to a rupture between George II. and Frederick of Prussia—Symptoms of a war between Britain and Austria—Paltry negotiation between the two courts—Dissensions about the education of the young Prince of Wales—Lord Waldegrave accepts the office of preceptor to the prince—Difficulties of his office—Manner in which the prince had been hitherto trained—Bill passed by the lords for the naturalization of foreign Jews—Fierce opposition to it in the commons—It finally passes—Evil effects of the game laws—Gretna Green and Fleet marriages—Bill for the prevention of clandestine marriages—It is keenly opposed—Origin of the British Museum—Popular indignation at the passing of the Jews' bill—Death of Mr. Pelham the premier—He is succeeded by his brother the Duke of Newcastle—Pitt and Fox unite against him—Hostilities commenced by the French in Canada—Naval reprisals of the British—Warfare by sea continued—Political alliances undergo a change—Lord Waldegrave's attempt to reconcile the rival members of the ministry—Pitt's resolution to be minister of state—He makes war on the whole ministry—His eloquent speech against the alliances with foreign powers—He is dismissed from office—New cabinet formed—Pitt and his friends league with the Princess-dowager of Wales—Marriage proposed for the Prince of Wales—The proposal defeated by his mother—Interview between the prince and George II.—Court scandal about the Princess-dowager of Wales and Lord Bute.

BADLY as it had ended for the Stuarts and those engaged with them, the Scotch war of 1745 had been a most advantageous diversion for the French, who, while the English were intent upon putting it down, had been marching from conquest to conquest, and, at the time when the battle of Culloden was fought, were threatening Holland with annihilation. When the Duke of Cumberland came so hastily up to London from the north, it was with the hope of obtaining the supreme command of the allied armies in Flanders, and of measuring his sword with Marshal Saxe, who was commanding the armies of Louis XIV.; but the duke found that that post had been given to Prince Charles of Lorraine, the Queen of Hungary's brother-in-law, without any notification to King George. Cumberland had therefore stayed at home, soured with the disappointment, to recommend severity against the Scots; and our military achievements abroad were this year confined to a paltry expedition to the coast of Brittany, under the command of General St. Clair, Admiral Lestock, and a prostitute, old Lestock's mistress, who went with him in his ship, and who ruled and advised even in matters of war. The strange trio did not take Port L'Orient, but they plundered and burned a few fishing-villages, and returned home without much loss. Some troops, however, were sent back to Holland, and great conquests were spoken of, to be made at some future day over the French in Canada; and Sir John Ligonier and the English cavalry, though they could not prevent the defeat of the allies at the battle of Roucoux, on the Yaar, saved Prince Charles of Lorraine's army from destruction. Our foreign negotiations were as complicated and as unsatisfactory as our campaign was inglorious; but, fortunately, the French were greatly weakened by the death of Philip V. of Spain, which happened in the autumn of 1746, and by the great reverses they sustained in Italy, where the armies of Austria and Sardinia recovered Milan, Parma, and many other places, obtained a great victory over the French and Spaniards near Piacenza, and finally drove the forces of Louis XV. beyond the Alps.

The dissensions in the British cabinet continued on the increase. The discussion of them would occupy volumes, but the great present result was, that Pitt continued to rise—though by slow and uncertain steps—in power and influence; that Lord Harrington was succeeded as one of the secretaries of state by Lord Chesterfield, who had been for some time governing Ireland as lord-lieutenant, with rare ability and a most rare liberality; and that the Duke of Newcastle and his brother disagreed in many particulars.

A.D. 1747. To quicken the Austrian sluggishness, £100,000 were added to the Queen of Hungary's subsidy. Lord Sandwich, as ambassador to the states-general, had smoothed some difficulties, and the Duke of Cumberland now repaired to Holland to take the chief command of the allied armies. Between Dutch, Flemish, Bavarians, Austrians, and English, nearly 100,000 men were collected, in the month of March, under our English prince, who, however, soon testified that he was not the general destined to vanquish Marshal Saxe. The latter, from his cantonments, intercepted the duke's provisions and supplies; and when he took the field it was to advance to certain victory, for Cumberland had put his army into some of the worst positions that could have been chosen; and the allies were thoroughly beaten at Lauffeld, near Maestricht, on the 2d of July, when the gallant Ligonier, with the British cavalry, again checked the advance of the French, and preserved the allies from destruction. But, generally, the fighting of the British troops, both horse and foot, was as good as Cumberland's generalship was bad. Each reached the extreme. While the Dutch in the centre gave way and fled, and the Austrians on the right would not or could not come into action at all, the British on the left stood the brunt, and strewed the field with 10,000 Frenchmen before they retreated. Saxe himself afterwards confessed to Ligonier that his victory had cost him, in killed and wounded, 8000 foot, 1000 horse, and a great many officers. After this battle the French continued to take fortresses with wondrous facility, till they sat down before the walls of Bergen-op-Zoom. With the surrender of this famous fortress the campaign in the Low Countries ended, and the armies went into winter-quarters, the French triumphantly, the allies accusing one another. Nor was the war more favourable to the allies on the side of the Alps. Having driven the French out of Italy in the autumn of the preceding year, the Austrians and Sardinians, assisted by the British fleet, made an invasion of the south of France, and laid siege to Antibes; but they were soon compelled to retreat, were followed by the French, were forced to give up Genoa, and were so irritated by their many failures that they, too, began to quarrel among themselves. A second French force, however, commanded by the brother of Marshal Belleisle, was stopped in the narrow defiles of Savoy as it was attempting to open its way to Susa and Turin, was defeated with great loss, and driven back without its brave commander, who was killed at the barricades of Exilles. But the English navy did something this summer. Admiral Anson fought a gallant battle off Cape Finisterre, took six ships of the line, several frigates, and the best part of a numerous French convoy; Admiral Hawke, off Belleisle, captured six ships of the line out of nine; Commodore Fox took forty French ships, richly laden from the West Indies; and other successes were obtained at sea in various parts of the world. The French trade was completely paralyzed, and great want, suffering, and dissension were the consequences. Thus, in spite of the successes of Marshal Saxe in the Low Countries, the cabinet of Versailles began to sigh for peace; and the more when they ascertained that Ferdinand VI., the new King of Spain, was determined to conclude a treaty with England with or without France. Mr. Pelham was equally anxious to treat. The able diplomatic pen of Lord Chesterfield was employed by Pelham in drawing up conditions and the outlines of a treaty; communications were made to our allies, the states-general, the King of Sardinia, and the empress-queen, who were invited to concur; and an active intercourse was set on foot between Paris and London. It soon appeared, however, that our allies, who had been making war at the expense of English money and English blood, were not over anxious for peace.[1] But, as it happened, that without the assistance and the subsidies of Britain, these potentates were powerless, they, too, were obliged to entertain the proposition, and to agree to send ministers to a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle. The King of Prussia was kept quiet by the guarantee of Silesia, which was formally pledged to him by Britain and Holland.

The new parliament assembled on the 10th of November, soon after George's return from Hanover. The Prince of Wales, who was constantly smarting under the preference shown to his brother the Duke of Cumberland, and who was as inveterate against the Pelham administration as ever he had been against that of Sir Robert Walpole, had put the whole strength of his party into play at the late general election; but the returns, on the whole, were very favourable to the ministry. To the demands for supplies to carry on the war, each house was as compliant as possible; the commons voted above £13,000,000 sterling almost without opposition; and in the whole course of the session there was not a single division in the House of Lords against any ministerial proposal whatsoever. Yet there was a clause in their lordships' address that was highly honourable to that house. In speaking of the best means of extinguishing the spirit of rebellion and anarchy in the north, Lord Chesterfield had recommended "schools and villages to civilize the Highlands;"[2] and the peers, in their address, declared that *the diffusion of knowledge among the people would be the best safeguard of their loyalty and tranquillity.* But, with all their liberality in grants for war and pensions, it unfortunately was not deemed essential by either house, by cabinet or by country, to make any proper provision for national education.

A.D. 1748.

The king closed this complacent session on the 13th of May, by announcing the cessation of hostilities and the recent signature of preliminaries of peace. But the cabinet had scarcely been so tranquil as the parliament, and it was growing every day more apparent that ministerial jealousy, selfishness, and intrigue were becoming more and more fierce and shameless as parliament became more moderate. The voice of faction ceased, the great struggles of parties on broad and opposite principles of government terminated, and were succeeded by private personal contests for power and place, almost without any of the old distinctions of Whig and Tory. The Duke of Newcastle, alarmed at Chesterfield's successes as a diplomatist, and still more at an intimacy which that accomplished and intriguing lord had formed with the king's mistress, the German Lady Yarmouth, resolved to get rid of him at all costs; and Newcastle retained influence enough with the king, who disliked Chesterfield, to make the court so uncomfortable a place for him, that his lordship resigned on the 6th of February. Then there was a fresh cabal to decide who should succeed Chesterfield as secretary of state. The Duke of Newcastle wanted to bring in his friend Lord Sandwich—a very convenient kind of political jobber, whose private morality and public honesty were pretty nearly on a par. At last the Duke of Bedford became joint-secretary of state with Newcastle, who in six days became as jealous of him as he had been of Chesterfield. By a sudden handy-dandy trick Newcastle changed his province and took the secretaryship, which was more immediately concerned with foreign affairs, leaving home concerns to Bedford.[3] In

Thomas Holles, Duke of Newcastle.
From a picture by W Hoare.

---

[1] Louis XV. had observed, after the last campaign in Flanders, that the British not only paid for all, but fought for all—that the Austrians were benevolent spectators of battles.

[2] Diary of Hugh, Earl of Marchmont, in *Marchmont Papers.*

[3] "Of the two dukes who at this epoch of the culminating power of the aristocracy, guided the external policy of England, each hastened the independence of America. Newcastle, who was childless, depended on office for all his pleasure; Bedford, though sometimes fond of place, was too proud to covet it always. Newcastle had no passion but for business, which he conducted in a fretful hurry, and never finished; the graver Bedford, though fond of 'theatricals and jollity,' was yet capable of persevering in a system. Newcastle was of 'so fickle a head and so treacherous a heart,' that Walpole called his name 'Perfidy.' Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland, said, 'he had no friends and deserved none;' and Lord Halifax used to revile him in the strongest terms as a 'knave and a fool;' he was too unstable to be led by others; and, from his own instinct about majorities, shifted his sails as the wind shifted; Bedford, who was bold and unbending, and would do nothing but what he himself thought 'indisputably right,' was 'always governed,' and was also 'immeasurably obstinate in an opinion once received;' being the 'most ungovernable governed man in England,' and the most faithful to the vulgar and dissolute bandits

the meanwhile Mr. Pitt continued to rise in consideration, and, as we suspect, began to discover, through the chasms caused by the frequent disagreements between Pelham and his brother the Duke of Newcastle, a rough and tortuous road to the ministerial pinnacle. He was consulted by both the brothers, and put in the always tempting position of an arbiter or mediator in their quarrels. Pitt persevered in the look-out for better things, and supported in the meanwhile every ministerial measure, however opposite it might be to the principles he had formerly proclaimed when in opposition and engaged in hunting down Sir Robert Walpole. All this, added to his hot and unguarded expressions in parliament, his towering pride, and cold repelling manners, made him exceedingly unpopular both with parliament and people.

The congress of Aix-la-Chapelle had assembled early in the spring, and the conferences were opened on the 11th of March; but it was not until Marshal Saxe had invested several places, the Prince of Orange had failed in his warlike engagements, and 30,000 Russians, subsidized by England, had proved that they could not come up in time to be of any service, that the notion of the renewal of the war was really given up, and that George consented to sign the preliminaries; and even after this he put the peace in jeopardy by insisting upon little advantages for his family, such as the reversion of the bishopric of Osnabrück, &c. But while the king went to Hanover, his minister at Aix-la-Chapelle continued to attend the congress, which came to a final settlement, after numerous delays and difficulties, in the month of October, upon the principle of the *status quo ante bellum*, with some exceptions. In other words, after a long and bloody war, every one was to keep what he had before the war began, and (save the exceptions) to get no more. The arrangement was most imperfect, and many clauses of the treaty were conceived in such loose terms as to allow double or treble interpretations, and to furnish grounds for new disputes and fresh wars so soon as either party should consider itself ready to take the field. The original causes of the war on our part seemed to be wholly forgotten; and yet Pitt, who had so materially helped to drive on the war against the inclination of Sir Robert Walpole, and who had graced a hundred harangues with the declaration that peace ought never to be made with Spain until that power renounced the right of search, continued to act with and to be part of a ministry that hurried on the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and, after that, began and concluded a separate Spanish treaty, without once mentioning this odious right, which, therefore, as far as diplomacy was concerned, was left on its old footing. Nor did the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle contain any satisfaction of the commercial claims England had upon Spain, nor did it in any degree throw open the Spanish main to our trade and shipping: it did nothing commercially but revive for four years the Assiento, or odious privilege of supplying Spanish America with African slaves.[2]

By an article in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Louis XV. bound himself to give up the cause of the pretender and exclude the Stuarts from France. On the return of the young pretender from Scotland, Louis had behaved to him with considerable liberality; supplying him with money for his own necessities, and also giving commissions in the French army, or pensions to the bravest of his Scottish followers—as Lochiel, Lord Ogilvie, and others; but at the same time Louis absolutely refused to supply him with men, money, and materials of war for another invasion of Scotland. Thereupon Charles turned his eyes in other directions; and early in 1747, unknown to, and against the inclinations of the French court, he stole across the Pyrenees and went to Madrid, to solicit aid from the impoverished Spaniards and their timid and pacific new king, Ferdinand VI. He saw that king and his prime minister, Carvajal, and one who was more than the minister, the Neapolitan *musico*, the far-famed Farinelli, who was equally the favourite of king and queen; but they could do nothing for him, and they very soon told him that his presence in Spain was unpleasant and embarrassing. The luckless adventurer returned to Paris. To his great annoyance, also, the old pretender had made a priest of his brother. A few months

---

who formed his political connection. Neither was cruel or revengeful; but while the one 'had no rancour or ill-nature,' and no enmities but freaks of petulance, the other carried decision into his attachments and his feuds. Newcastle, with no elevation of mind, no dignity of manner, lavished promises, familiar caresses, tears and kisses, and cringing professions of regard with prodigal hypocrisy; Bedford, whose hardy nature knew no wiles, was too haughty to practise even concealment, and was blunt, unabashed, and, without being aware of it, rudely impetuous, even in the presence of his sovereign. Newcastle was jealous of rivals; Bedford was impatient of contradiction. Newcastle was timorous without caution, and rushed into difficulties which he evaded by indecision; the fearless, positive, uncompromising Bedford, energetic without sagacity, and stubborn with but a narrow range of thought, scorned to shun deciding upon any question that might arise, grew choleric at resistance, could not or would not foresee obstacles, and was known throughout America as ever ready at all hazards to vindicate authority."—Bancroft, *Hist. of the American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 22.

[2] "This," says Horace Walpole, with more truth than always accompanies his diatribes, "was the conclusion of the Spanish war! fomented to overturn Sir Robert Walpole, by Lord Granville, who had neglected it for a French war; by Lord Sandwich, who made a peace that stipulated for no one of the conditions for which it was undertaken; by Pitt, who ridiculed and condemned his own orations for it, and who declared for a peace on any terms; and by the Duke of Newcastle, who betrayed all the claims of the merchants and the South Sea Company."—*Memoirs of the last Ten Years of the Reign of George II.*

after his brother had taken holy orders, and become a prince of the Roman church,[1] a member of the conclave, with a chance of becoming pope himself, Charles endeavoured to marry a Protestant princess, and to strike up an alliance with Frederick of Prussia, who entertained an equal contempt for all religions or modes of faith. He sent Sir John Graham to Berlin with his instructions to propose, "in a modest manner," a marriage with one of the princesses—Frederick's sisters or nieces—for that great captain had no children, and was not likely to have any; to declare that he never intended to marry any other than a Protestant; and, if his majesty should decline his alliance, "to ask advice whom to take, as he was known to be the wisest prince in Europe." But this unpromising mission came to nothing, though Frederick, when it suited his purpose, continued to profess a friendship for Charles, who, seven months after this proposal, was driven out of France. There were many circumstances in his conduct likely to irritate Louis XV.; and the British government at the same time urged his most Christian majesty to observe the recent treaty. He, however, would have treated the chevalier mildly and generously; but Charles would not listen to his proposals, and refused to leave Paris when entreated so to do. The French court begged the old pretender to make use of his authority, but Charles set at nought his father's letter, and still refused to go: nothing, therefore, was left but force. On the evening of the 11th of December, as he was going to the opera, his coach was stopped by a company of the French guards, who seized him, bound him hand and foot—for he had arms about his person, and threatened to use them—and carried him with a single attendant to the castle at Vincennes. But he did not lie there long, for in a few days he was conveyed to the frontier of Savoy, and there left to go whither he might choose. For some time he disappeared altogether from the eyes of the world, and, bearing many names and many disguises, he continued a dissipated wanderer till the year 1766, when his father died, and he returned to Rome to seek a reconciliation with his brother the cardinal. During this strange vagabond life he came, at least once, into England. It is certain that he visited London in the year 1754, and it has been affirmed that he was here again in 1760, and was actually present at the coronation of George III.

A.D. 1749. The public rejoicing for the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was soon succeeded by loud complaints that ministers had sacrificed the interest and honour of England; but the overbearing eloquence of Pitt kept the House of Commons in order, and the feeble voice of opposition in parliament was almost hushed. This fiery patriot of former days seems to have stuck at nothing that was recommended by the court. When the Pelhams and Sandwiches, as if ashamed of their own work, preserved a silence about the recent treaty, Pitt stood forward and defended it as one of the best treaties that had ever been made; and when the king, the Duke of Cumberland, and ministers wanted to extend the operation and increase the severity of the mutiny bill, Pitt was there to advocate the measure and to carry it by a large majority. Of the two brothers that divided the chief authority of government between them, Mr. Pelham, first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, was incomparably the superior in point of ability, being in fact thoroughly a man of business and one of the best financiers and managers of an office; and yet Pitt, the arbiter of their quarrels, generally sided not with Pelham but with Newcastle. It has, indeed, been suspected that he had now an eye to Pelham's place of chancellor of the exchequer, and to have thought that the Duke of Newcastle would be glad to have him in that office instead of his brother, and to make him his leader in the House of Commons. In this very session, while Pelham was carrying out a rigorous reduction of the army and navy, and trying to relieve the country by reducing the interest of the national debt, he more than once found himself opposed by Pitt. The army, however, was reduced to 19,000 men and the navy to 8000.

HENRY PELHAM, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
From a picture by W. Hoare.

A.D. 1750. During the session several bills were passed for the encouragement of our trade, and for the establishment of fisheries which might compete with those of the

---

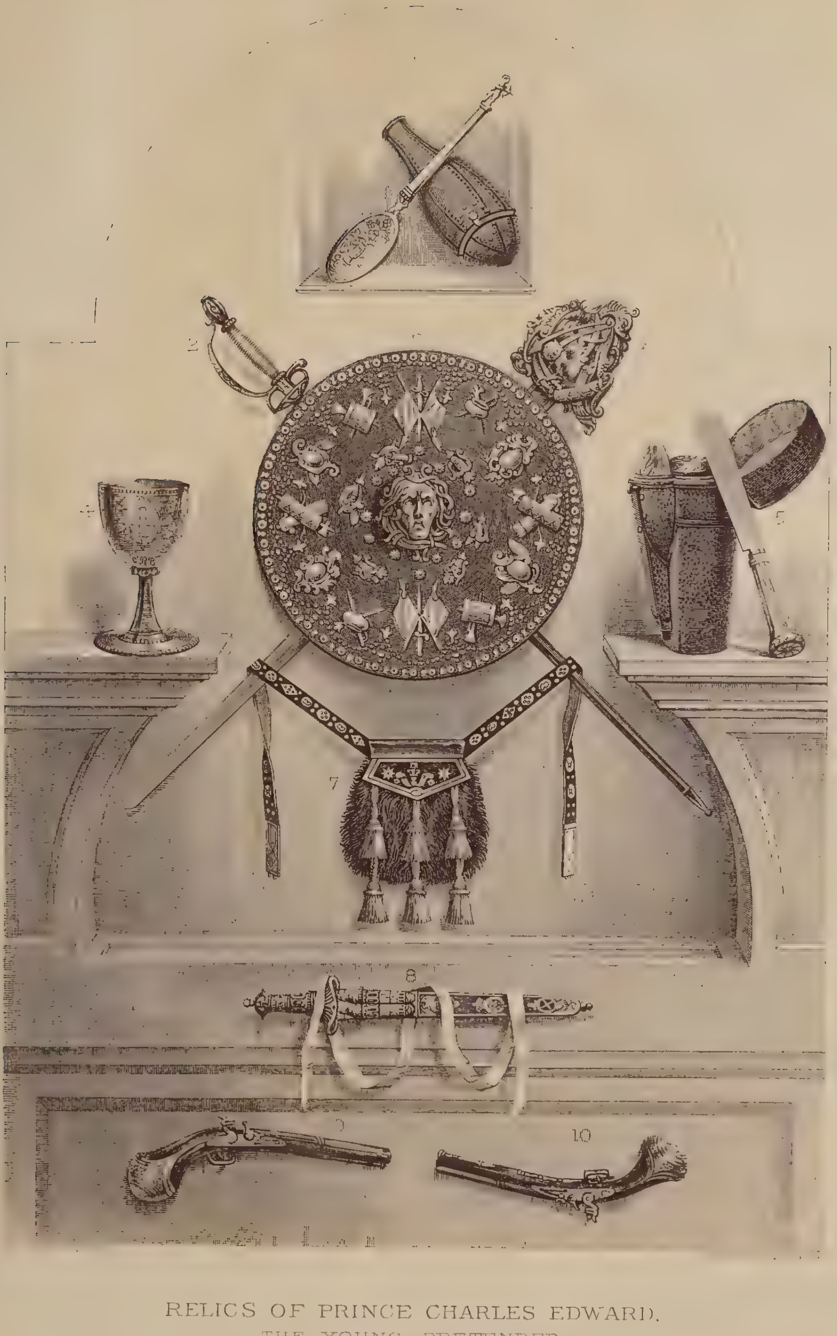
[1] He was styled Cardinal York, or Cardinal Duke of York.

RELICS OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD,
THE YOUNG PRETENDER.

1. Folding Spoon and Case.
2. Dress Sword; in Her Majesty's collection, Windsor Castle.
3. Silver-hilted Broadsword; in the possession of the Duchess of Gordon.
4. Silver Goblet; preserved in Castle Cluny, Scotland.
5. Travelling (folding) Knife, Fork, and Spoon.
6. Shield.
7. Sporran.
8. Dirk.

9 & 10. Pistols.

Preserved in Castle Cluny, Scotland.



RELICS OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.
THE YOUNG PRETENDER

Dutch. The session was closed on the 12th of April. George then prepared to go as usual to Hanover, and the government was vested as usual in a regency of lords-justices. The king's back was scarcely turned when fresh dissensions broke out in the cabinet, for the Duke of Newcastle was anxious to liberate himself from his intractable colleague the Duke of Bedford, who, by means of Lord and Lady Sandwich, had secured the favour and protection of the Duke of Cumberland and his sister the Princess Amelia, who had taken offence at Newcastle's paying too much court to Lady Yarmouth.

In the course of the summer a strong British colony was settled in Nova Scotia, and the troops withdrawn from Cape Breton were sent to its support. The town of Halifax,[1] fortified with a palisade, began to rise in the waste, and, as reduced officers and soldiers continued to flock to that part of America, Nova Scotia soon became a very important colony, to the great mortification of France, which pretended that such an establishment was an infraction of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Nearly at the same time some bodies of English and Scotch began to settle on the Mosquito coast, in the Gulf of Mexico, and this caused equal or greater irritation to the court of Spain. A French ambassador at Madrid worked upon this discontent with the view of inducing Ferdinand VI. to join in a new war against Britain; but the Spanish king was exceedingly pacific; his consort Barbara, a Portuguese princess, was strongly attached to the English; and our envoy, Mr. Keene, one of the best negotiators of the day, and one that knew Spain and the Spanish character thoroughly, succeeded in concluding a commercial treaty with the court of Madrid. By this treaty, which was signed on the 5th of October, 1750, the British were restored to various privileges and put on the footing of the most favoured nations; we renounced the remaining term of the Assiento treaty, and obtained £100,000 to compensate the claims of our South Sea Company; but not a word was said about the right of search! At the same time Maria Theresa, dissatisfied with the terms she had procured, and unmindful of her former and vast obligations to England, was making overtures both to France and Spain, and taking every opportunity of showing her animosity to the court of St. James's. George was naturally solicitous and anxious about Hanover; but, where so many other fruitful causes of quarrel existed —in America, in both Indies, on the African coast, in the Mediterranean, about Gibraltar and Minorca—it was a vulgar falsehood, though at times a popular one, to say that the king's affection for his hereditary dominions was the sole cause that was leading us fast to another waste of blood and money. The French at this very moment were advancing claims to a part of Nova Scotia, and were refusing to give up the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent, which they were bound by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle to evacuate.[2]

---

[1] The town was called after the nobleman whom Mr. Bancroft describes thus:—"Considering the present state of things, he (the Duke of Bedford) declared to Newcastle, 'it would be highly improper to have an inefficient man at the head of the board of trade;' and, at his suggestion, on the first day of November, 1748, two months after the peace of America and Europe had been ratified, the Earl of Halifax, then just thirty-two years old, entered upon his long period of service as first commissioner for the plantations. He was fond of splendour, profuse, and in debt; passionate, overbearing, and self-willed; 'of moderate sense and ignorant of the world.' Familiar with a feeble class of belles-lettres, he loved to declaim long passages from Prior; but his mind was not imbued with political theories nor invigorated by the lessons of a manly philosophy. As a public man he was fond of authority; without sagacity, yet unwilling to defer to any one; and not fearing application, he preferred a post of business to a sinecure. To the imagination of the British people, the American plantations appeared as boundless and inhospitable deserts, dangerous from savages, and dismally wild. Halifax beheld in them half a hemisphere subject to his supervision; and glowing with ambition, he wished to elevate himself by enlarging the dignity and power of his employment. For this end, unlike his predecessors, he devoted himself eagerly and zealously to the business of the plantations, confiding in his ability to master their affairs almost by intuition; writing his own despatches, and with the undoubting self-reliance of a presumptuous novice, ready to advance fixed opinions and to propose plans of action."—Bancroft, *Hist. of the American Revolution*, vol. i. p. 39.

[2] About this period much dissatisfaction was felt at home on account of the tardiness and niggardliness of some of the American colonies in opposing the designs of France upon the whole of the vast region beyond the Alleghanies, from Canada to the mouths of the Mississippi. United and resolute action on the part of all the British colonies was loudly called for, but difficult to effect. The means employed at home to stimulate or coerce the reluctant caused much factious discontent. The American historian Bancroft speaks of this as follows:—"What methods should be followed to reduce a factious colony had already been settled by the great masters of English jurisprudence. Two systems of government had long been at variance; the one founded on prerogative, the other on the supremacy of parliament. The first opinion had been professed by many of the earlier lawyers, who considered the colonies as dependent on the crown alone. Even after the Revolution, the chief-justice at New York, in 1702, declared that, 'in the plantations the king governs by his prerogative;' and Sir John Holt had said, 'Virginia being a conquered country, their law is what the king pleases.' But when, in 1711, New York, during the administration of Hunter, was left without a revenue, the high powers of parliament were the resource of the ministers; and they prepared a bill, reciting the neglect of the province, and imposing all the taxes that had been discontinued by its legislature. Northey and Raymond, the attorney and solicitor-general, lawyers of the greatest authority, approved the measure. When, in 1724, a similar strife occurred between the crown and Jamaica, and some held that the king and his privy council had a right to levy taxes on the inhabitants of that island, the crown lawyers, Lord Hardwicke, then Sir Philip Yorke, and Sir Clement Wearg, made the memorable reply that 'a colony of English subjects cannot be taxed but by some representative body of their own, or by the parliament of England.' That opinion impressed itself early and deeply on the mind of Lord Mansfield, and in October, 1744, when the neglect of Pennsylvania to render aid in the war had engaged the attention of the ministry, Sir Dudley Rider and Lord Mansfield, then William Murray, declared that 'a colonial assembly cannot be compelled to do more towards their own defence than they shall see fit, unless by the force of an act of parliament, which alone can prescribe rules of conduct for them.'"

The king returned and found Mr. Pelham greatly embarrassed as to the direction of the House of Commons, and anxious to reconcile his friend Bedford and his brother Newcastle. Pitt continued to court the favour of Newcastle, but Lord Cobham and Pitt's nearest friends and relations were labouring to aggravate the dissensions in the cabinet, and were secretly caballing with the Prince of Wales, who, for some time past, had been in close connection with Bolingbroke and the factious men that frequented his lordship's house at Battersea. The prince's chief manager was Bubb Dodington, who, upon a careful calculation of interests and chances, had thought it advisable to relinquish the treasurership of the navy and resume a place in the prince's household. Most of the speeches in opposition to government were concocted either at Leicester House, the residence of the Prince of Wales, or at Lord Bolingbroke's, at Battersea. Fox, who never travelled in the same path with Pitt, continued to attach himself to the Duke of Bedford and Mr. Pelham. Bedford, it appears, would now have resigned his secretaryship and taken the mastership of the horse; but upon the unpalatable condition that he should be allowed to name Lord Sandwich for his successor. The only important change which immediately followed his majesty's arrival from Hanover, was the sudden and uncourteous removal of Lord Harrington, who was succeeded in the lieutenancy of Ireland by the Duke of Dorset, then president of the council.

LEICESTER HOUSE, Leicester Square.—From a view in the Crowle Pennant, Brit. Museum.

A.D. 1751. Parliament met on the 17th of January, when the king announced that he had concluded a treaty with the Elector of Bavaria for the better security of peace on the Continent. The effect of recent deliberations at Battersea and Leicester House was made evident at once. Lord Egmont, one of the Prince of Wales's men and a fluent speaker, opposed the address on the ground that it approved of useless treaties and ruinous subsidies (for, as a matter of course, Bavaria was to be subsidized); and he was followed by Bubb Dodington, Dr. Lee, and others of that party; but the address was carried by a majority of 203 to 74. There followed a terrible storm and long war about the privileges of the House of Commons, parliamentary returns, and "the maiden and uncorrupted city of Westminster." Crowle, a lawyer, upon being brought to his knees at the bar, for breach of privilege, said, that the House of Commons was the dirtiest house he had ever been in. Mr. Alexander Murray, a Scotch Tory, brother to Lord Elibank, and one of the principal performers in these scenes, was committed and re-committed to Newgate.

While this privilege war was at its hottest, and many months before it terminated, the Prince of Wales was removed by death from factious struggles and the expectation of that crown which had so long seemed to be within his grasp, and of which he had made so sure, through the illness of his father, fourteen years ago.[1] On the 17th of March it was reported in the House of Commons that the prince was dangerously ill. On the 18th he was thought better, but on the 20th he was worse and had a severe fit of coughing. One of the physicians told him the cough would do him good; but Hawkins, the surgeon, said in coming out of the room—"Here is something I do not like." This was about ten o'clock at night; the cough continued; and soon after the prince laid his hand upon his chest and said, "*Je sens la mort.*" His favourite German valet-de-chambre felt him shiver, and cried out, "Good God, the prince is going!" The Princess of Wales, who was in the room, snatched up a candle and rushed to the bed-head; but before she got there he was gone. An imposthume in the breast had burst and had caused this almost instantaneous death. His constitution had never been a good one, and his habits of life had not tended to improve it. The little that has been related of the conduct of Frederick is not calculated to conciliate esteem for his memory; but, as usual with princes, his character was neither so bad as it was painted by his enemies, nor so good as it was represented by his friends. He appears to have been weak rather than vicious, and more pettish and passionate than headstrong and malignant. His early education, at Hanover, had been exceedingly bad; and from the first moment of his arriving in England he had been purposely initiated into irregularities and excesses, and made the tool of a faction. Though never popular—not even when heading the strong opposition to government in Sir Robert Walpole's days—the people were generally disposed to prefer him to the Duke of Cumberland; and just after his death ballads were sung about the streets wishing that it were but his brother; and some on 'Change were heard to say, "Oh that it were but the Butcher!" Since the reconciliation effected between father and son in the year 1742, though they had often met, the king had scarcely ever spoken a dozen words at once to the prince; and the recent attempt of his royal highness to set up the banner of opposition had not tended to awaken any affection for the first-born —a feeling which George never knew, and the want of which and his partiality to his second son ought to be taken into account among the circumstances which had tended to make Frederick what he was. The old king, however, was shocked at the sudden death, which was announced to him by Lord North, who found him looking over a table where Princess Emily, the Duchess of Dorset, and the Duke of Grafton were playing at cards. The widowed princess had eight young children, and was far gone with the ninth. The total amount of Frederick's debts is differently stated, but it appears to have been very large; and there is no doubt as to the fact that the debts were never paid, either by his father George II., or by his son George III. It is probable that the majority of the creditors did not deserve to be paid.

---

[1] At the time of his death the prince was forty-four years old—the king, his father, sixty-six. Not one of the political jobbers seems to have calculated that the hale temperate father might possibly outlive the frail intemperate son!

Bubb Dodington, and the men of intrigue acting with him, instantly called a meeting to know what was to be done "under this fatal change of situation." Dodington spoke of the military interest—of the sad certainty of having the Duke of Cumberland forced upon them as regent in case the old king should die—and recommended bold measures. But the Princess of Wales, after speaking in private with Lord Egmont[1] and Dr. Lee, burned all the prince's papers, and made up her mind to trust wholly and solely to the king, without any reliance on those factions and cabals which had brought nothing but debt and mischief to her husband. The Leicester House faction was thus utterly disconcerted, and compelled to look out for some new game. As soon as Frederick was interred in Westminster Abbey,[2] some of these honourable gentlemen offered their services to the Pelhams, for their dread of the Duke of Cumberland was a lasting and reasonable passion, and they suspected that, if the Duke of Bedford and the other members of the government opposed to the Pelhams were permitted to gain the ascendency, Cumberland would be put at the head of the regency. In the course of a few days Prince George (afterwards George III.), Frederick's eldest son, was created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, and had a household settled for him. Lord North was dismissed, and Lord Harcourt, a very inferior man, was appointed governor to the prince, as being more devoted to Mr. Pelham and the Duke of Newcastle; for these personal objects were kept closely in view in selecting the persons who were to be intrusted with the education of the future sovereign—an education which had been hitherto so much neglected, that Prince George, at eleven years old, could hardly read English. Stone, a man of ability, who had long been private secretary to the Duke of Newcastle, was appointed sub-governor.[3] Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, and reputed to be a natural son of Blackburn, a somewhat free-living Archbishop of York, was named preceptor. The Bishop of Norwich was good-humoured, sensible, and attached to the constitution as established by the Revolution of 1689, and believed to be devoted to the Duke of Newcastle; but he had for his assistant, or sub-preceptor, one Scott, a high Tory and decided Jacobite, who had been strongly recommended to the prince and princess by that great mischief-maker Lord Bolingbroke. It was strange to leave the young prince chiefly in the hands of this Scott (who was ready to teach the boy arbitrary principles of government), and of his well-meaning but ill-informed mother. The "Princess-dowager of Wales," says Lord Waldegrave, "was reputed a woman of excellent sense by those who knew her very imperfectly; but, in fact, was one of those moderate geniuses who, with much natural dissimulation, a civil address, an assenting conversation, and a few ideas of their own, can act with tolerable propriety so long as they are conducted by wise and prudent counsellors. Her secretary, Cresset, had been hitherto her principal adviser—a cautious man, uncommonly skilful in the politics of the back stairs, trusted by Lady Yarmouth," &c.[1] A plan of regency was drawn up by the Pelhams, who seemed determined to exclude the dreaded Duke of Cumberland; and on the 7th of May the Duke of Newcastle brought the bill into the House of Lords. This bill proposed, simply, that the Princess-dowager of Wales should be guardian of the heir apparent and regent of Great Britain, in the event of the reigning sovereign's dying before his successor had attained the age of eighteen. The second reading was appointed for the 8th (the very next day); but, previously to that reading, Newcastle appeared with a message from his majesty, recommending the settlement of a council of regency to co-operate with the princess-regent, and to be headed by Cumberland. The cabinet had disagreed among themselves, and had not been unanimous on any one clause of the bill; the hatred and fear of the duke seem to have been balanced by the consideration that all the great officers of the crown were appointed to have seats in this council of regency; and though there was some declamation—little, but loud—against the danger of placing an ambitious uncle, with the army at his command, in such a tempting situation, and against the complications and delays which must arise from a division of authority, the suggestions of the king were adopted, and the regency bill was passed in that form in the House of Lords by a majority of 106 to 12, and in the commons by about 270 to 90.[2] There were several objectionable clauses and provisions in the bill; but as George II. did not die till his successor had attained the age of royal majority, and as it was consequently never acted upon, they may be passed over in silence.

---

[1] Horace Walpole says that Egmont called a meeting of the faction at his own house at a very early hour in the morning after the prince's death. "All was whisper! At last Egmont hinted something of taking the princess and her family under their protection, and something of the necessity of harmony. No answer was made to the former proposition; somebody said, it was very likely indeed they should agree now, when the prince could never bring it about; and so everybody went away to take care of himself."—Letter to Horace Mann.

[2] Dodington complains bitterly of the whole ceremonial of the funeral, and of the sad fact that the lords of the bedchamber and all the prince's gentlemen were obliged to pay for their own dinner. Bathos can scarcely go lower.

[3] Andrew Stone, styled, by Horace Walpole, "a dark, proud man, very able and very mercenary," was the son of a banker: his brother was Primate of Ireland.

In other directions death was busy with the royal family this year. The Prince of Orange, who had so recently got the stadtholdership made hereditary in his family, and who was married to George's eldest daughter, died of a fever, after five days' illness, in the month of October; and his death was the more felt by his father-in-law, as it was likely to embarrass some of his foreign negotiations. The Queen of Denmark, his majesty's youngest daughter (who resembled her mother Queen Caroline in many circumstances of life and fortune, and in the malady which caused her death), expired in the month of December.

Another death to be noticed was that of the Proteus Bolingbroke, who died at Battersea of a cancer in the heart, on the 15th of December, having employed some of his last hours in blackening the memory of his late friend, Pope. Between the demise of the Prince of Wales and the departure of Bolingbroke the voice of faction was almost hushed, and opposition in parliament all but extinguished. The only battle that was fought was fought in the cabinet, and there the victory remained with the Pelhams; for early in June the king dismissed Lord Sandwich, and the Duke of Bedford resigned the next day. The two posts of master of the horse and president of the council, which had both been kept open for the acceptance of Bedford, if he could have been induced to give up his seals of secretary of state, were now filled—Lord Harrington got the first, and Lord Granville the second. This ex-premier had lost none of his fire or confidence—his hard drinking had apparently affected neither his health nor his intellect. "Lord Granville," says Horace Walpole, "comes into power as boisterously as ever, and dashes at everything." Lord Holderness got the Duke of Bedford's place, and Lord Halifax, at the head of the board of trade, endeavoured to get the colonies subjected to that board, and to be nominated a third secretary of state for the West Indies and America; but George would not consent to part with any of his authority in that quarter. In delivering the seals to Holderness, he charged him to mind only the business of his province, telling him that of late the secretary's office had been turned into a mere office of faction.[3] The Leicester House party, headed by Bubb Dodington, made overtures to the Pelhams, offering, upon what Bubb calls "proper conditions," to join them with all their force, and to increase their majorities to such an extent that the displaced Bedford party would be absolutely crushed; but the Pelhams did not consider them worth buying. Some new subsidizing treaties were recognized by both houses with little difficulty. The avowed object of these burdensome engagements was to secure the election of Maria Theresa's eldest son, the Archduke Joseph, as King of the Romans! It would, with the most microscopic eye, be difficult to detect what interest or concern Britain had in this mighty matter; but it is evident that George took the greatest interest in it, and his eagerness is accounted for, at least in good part, by his jealousy of the King of Prussia, who had taken several recent opportunities of insulting his uncle. "Indeed," says Walpole, "it was a constant war of piques and affronts between the king and his nephew of Prussia. The latter had insisted upon the recall of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, who had sacrificed to the ruling passion of the uncle by treating the character of the King of Prussia, in his public despatches and private letters, in the strongest terms of satire."[1] Williams had his revenge; for, returning to Dresden, he concluded a subsidiary treaty with the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland (one and the same potentate), who engaged with George to traverse the designs of Frederick, and to give his vote for the Archduke Joseph. Frederick lost no time in reviling his uncle, whom he called the last and youngest of the electors.

---

[1] *Memoirs of James, Earl Waldegrave* (one of the best of authorities), a book in which every syllable seems as if it had been written upon oath, or upon the honour of a truly honourable and upright man. The Princess of Wales's secretary, Cresset, was related to the royal family by a Duchess of Zell, who was daughter of a private French gentleman, and mother to Sophia Dorothea, the unhappy wife of George I.

[2] The majorities varied upon different clauses of the bill, but the average may be taken as about 270 to 90.

[3] Walpole, *Memoirs of George II.;* Letters to Horace Mann.

In the course of the present year (1751) the new style of reckoning time was introduced. The calendar was changed, upon the motion of Lord Chesterfield, and the Gregorian was adopted, in order to make our computation of time harmonize with that of the rest of civilized Europe. The Duke of Newcastle said he was averse to disturb that which was at rest, and did not love new-fangled things; but his grace was laughed at.

A.D. 1752. The displaced Duke of Bedford seemed so far from meditating opposition, that he came up from Woburn on the re-opening of parliament to ask the king for a pension for Lady Elizabeth Waldegrave, his wife's sister. It was understood that the Pelhams would have pressed the king to grant this trifling boon, were it only to silence Bedford's murmurs, and to keep him, by the weight of an obligation, quiet in the House of Lords. But the feeble opposition corps wished to fix Bedford against the court, and to engage him to speak against the Saxon treaty; and they succeeded in inflaming the duke, "whose warmth was most impetuous." The house had met after the Christmas recess on the 7th of January; on the 16th Mr. Pelham produced the treaty with Saxony; and on the 28th the Duke of Bedford opened the opposition to it with much spirit and considerable ability. The duke concluded by moving for an address to represent that subsidiary treaties ought never to be concluded in time of peace, especially after a long and costly war, and that they were neither necessary at present, nor likely to procure any real advantage. The Duke of Newcastle, Lord Halifax, and the Duke of Argyle, defended the treaty; and Lord Granville put an end to the debate by saying that, as our army was limited at home, we ought to have the faculty of making, in one day, 18,000 men 50,000; that, if we no longer took German princes into our pay, we had a bridge without complete arches; and that we must count upon our power of subsidizing as the best means of checking France, &c. The motion was rejected in the lords without a division. The subject was renewed in the commons, where Lord Harley made a motion against subsidies in time of peace. Several strong things were said, and some of them in a good manner; but they were all said purely for party purposes, and without any real patriotic feeling. Old Horace Walpole spoke on one side and voted on the other—a kind of parliamentary behaviour not without recent example. But in the end the motion was rejected by 180 to 52. The Duke of Newcastle was "flustered" by the Duke of Bedford's unexpected activity; his brother Pelham tried to provide against it, and met Bubb Dodington by appointment. Without a blush, and with very little periphrasis, the opulent boroughmonger asked the premier how much he would give in titles and places. Pelham acknowledged Bubb's great weight in boroughs, and assured him that he had already attempted to remove his majesty's prejudices. Bubb's members, he said, would be of the more importance, as he and his brother, the Duke of Newcastle, had made up their minds to have a new parliament—"a parliament that should be all of a piece—such a parliament as might serve the king if he lived, and be steady to put the young king in the right way, if the old one died—he meant a thorough Whig parliament." The man of boroughs plainly intimated that, if the king would consent to receive Bubb Dodington kindly at court, and give him a place, he would join the ministry with tongue, boroughs, and votes; but that, if he would not so gratify him, he would turn patriot and do his best to prevent Pelham's "thorough Whig parliament all of a piece." The minister, who knew what he had to contend with in the obstinacy and aversions of his royal master, gave Bubb flattering assurances, and invited himself, "in a most gentlemanlike and obliging manner," to dine with him at his gorgeous but tasteless mansion at Hammersmith. But the minister carefully avoided binding himself in any specific promises, and Bubb, being too old a bird at court and parliament to take his chaff, avoided just as carefully the doing anything for him. The dinner at Hammersmith did not bring about a conclusion to the bargain, and several other meetings ended with nothing more solid than expressions of mutual esteem. In one of these conversations Bubb spoke cunningly of dissensions in the ministerial quarters, and of "somebody fastened upon them" who was not always in a humour to obey their orders. Pelham said quickly, "Who, Pitt?" Bubb said "No, he thought it was Fox;" and then Pelham, with great signs of uneasiness and discomposure, repeated in a low tone, "Oh, Mr. Fox."[1]

---

[1] *Memoirs.* The letters of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams from Berlin, which Walpole gives in the Appendix to his *Memoirs*, contain nothing about Frederick but what has been related in bitterer terms by many others. The iron rod with which this nephew of George ruled is no invention, no satire, but simple truth.

In the meanwhile the Duke of Bedford continued to make a phantom of opposition in the lords. A bill, which had passed the commons without opposition, and which was designed to soften the severity of military law, was thrown out by the lords, who could discover nothing wrong even in the mutiny bill, which was marked all over with the sanguinary genius of the Duke of Cumberland.[2] An attempt to diminish the necessity of a standing army, by making the militia more effective, failed altogether. A bill for annexing to the crown the estates forfeited in Scotland by the late rebellion, and making provision, out of the rents of those estates, for establishing colonies and trade, and industry in the Highlands, met with better success. Legge, whose first promotion as a diplomatist had been favoured by Pitt, and who was rising in consideration as the ally of the great orator, declared that the system would have more effect than all that had been done about dress and jurisdiction, or that had been imposed by force; that we must either improve the condition of the Highlanders or exterminate the disaffected by fire and sword. "What is loyalty or disloyalty here," said Legge, "is there food or starving: feed the clans, and they will obey; starve them, and they must rebel. The means of eradicating this spirit in the common people are obvious: civilize them! Introduce the arts of peace among them!" This Scotch bill was passed in the commons by a majority of 134 to 39, and in the lords by eighty against twelve.

On the 26th of March, George prorogued parliament with a gracious speech, and then went over to Hanover. He was attended, as usual, by the Duke of Newcastle, who resumed his negotiations with the German electors, undeterred by the opposition speeches of the Duke of Bedford and his small party. Bavaria, Saxony, Mentz, Cologne, the Palatinate, were the chief scenes of Newcastle's negotiations; and tempting subsidies were held out to nearly every court in Germany, great or small. At the same time George found himself involved in a double dispute with his nephew Frederick. Both Prussia and Hanover claimed possession of East Friesland (the English people hardly knew there was such a country), and George, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, proposed that the question should be referred to the decision of the aulic council of the empire; but the King of Prussia would not submit to this arbitrament, and spoke of vindicating his rights with his dragoons and grenadiers. Nor did Frederick stop here: he complained that certain Prussian vessels had been seized and plundered by English cruisers during the last war, and he seized the revenues of certain mines in Silesia, which had been mortgaged to some English subjects by the late Emperor Charles VI., for the loan of £250,000. Frederick himself, in obtaining from Maria Theresa the cession of Silesia, had guaranteed this mortgage in public treaties; but when his animosities or interests were concerned, he cared little for public or private faith, and he answered the English memorialists, who represented the debt as due to *private* individuals, with insolent invectives. A cabinet correspondence ensued on the subject of the ships and the mines; and, as a complete revolution was working in our foreign politics, and as Frederick saw he might be placed in a situation to court and need the alliance of his uncle, he dropped his claims as to the shipping, and resumed the payment of the interest upon the loan. We had, in fact, by this time come almost to an open breach with the house of Austria, who had treated our ambassador, Lord Hyndford, with insolence and arrogance, and had refused to admit the arbitration of the King of England in claims and other matters relating to the elector-palatine. George, through the mouth and pen of the Duke of Newcastle, denounced the court of Vienna as ungrateful and impertinent, and threatened to form a connection with France and with Prussia if they did not instantly comply with his ultimatum. Lord Hyndford, in fact, was recalled; but, as he was taking his leave, Maria Theresa's imperial husband, who was much less imperious than herself, made use of strong expressions of gratitude to England, and offered, in his own person, to place 500,000 florins at the disposal of King George, towards the liquidation of the claims of the elector-palatine. George insisted that he ought to have 700,000 florins; the court of Vienna then offered 600,000—we feel as if we were detailing the dealings, not of great nations and empires, but of a set of pedlars and trucksters—but George stuck to his 700,000, and the quarrel with Vienna, fanned by France, grew hotter. The Duke of Newcastle thought it necessary to declare that the honour of the king his master, and the reputation of the people of England, were at stake!

---

[1] Bubb Dodington's *Diary*.

[2] The severities in the mutiny bill, where, as Horace Walpole expresses it, "the penalty of death came over as often as the curses of the commination act on Ash Wednesday," were generally attributed to the duke.

George found no relief from these continental embarrassments in the squabbles which had broken out in his own family, or in the household of the young Prince of Wales. The princess-dowager had taken an aversion to Lord Harcourt, the governor, and the Bishop of Norwich, the preceptor of her son, and had been at no pains to conceal her feelings either in her own house or elsewhere.[1] She had peculiar notions of education, and does not appear to have considered that, if she failed in respect to her son's instructors, he was very likely to follow her example. She told Bubb Dodington, whom she consulted and admitted very frequently to her society both at Kew and at Leicester House, that she had a very poor opinion of the prince's preceptors. She asked Bubb what use there was for princes in logic and books; and Bubb said, "Not much." It appears from other quarters, that in sundry little disagreements the princess had taken part with Stone and with Scott, the sub-preceptor, against Lord Harcourt and the bishop; and that it was no unusual thing for Harcourt, a proud punctilious courtier, to be left waiting in the hall at Kew among the servants. Horace Walpole, who disliked the man, describes his lordship as being over minute and strict in trifles;[2] and the bishop as being sincerely honest and zealous in the education of the two princes, but as too apt to thwart the princess, who, "as an indulgent, or perhaps a little as an ambitious mother," was desirous of relaxing application, or giving the boy too many holidays. After some fruitless attempts to make up matters at Kew, the perplexed old king, on the 6th of December, accepted the resignations of Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich. Lord Harcourt had complained before this, by letter and otherwise, that dangerous notions and arbitrary principles were instilled into the prince, and that he could be of no use unless the instillers of these doctrines, Stone and Scott, were dismissed; and the princess-dowager actually confessed to Dodington that she knew and had long known Stone for a decided Jacobite! This subject caused a great excitement beyond the purlieus of the court; nor is it easy to conceive a matter in which the people at large could be more interested than in the education of their future sovereign. An anonymous letter was sent to Dr. Newton, a popular preacher, setting forth the dangerous way the prince's education was left in, and putting it to him as a sacred duty to take notice of it in the pulpit. Another anonymous letter on the same subject was sent to General Hawley, the hero of Falkirk Moor, whose own education had been so sadly neglected, that it was said of him he could scarcely read and write. Hawley carried the letter, which ran in the name of the Whig nobility and gentry, to the Duke of Cumberland, who laid it before the king. Great pains were taken to find out the author of it, but they were taken in vain. Many years after the fact Horace Walpole let the public into his confidence,[3] confessing that he wrote the startling letter.

Vexed by these clamours and beset by the princess-dowager, who begged for the appointment of Dr. Johnson, Bishop of Gloucester, the king hardly knew whom to choose either as chief preceptor or as governor; and when he made a selection he found that one lord after another declined the invidious post. "Many," says Walpole, "were named, and many refused it. At last, after long waiving it, Lord Waldegrave, at the earnest request of the king, accepted it, and after repeated assurances of the submission and tractability of Stone."[4] Lord Waldegrave was a man of strict honour, a most faithful and attached servant to the king, of an amiable disposition and excellent understanding, a scholar, and a gentleman in the highest acceptation of the latter term; but he had few exterior graces to recommend him; and what was of more consequence and somewhat strange in the eye of the public, were the facts that the blood of James II., through an illegitimate channel, ran in his veins; his family were all Papists, and his father had been but the first convert to the Established church.[5] The Whigs took fire and criticized this choice severely. The preceptor finally fixed upon was Dr. Thomas, Bishop of Peterborough, against whom it appears there was nothing to say.

A.D. 1753. The Duke of Bedford had declared in his speech that no objection could be taken to the appointment of Lord Waldegrave—that the choice was the more acceptable as it was his majesty's own, who always acted right when he acted himself, &c. But, though Waldegrave might be considered fit for the place, he soon found that the place was not fit for him. His royal pupil would not give him his affection or confidence, and the princess-dowager hated him because he was appointed by the king, and chose always to consider that he was placed as a spy over her. "I found his royal highness," says the plain-speaking, and, as we believe, thoroughly veracious Lord Waldegrave,[1] "uncommonly full of princely prejudice, contracted in the nursery, and improved by the society of bedchamber women and pages of the back stairs. As a right system of education seemed quite impracticable, the best which could be hoped for was to give him true notions of common things; to instruct him by conversation, rather than by books; and sometimes, under the disguise of amusement, to entice him to the pursuit of more serious studies."[2] His lordship, in speaking of the Prince of Wales afterwards, when his royal highness was entering into his twenty-first year, says, that great allowances should be made on account of his *bad* education; for that though the Bishop of Peterborough the preceptor, Mr. Scott the sub-preceptor, and Mr. Stone the sub-governor, were men of sense, learning, and worth, they had but little weight and influence, the mother and the nursery having always prevailed against them. His lordship found the prince uncommonly indolent, as indifferent to pleasure as to study, and seemingly with few lively affections. His mother had prevented his associating with youths of his own age. She said that the young people of quality were so ill educated, and so very vicious, that they frightened her. It cannot be denied that the prevailing immorality among young people of fashion was sufficient to justify a mother's fears; but it was shrewdly surmised that there was a mixture of ambition, and love of power and control, in these moral apprehensions; and that the princess-dowager gave her son a bad opinion of everybody else, in order that she might the better keep him to herself, and prolong her own sway over him. Yet, on the other side, it may be assumed that the care with which she kept him, up to the age of manhood, from evil communications, contributed to form those habits of morality and decency which George III. afterwards displayed and enforced in his court. Lord Waldegrave, who was unfashionably grateful to his master George II., was compelled to listen to bitter sarcasms and complaints against his majesty at Kew Palace and Leicester House. He laboured hard to restore harmony and union in the royal family—or rather to create it, for it never existed;—and, having free access to the king, he had frequent opportunities of doing good offices to the young prince and his mother. "I was," says his lordship, "a very useful apologist whenever his majesty was displeased with his grandson's shyness, or want of attention; and never failed to notify even the most minute circumstance of the young prince's behaviour which was likely to give satisfaction." He continued at his difficult post as chief governor for nearly three years, and was treated with, at least, civility, till the princess and her son conceived that enthusiastic affection for Lord Bute which brought about fresh revolutions in court and cabinet.

---

[1] In the month of July Horace Walpole writes—"The tutorhood at Kew is split into factions; the Bishop of Norwich and Lord Harcourt openly at war with Stone and Scott, who are supported by Cresset, and countenanced by the princess and Murray (*the solicitor-general and afterwards Lord Mansfield*); so, my Lord Bolingbroke dead, will govern, which he never could living."—Letter to H. Mann.

[2] "Lord Harcourt was minute and strict in trifles; and, thinking that he discharged his trust conscientiously if on no account he neglected to make the prince turn out his toes, he gave himself little trouble to respect the princess, or to condescend to the sub-governor."—*Memoirs of George II.* But the princess had no right to complain of Harcourt's formality; for she had declared that she looked upon a governor to her son "as a sort of pageant —a man of quality for shows," &c.—Dodington's *Diary.*

[3] This confession is contained in Walpole's *Memoirs of the last Ten Years of George II.*, where the memorial is given at length, and where he says, in a foot-note, "It was written by the author of these *Memoirs.*"

[4] Walpole's *Memoirs.*

[5] Lord Waldegrave's grandmother was a daughter of James II. by Arabella Churchill, sister to the great Duke of Marlborough. His grandfather, a zealous Papist, followed his king and father-in-law into exile, and died in Paris in 1689. Waldegrave's father became a Protestant in 1722, to the great scandal of the Jacobites and fury of his uncle, the Duke of Berwick. After his conversion he was employed both by George I. and George II. in important embassies, and he died an earl and a knight of the Garter in 1741.—*Introduction to Memoirs from* 1754 *to* 1758, by James, Earl Waldegrave, K.G.

For nearly a century, or ever since the Restoration, the Jews, persecuted everywhere else except in Holland, had enjoyed a kind of toleration in England; and many of the old superstitions and hatreds had been gradually forgotten by the English people.[3] In the reign of Queen Anne the Jews had even offered Lord-treasurer Godolphin £500,000 sterling, if he would obtain for them permission to purchase the town of Brentford, with full privileges of trade, &c. The offer was tempting—the Jews, it is said, would have doubled it—and the prospect of the attendant advantages more so; but Godolphin was deterred, and let the scheme drop, because "he foresaw that it would provoke two of the most powerful bodies in the nation—the *clergy* and the *merchants*." Godolphin, perhaps, knew not the arguments of Oliver Cromwell; but Mr. Pelham, whether he knew them or not, seems to have considered that the time was come when the experiment upon bigotry and prejudice might be carried out; and he introduced, as a ministerial measure, a bill for permitting the naturalization of foreign Jews. This bill passed through the House of Lords without exciting a murmur even from the bench of bishops; but, upon being sent down to the commons, it encountered a fierce and formidable opposition. It was read for the first time on the 17th of April; but on the 7th of May, when the question was put for the second reading, the great combat took place—the factious opposition being greatly encouraged by the abuse which the bill encountered out of doors. Men not hitherto noted for any zeal for religion began to fight under the banners of prophecy, proclaiming that to give the Jews a settlement anywhere would be an impious attempt to oppose the will of the Almighty as signified by the prophets, who had foretold the eternal dispersion of that accursed race. Mr. Pelham replied like a philosopher and a statesman. He could not allow himself to believe that the Church of England could be in any danger, or that he was bound to deem every man his enemy who differed from him on a point of religion. His speech made some impression, and the second reading was carried by ninety-five against sixteen. But the men who had made the question merely a handle for factious opposition and party strife, continued the combat, and loaded the table of the house with petitions from the corporation of London, from merchants, and traders; and procured counsel to be heard and witnesses to be examined. In the end, however, the Jews' bill was passed by ninety-six honourable members against fifty-five.

---

[1] We have expressed before our conviction of the truthfulness of Lord Waldegrave's pen. His lordship, in opening his *Memoirs*, says, "I will advance no facts which are not strictly true, and do not mean to misrepresent any man; but will make no professions of impartiality, because I take it for granted that it is not in my power to be unprejudiced." We will not venture to say more for his lordship than he ventured to say for himself, but we feel assured that he was as impartial as human nature can be, and never misrepresented a fact.

[2] Waldegrave's *Memoirs*.

[3] A negotiation, indeed, was begun for permitting the return of the Jews in the time of the protectorate; and in Spencer's *Anecdotes* there is a curious account of Cromwell's proposing to grant them permission to have a synagogue in London.

Complaints had arisen among the country gentlemen that the old laws were insufficient for the preservation of game, and that poaching was greatly on the increase: during the session a new game act was carried through both houses; but it had not the effect of tranquillizing the minds of our little Nimrods, and our jails continued to be crowded as before with unqualified sportsmen, who there became qualified for the commission of much more serious offences.

The law of marriage had hitherto been so loose that all kinds of hurried and clandestine unions could be formed all over England with more facility than they till recently were at Gretna Green. No notice or publication of banns was required, no license was looked for, and any parson might perform the ceremony at any time or in any place, without consent of parents, or any other preliminary conditions whatsoever; and the worst or the most needy of the clergy would often forward the most rash or disgraceful marriages for the sake of the paltry fee. The great temple of the pseudo Hymen was the Fleet Prison. Parsons confined for debt, scoundrels fuddled with gin and tobacco, would marry in three minutes, and for the small charge of two shillings, any couple that presented themselves. "In walking along the street in my youth," says Pennant, "on the side next to this prison, I have often been tempted by the question, *Sir, will you be pleased to walk in and be married?* Along this most lawless space was hung up the frequent sign of a male and female hand conjoined, with *Marriages performed within*, written beneath. A dirty fellow invited you in. The parson was seen walking before his shop; a squalid, profligate figure, clad in a tattered plaid night-gown, with a fiery face, and ready to couple you for a dram of gin or roll of tobacco."[1] To put a stop to these crying abuses a bill was prepared by the judges under the auspices of Lord-chancellor Hardwicke, and brought into the upper house. It provided that all marriages should henceforward take place either by banns published on three successive Sundays, or by license granted in a regular manner; and that all other marriages should be void, and the parson that solemnized any such transported for seven years. It excited some severe criticisms in the House of Lords, particularly from the Duke of Bedford; and numerous amendments were introduced by their lordships. But when it reached the House of Commons it encountered far greater opposition: the speaker Mr. Nugent, Charles Townshend, and Mr. Fox, spoke with great acrimony against it. The bill with its amendments was not returned to the peers before the 6th of June, and the prorogation was fixed for the 7th. Softened as it was, the Duke of Bedford attacked it with undiminished severity, and styled it a faulty and obnoxious law, forced through parliament to gratify the prime minister. Lord-chancellor Hardwicke reluctantly concurred in the amendments, though he declared that several of them weakened the bill. Hardwicke then alluded in the plainest terms to the attacks made upon him in the commons by Charles Townshend and Mr. Fox. He was content to treat Townshend as an amorous, hot, and inexperienced young man; but he could make no allowance for so grave a personage as his official colleague Mr. Fox. Choosing to overlook the circumstances which had attended Mr. Fox's own marriage, and which might in themselves have been sufficient to render the bill unpalatable in that quarter,[2] he attributed his opposition to dark intrigue and faction. And unsoothed by Fox's apology, he declared that he "despised his scurrility as much as his adulation and recantation."[3] We have seen how adroitly Bubb Dodington had insinuated to Mr. Pelham a distrust of Fox; and it appears that Fox at this moment was closely connected with the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Bedford, that he had many personal friends and more political followers, that the distribution of military preferment had added greatly to his strength, and that he was looked up to as the rising minister in the House of Commons, in case of Mr. Pelham's death, resignation, or removal to the House of Peers.[4]

---

[1] *Some Account of London.*

[2] Mr. Fox's own marriage with the eldest daughter of the Duke of Richmond had been clandestine.

[3] Horace Walpole's *Memoirs*, and Letters to Horace Mann; *Parl. Hist.*

[4] Lord Waldegrave's *Memoirs.*

During the present session a bill was brought in by Mr. Potter, son of the late Archbishop of Canterbury, to establish a general register of the population; but, after struggling with difficulty through the commons, it was thrown out by the lords. With unwonted liberality parliament enabled the commissioners of longitude to pay £20,000 to Mr. Harrison for his improvements on chronometers; and they also passed an act empowering the crown to raise money by lottery to purchase the Sloane Library and Museum, the Harleian manuscripts, and Montague House, in Russell Street. Such was the origin of the British Museum, to which Mr. Pelham, greatly to his honour, contributed very zealously.

The British parliament re-assembled on the 15th of November. It was notorious to every one that paid the least attention to public affairs that a new war was brewing—nay, that hostilities had actually been commenced by the French, on the confines of Canada and Nova Scotia. Yet the royal speech expressed a confidence that peace would be preserved, and congratulated parliament upon the fact that there had been no important change in our foreign relations. It was easily understood that this tone, so much at variance with truth, proceeded from the fear of the approaching general election. The Jew bill, passed a few months before, had inflamed the nation and excited the bigotry of the people to a degree which had not been witnessed since the affair of Doctor Sacheverell. The bishops had concurred in the bill, but the little curates and the country clergy preached against it everywhere, and the common people were led to believe that England would be made to partake in the curses pronounced by prophecy on Jerusalem and the Holy Land. If the parliament had not been so near its close ministers might possibly have braved the storm; but, as matters stood, they resolved to allay it by throwing the bill overboard, like another Jonas. On the very day the houses met, the Duke of Newcastle moved to repeal the bill, which, he said, had been merely a point of *political policy*, and it was repealed accordingly.

A.D. 1754. The rest of the business of parliament was not very important, and the session was drawing tranquilly to a close, when death deprived the king of his prime minister. Mr. Pelham, who had been in a bad state of health for many months, died rather suddenly on the 6th of March, in the sixty-first year of his age.[1] His brother, the Duke of Newcastle, an older man, and a far less able minister, resolved to step into his place, and, after deluding and baulking Pitt and Fox, who both aimed at the treasury, he succeeded in gratifying his ambition; for the king continued his personal dislike to Pitt, and Newcastle had art enough to drive Fox into declarations which displeased his majesty. The duke made himself first lord of the treasury, gave his place of secretary of state to Sir Thomas Robinson, and appointed Mr. Legge, originally the protégé of Mr. Pitt, chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt and Fox, left in their subordinate places, soon forgot their old rivalry in their common spite against Newcastle. But Pitt carefully concealed his resentment for some time, and continued to court the duke, whose creature or instrument he had repeatedly called himself. Newcastle, on his side, represented that, though Pitt had been left out, most of his friends were let in; thus, Lyttleton was treasurer of the navy, and Grenville cofferer. And, at the same time, Lord-chancellor Hardwicke, at the duke's request, wrote a long letter to pacify Pitt. Hardwicke, touching lightly on that delicate subject, the king's aversion to Pitt, artfully instilled into the great orator motives of jealousy against Fox, who was described as hungering after promotion, and as being sure of obtaining it at Pitt's expense, if the latter should betray any inconsiderate resentment.[2]

The elections passed off more quietly than had been expected, and the new parliament was essentially a Pelham parliament. It met on the 31st of May, and sat for five or six days, in order to pass one bill, and to constitute itself a parliament. But although it had been resolved not to call the attention of parliament to foreign affairs till the winter, the aggressions upon our colonies demanded the immediate notice of government. The Spaniards were ordering their governors in the West Indies to attack our ships; while, aided by Spanish money, the French were building forts on a disputed territory, harassing Nova Scotia, and stirring up the Indians to war against the British settlements. The Earl of Albemarle, our ambassador, remonstrated and memorialized, but the French in Canada continued their encroachments, and, with a body of Indians, fell upon Major George Washington, who was erecting a little fort on the Ohio to protect the British territory. Washington, though then a very young man, displayed conduct as well as courage, but he was finally compelled to capitulate. The French continued erecting their forts, hoping to establish a chain of garrisons from Canada to the mouths of the Mississippi, and to starve out the British colonies; and while Lord Albemarle was negotiating at Paris, the French court sent out reinforcements to Quebec. The preservation of peace seemed an impossibility.

---

[1] The candid Lord Waldegrave says of this much abused statesman, "He had acquired the reputation of an able and honest minister; had a plain, solid understanding, improved by experience in business, as well as by a thorough knowledge of the world; and, without being an orator, or having the finest parts, no man in the House of Commons argued with more weight, or was heard with greater attention. He was a frugal steward to the public, averse to continental extravagance and useless subsidies, preferring a tolerable peace to the most successful war; jealous to maintain his personal credit and authority, but nowise inattentive to the true interest of his country." Even the uncharitable Horace Walpole confesses that Pelham "lived without abusing his power and died poor."

[2] Hardwicke MSS., as cited in *Quarterly Review*, No. cxxxi.

The new parliament re-assembled on the 14th of November; and then the king demanded supplies for the preservation of our rights in America; still, however, speaking as if all our differences with France and Spain might be accommodated by negotiation. But, in the debate upon the address, several members declared that Spain would never fulfil her promises, nor France cease her aggressions, until compelled by cannon-balls.

A.D. 1755. It was not, however, till the month of March that ministers frankly announced to parliament that a war was inevitable. Sir Thomas Robinson, the new secretary of state, acquainted the commons, by his majesty's command, that France was making preparations, and that our forces must be instantly augmented. The committee of supply eagerly voted £1,000,000 for the defence of our American possessions; and Admiral Boscawen was sent, with a good fleet, towards the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to intercept a French fleet which had been prepared in the ports of Rochefort and Brest, and which was carrying reinforcements to the French Canadians. Boscawen was to fall upon the French, and, if possible, destroy them. He took post off the banks of Newfoundland; but the French admiral, Bois de la Mothe, passed him in a fog, without seeing him, and got safe into the river St. Lawrence. Two French ships of the line were, however, captured by Captain Howe (afterwards Lord Howe) and Captain Andrews. Howe displayed wonderful bravery, and quite as much skill; the action lasted some hours; and the prizes were found to contain about £8000 in money, and a considerable number of officers and engineers. As soon as this affair was known in Europe, the French recalled M. de Mirepoix, their ambassador at London, and M. de Bussy, whom they had recently sent to Hanover to negotiate with the king there. The court of Versailles complained most bitterly and loudly of Boscawen's attacking their ships in a time of peace; the court of St. James replied that the French had rendered reprisals justifiable and necessary by their encroachments and warlike operations in America; and we recalled our ambassador from Paris. In the month of July, Sir Edward Hawke went on a cruise, with eighteen ships of the line, a frigate, and a sloop; and, on the 14th of October, Admiral Byng took the sea with twenty-two ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops. Both these fleets failed in the attempt of intercepting the French fleet on its return from America; but, in the meantime, our cruisers and privateers almost annihilated the French trade in the West Indies. According to Smollet, before the end of the year, 300 French merchant ships, many of them from St. Domingo and Martinique, and extremely rich, and about 8000 French seamen, were brought into English ports.

The immediate cause of this war had not been Hanover, but Nova Scotia; but Hanover, in a manner, lay open to the vengeance of the French, who always treated that electorate as a sort of whipping-boy to the royalty of England. To avert the chastisement now threatened, George entered into subsidizing treaties with the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Prussia, who had long been negotiating, and who at last gave up his French alliance without ceremony and without scruple. This soon brought a strange revolution in French politics; for Louis XV., who had been leagued with Prussia to dismember the territories of the empress-queen, now entered into the closest alliance with the house of Austria, the ancient enemy of the Bourbons. Both England and France did their utmost to secure Spain; but the court of Madrid very wisely determined to remain neutral. So high was the reputation of Frederick the Great, that an opinion was very generally held, both on the Continent and in England, that that side must prevail on which he threw his victorious sword; yet some of our statesmen chose to entertain a contrary opinion, and among them was Mr. Pitt. But, at the present moment, Pitt was still a disappointed man. In the course of the autumn of the preceding year, he came to an understanding with Fox that they should unite their forces against Newcastle, and that Fox should be placed at the head of the treasury, and that he (Pitt) should be secretary of state. He had just at the same time increased his political importance by marrying Lady Hester Grenville, the sister of Lord Temple. The Duke of Newcastle was soon made aware of the Pitt and Fox alliance, which he determined to break, either by raising Pitt over Fox, or Fox over Pitt.[1] The premier employed old Horace Walpole to break their coalition. Walpole first applied to Pitt; but, as Pitt required an instant admission into the cabinet, he failed. The Duke of Newcastle, or rather the king, then had recourse to Lord Waldegrave, who has left his own account of the negotiation. "It became necessary," says his lordship, "that Pitt and Fox should be disunited: one of them must be treated with; and Fox was first applied to, as being thought more practicable, less disagreeable to the king, and more a man of business. As Fox was apt to be *warm*, and the Duke of Newcastle as apt to be *shuffling*, it seemed necessary that some neutral person should negotiate between them; and his majesty thought proper to employ me on this occasion, because I belonged to neither of them, but was a well-wisher to both. That the progress of this amicable treaty might not be interrupted by a fresh quarrel, I persuaded them to defer their meeting till they had settled preliminaries, and clearly understood each other's meaning. Fox very readily gave me his demands in writing, which I reported to the king, and entered into a more minute explanation with the Duke of Newcastle, who made some objections and proposed some alterations, but consented to most of the material articles. There would have been many more difficulties if I had not begun by terrifying his grace with a melancholy representation of the fatal consequences of Fox's uniting with Pitt in open opposition. . . . . On the other hand, I assured Fox that the king had, if possible, still less inclination to make him a minister than the Duke of Newcastle himself. I therefore advised him, as a friend, to rest satisfied with a moderate share of power, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity; unless he had absolutely determined to join Pitt, enter into all the violence of opposition, set the nation in a flame, and take the closet by storm."[1] To remove some remaining difficulties, Lord Waldegrave proposed an interview between Fox and the premier, the result of which was an agreement that Fox should be called up to the cabinet; that employment should be given to some of his friends who were not yet provided for; and that others of his friends, who had places already, should be promoted. These arrangements were accordingly made.

---

[1] Bubb Dodington's *Memoirs;* Lord Waldegrave's *Memoirs*, and letters in his Appendix.

But so much were Pitt and his party feared, that, during the king's absence on the Continent this summer, fresh overtures were made, with his majesty's consent, to the great orator. Pitt proudly said that he would content himself with no mean employment—that he would be really a minister. The Duke of Newcastle replied, as he had often done before, that he had the greatest respect and esteem for Mr. Pitt, and wished to gratify him in every particular; but that the king would never give his consent to admit him into the cabinet. Pitt, though he retained his lucrative office of paymaster, was thus confirmed in his resolution of making open war upon the whole ministry. Legge, the chancellor of the exchequer, sided with the paymaster, and concurred with him in refusing to pay a draft for £100,000 on account of the Russian subsidy, the treaty for which had not received the sanction of parliament. This refusal was constitutional and proper; but it may be suspected that it would never have been made if Pitt's ambition had been gratified, and if Legge's pride had not been hurt by Newcastle, who treated him little better than a government clerk. The king came over in September, and parliament met on the 13th of November, to exhibit what has been well called, "the *extraordinary* scene of the chancellor of the exchequer and the paymaster opposing the treaties of the crown, both in their details and principles."[2] Pitt, as an orator, surpassed himself. He denounced the whole scheme of foreign alliances as "flagrantly absurd and desperate;" as intended only to save Hanover at the expense of England; he lashed, crushed, crucified ministers, attacked Mr. Fox, and "even hinted up to the Duke of Cumberland himself."[3] "His eloquence," says Walpole, "like a torrent long obstructed, burst forth with more commanding impetuosity."[4] In the course of his speech he exclaimed, in the sure spirit of prophecy, "This, I hope, is the day that shall give the colour to my life!" The debate lasted till five o'clock in the morning. "If," says one of his bewitched audience, "eloquence could convince, Mr. Pitt would have had more than 105 against 311. . . . The expectation of the world is suspended, to see whether these gentlemen will resign or be dismissed: perhaps neither; perhaps they may continue in place and not oppose."[5] But the world was not left long in doubt; for on the 20th of

WILLIAM PITT, first Earl of Chatham.
From a picture by R. Brumpton.

---

[1] *Memoirs.*

[2] *Quarterly Review*, No. cxxxi.

[3] Horace Walpole, Letter to General Conway.

[4] Ibid., *Memoirs of George II.*

[5] Ibid., Letters to Mann.

November, a week after the great oratorical display, the king dismissed both Pitt and Legge. Pitt's brother-in-law, George Grenville, treasurer of the navy, was turned out on the same day; and his other brother-in-law, James Grenville, resigned his seat at the board of trade. The great orator felt confident that his dismission would make him the idol of the people; but, at the same time, he accepted from the court a pension of £1000 a-year! In the recasting of parts in the ministerial drama, Sir George Lyttleton, who had quarrelled with Pitt and joined the Duke of Newcastle, was made chancellor of the exchequer in lieu of Legge; Pitt's place of paymaster was split into two, and conferred upon the Earl of Darlington and Viscount Duplin; Soame Jenyns obtained a seat at the board of trade; and Bubb Dodington, after many hopes delayed, got snugly back to the treasurership of the navy.[1] Mr. Fox gained an important step; for the king at length consented to dismiss Sir Thomas Robinson, and gave him the seals of secretary of state. Lord Barrington, formerly master of the wardrobe, succeeded Fox as secretary at war. The Duke of Leeds became cofferer in place of Sir George Lyttleton; the Duke of Marlborough became master of the ordnance, a place which had long been kept vacant; and Lord Gower stepped into the place which Marlborough vacated, that of lord privy-seal. There were several minor appointments and a few pensions granted, as usual, upon Ireland; but Fox complained in the beginning that Newcastle kept too many of these good things for his own creatures.

It is evident that this cabinet could not stand. The Princess-dowager of Wales was furious against the Duke of Newcastle for having admitted Fox to the cabinet and Cumberland to the regency. She still dreaded the power of her royal brother-in-law, and hated the duke as much as she feared him. Until recently she had hated Pitt, but now she admitted him as chief and arbiter of the little junta of Leicester House. "Pitt," says Lord Waldegrave, "who had been a groom of the bedchamber to the prince her husband, and had not quitted his master in the most decent manner, makes a tender of his services, with the assistance of his relations and friends, which are joyfully accepted. This treaty was negotiated by the Earl of Bute, at that time a favourite of little fame, but who has since merited a very uncommon reputation."[2] The substance of the treaty was, that Pitt and his friends should do their utmost to support the princess-dowager and her son, and oppose the Duke of Cumberland. An event had occurred during the preceding summer which engaged Leicester House deeper in faction than was at first intended. During his majesty's absence from England, the Duchess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel paid him a visit at Hanover with two unmarried and marriageable daughters. The elder of the young princesses was handsome, cheerful, modest, sensible, and accomplished; and George was so charmed with her that he was eager to marry her at once to his grandson, who was entering into his eighteenth year.[3] As soon as the king's intention was whispered in England, the Princess-dowager of Wales, who probably "was tempted to do a job for her own relations, by marrying her son to one of the Saxe-Gotha family," exerted all her influence to defeat it. "The young princess," adds Lord Waldegrave, who was still governor to the prince, "was most cruelly misrepresented; many even of her perfections were aggravated into faults; his royal highness implicitly believing every idle tale and improbable aspersions, till his prejudice against her amounted to aversion itself. From this time all duty and obedience to the grandfather entirely ceased; for though it would have been difficult to have persuaded him to do that which he thought wrong, he was ready to think right whatever was prompted either by his mother or by her favourite, the Earl of Bute." About three months after the king's return to England, he called the Prince of Wales into his closet—not to propose the match, which he knew would be rejected, but to find out the extent of his political knowledge, and caution him against evil counsellors. The discourse was short, the substance kind and affectionate, though the king's manner was not quite gracious. "The prince," says the narrator who best knew what passed, and was least capable of misrepresenting it, "was flustered and sulky; bowed, but scarce made any answer: so the conference ended very little to the satisfaction of either party. Here his majesty was guilty of a very capital mistake. Instead of sending for the prince, he should have spoken firmly to the mother; told her that, as she governed her son, she should be answerable for his conduct; that he would overlook what was passed, and treat her still like a friend, if she behaved in a proper manner; but, on the other hand, if either herself, her son, or any person influenced by them, should give any future disturbance, she must expect no quarter. He might then have ended his admonition, by whispering *a word in her ear*, which would have made her tremble, *in spite of her spotless innocence*." The one word in Lord Waldegrave's mind was, no doubt, BUTE. The sudden and extraordinary favour of that handsome Scotch lord had long before this given rise to sinister reports that fell heavily upon the fair fame of the princess-dowager. The admission of Lord Waldegrave, that the princess's innocence was spotless, is corroborated by others who had the best opportunities of judging of the fact; but, nevertheless, the rumours were loud and of dangerous import. The virtue of the princess-dowager was weighed in the scales of faction; and while she was maintained to be all purity by the opposition, the government party was ready to declare a somewhat different opinion. At a subsequent period we shall find the case altered, and that the princess-dowager's virtue becomes dross under the assay of the opposition, and double refined gold in that of the government party. It was this family war which animated the cause, and gave spirit and vigour to the so-called *patriots!* Yet, though aided by the splendid rhetoric of Pitt, the opposition could scarcely diminish the great majority of ministers; and it was even thought that the ill-humour of Leicester House did more harm than good.

---

[1] Bubb records one very sad tale of pecuniary loss. Having, as he fancied, made sure of ministers, he had spent in the preceding year nearly £5000 in a disputed election, and had not even received the thanks of the court. Nay, the Duke of Newcastle had told him that the king said that he could not confer on him any mark of his favour. "And yet," says Bubb, "Mr. Pelham had declared that I had a good deal of *marketable ware* (parliamentary interest), and that if I would empower him to offer it all to the king without conditions, he would be answerable to bring the affair to a good account."

[2] *Memoirs.*

[3] Old George afterwards told Lord Waldegrave, with much animation, that, had he been only twenty years younger, the young lady would never have been refused by a Prince of Wales, but should at once have been Queen of England.

CHAPTER XXIII.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1756—1760.

GEORGE II.

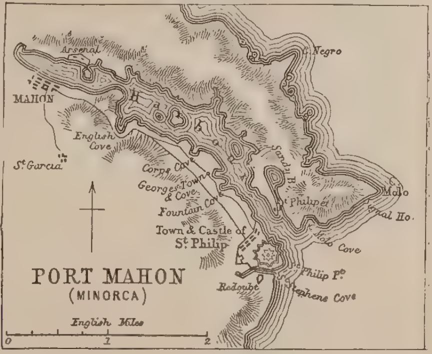
Combination of Russia, France, and Austria against the King of Prussia—Alliance of George II. and the King of Prussia—The French attempt to get possession of Minorca—Admiral Byng sent to intercept the French fleet—Misfortunes of the expedition—The French fleet escapes—Byng fails to relieve Minorca—He is brought back as a prisoner to Portsmouth—Popular rage at his failure—Perturbation of the cabinet—The premier's perplexity—He is obliged to resign—Pitt succeeds him as premier—Difficulties of the new cabinet from its want of interest in the boroughs—Parliament opened amidst quarrels and discontent—Pitt's advocacy of the cause of Prussia—Frederick's successes—Commencement of the "Seven Years' War"—Admiral Byng brought to trial—He is sentenced to be shot—Ineffectual attempts to obtain a remission of the sentence—Execution of Byng—The king's dislike to Pitt and Lord Temple—He seeks the return of the Duke of Newcastle to office—The duke's irresolution—Abortive attempts to plan a new administration—Pitt and Temple dismissed—Increase of Pitt's popularity—The king's perplexity augmented—Lord Waldegrave compelled to accept the premiership—Failure of the expedient—Pitt re-admitted to office on his own terms—Formation of the new cabinet—Pitt's daring proceedings on returning to office—Failure of his first schemes—Defeats of the Duke of Cumberland in Germany—Disgraceful convention of Closter-Seven—Difficulties of the King of Prussia—His energetic resistance—His victory at Rossbach—His greater victory at Lissa—Wars between England and France in the four quarters of the globe—The Duke of Cumberland returns disgraced to England—An expedition sent by Pitt against Rochefort—Unsuccessful attempt upon St. Malo—Failure of the expedition—The attempt once more repeated—It likewise terminates unfavourably—Success of the war against the French in Canada—Frederick the Great continues his campaign during winter—He defeats Daun at Küstrin—He is defeated by Daun at Hochkirch—He recovers from his losses, and is everywhere successful—He is reinforced from England—New taxes in Britain for the prosecution of the war—The militia called out on the threat of a French invasion—Naval successes over the French—Sir Edward Hawke's victory over the French fleet at Quiberon Bay—Wolfe selected for the war in Canada—His first proceedings at the seat of action—His difficulties at the Isle of Orleans—He advances upon Quebec—His unsuccessful attempt upon Montcalm's entrenchments—Wolfe's despondent prospects—He obtains possession of the Heights of Abraham—His victory over the French—His heroic death—Victories of the British in the East Indies—The war on the Continent—Battle of Minden—Suspicious conduct of Lord George Sackville during the engagement—The French defeated at Minden—The King of Prussia defeated by the Russians and Austrians at Frankfort—Pitt's proceedings in parliament—Lord Temple resigns office and returns to it—Lord George Sackville tried by a court-martial for his behaviour at Minden—He is declared guilty and is disgraced—Final conquest of the Canadas—Defeat of the Prussians at Glatz—The Russians and Austrians take Berlin—Fresh difficulties of Frederick—His renewed successes—Sudden illness and death of George II.

FOR the navy 50,000 men, including marines, were voted; for the army 34,263 native British; and enormous supplies, necessitating new duties and taxes, were carried by immense majorities. As there was a rumour of flat-bottomed boats and invasion, parliament even consented to the bringing over 8000 Hanoverians and Hessians for the defence of England.

The king's negotiations with the czarina came to nothing, and the Russians joined the French and Austrians against the King of Prussia, who was, moreover, threatened by the Poles and the

Saxons. The plan of the empress-queen was to bring an army of Muscovites into the heart of Germany, and to throw them and the Saxons upon Frederick in an unguarded moment. But Frederick was the last prince in the world to be caught napping: he made his treaty with George to include, as a principle, the prevention of the introduction of foreign troops into the empire (a stipulation which was alike calculated to save Prussia from the Russians and Hanover from the French); he wrote to his now loving uncle that it was better *prævenire quam præveniri;* and he attended with all his wonderful activity and untiring application to the improving and increasing of his veteran army.

But before Frederick marched to victory, the flag of England was disgraced. While ministers were alarmed with hostile preparations on the Channel, and bringing over Hessians and Hanoverians to be useless and to be laughed at, the French got ready a vast armament in the Mediterranean to pounce upon Minorca, which we had left in a miserable state of defence. Even when they were duly informed that this French fleet would soon sail from Toulon, our ministers pretended that it was nothing more than a feint, to facilitate a descent upon England or Ireland by drawing off our ships of the line to blockade the rotten part of the French navy in the harbour of Toulon; and they persisted in keeping our ships at home. But, as Minorca was prized next to Gibraltar, and as Pitt and the people began to exclaim against this neglect, they awoke from their lethargy, and tardily despatched Admiral Byng, with what the admiral thought an insufficient fleet, to the Mediterranean. Byng was instructed to touch at Gibraltar, to take on board some troops there, and then to proceed with all haste to Port-Mahon. But the governor and garrison of Gibraltar, alarmed by reports of an intended siege, called a council of war, and absolutely refused to spare Byng a battalion. The lateness and the insufficiency of the expedition was Byng's first misfortune—this was the second; and he made it worse by intimating to the admiralty at home that, in case he found it dangerous to attempt the relief of Minorca, he should retire under the guns of Gibraltar! Time was lost again, of which too much had been lost already; the Duke of Richelieu had landed in Minorca with 16,000 men; and La Galissoniere was cruising off Port-Mahon with thirteen ships of the line. In fact, so wretchedly had the expedition been timed, that Byng, who had to cross the Bay of Biscay to touch at Gibraltar, and then traverse 200 leagues of the Mediterranean, left Spithead only *three* days before the French—who had merely to cross the Gulf of Lyons, and sail some seventy leagues in all—left Toulon. Byng had only ten ships of the line, and these in not very good condition; yet Admiral Anson, now a peer and at the head of the admiralty, had declared that this squadron would beat anything the French had, or could have in the Mediterranean; and upon this confident assertion the Duke of Newcastle had disregarded the advice of Mr. Fox to send more ships.[1] Byng, however, was joined at Gibraltar by Captain Edgecombe, who had run down from Minorca (where he had left his marines to strengthen the castle) with a third-rate ship and a sloop; and as he sailed up the Mediterranean he was joined off Majorca by Captain Hervey in another ship. But all these vessels, which had been long cruising in the Mediterranean, were exceedingly foul. With that despondency which is in itself an assurance of failure or defeat, Byng, on the 18th of May, approached Minorca and saw the British colours still flying over the fortress of St. Philip, though the French flag was seen on other points, and numerous bomb-batteries were playing upon the castle. La Galissoniere was not in sight; but before Byng could send a letter on shore to General Blakeney—the brave old governor, whom we have seen before defending Stirling Castle—the whole French fleet, which now comprised four smaller vessels besides the thirteen ships of the line, appeared to the south-east, advancing in order of battle. Byng then formed his line, and the men expected to be soon at their guns; but, about seven o'clock in the evening, La Galissoniere tacked, to gain the weather-gage; then Byng manœuvred so as to keep the advantage of the weather-gage, and night fell without a gun being fired. When morning dawned the French fleet was invisible; but the English picked up a tartane (a small one-masted vessel) with some French soldiers on board, sent out to reinforce their fleet; and in a few hours that fleet itself re-appeared. The line of battle was again formed on either side, and about two o'clock in the



---

[1] Dodington's *Diary.*

afternoon Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind and engage. His second in command, Rear-admiral West, perceiving it impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division, not two, but *seven* points from the wind, and closing down, attacked the French with such spirit that he drove several of their ships out of the line. But Byng, enslaved by his despondency and that passion for routine and rigid discipline which, together with his pride and austerity, had made him unpopular in the service, would not advance, saying that he was determined to keep his line entire—that nothing was so dangerous as an irregular fight; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his own captain, he left West to be destroyed or fall back, and he kept at such a wary distance that his own ship, a noble vessel of ninety guns, was scarcely brought into action at all; for though, in a paltry play of long guns, she received a shot or two in her hull, she had not a single man either killed or wounded. West, of course, was obliged to veer round; and then La Galissoniere, who certainly had no inclination to continue the battle, edged away under easy sail to join the ships which West had beaten. Then Byng gave the signal for chase, but he made no way upon them, as the enemy's ships were cleaner than his; towards evening he put his fleet on the other tack, in order to keep to the windward; and the next morning the French were altogether out of sight! La Galissoniere, who, before Byng's appearance, had landed supplies and reinforcements for the besiegers, was gone back towards Toulon, claiming the honours of victory. Having thus failed in destroying the French ships, Byng next failed in helping the English garrison. He called a council of war and represented that forty-two men, including Captain Andrews of the *Defiance*, had been killed, and about 170 wounded; that three of his best ships were so damaged in their masts and rigging that they could not keep the sea; that a great many of the seamen were sick, and that he had no hospital-vessel for the sick and wounded; that La Galissoniere, who might return,[1] was much superior to him in weight of metal; that in his opinion it was impossible to relieve Fort St. Philip, and that it would be imprudent, if practicable, to throw a handful of men and officers ashore, as they could only increase our loss in the inevitable surrender of that place; and, as the doleful end of all, he said that the fleet ought to make the best of its way back to Gibraltar. All his officers, and some colonels of regiments who had gone out with him from England, subscribed to this opinion, and Byng returned forthwith to the Rock. If old Blakeney had laid down his arms at the sight of the retiring fleet, which had done nothing for him, his conduct would have been excusable; but, though oppressed with age and sickness, and suffering the tortures of the gout, the veteran held out till the beginning of July, when he obtained honourable terms of capitulation.[2]

As soon as ministers knew of Byng's retreat they sent out Admirals Hawke and Saunders to take the command in the Mediterranean, and Lord Tyrawley to supersede General Fowke as governor of Gibraltar. Byng, on learning that he was recalled, wrote a stinging letter to the admiralty, in which he justified his conduct, and threw the blame of his failure upon ministers. Thereupon directions were sent to Admiral Hawke to put him under arrest. The ill-fated commander arrived as a prisoner at Portsmouth, where the people were with difficulty prevented from tearing him to pieces. The same rage against him prevailed all over the kingdom, and in no place to a greater extent than in London. It required a captain and a party of sixty dragoons to bring Byng up to London and save him from summary execution on the road. It was expected that he would be lodged in the Tower, but he was committed a close prisoner to an apartment in Greenwich Hospital. Meanwhile the Duke of Newcastle made the unseemly excuse that no blame could rest upon him as the sea was not his province. To this shallow reasoning his much dissatisfied colleague in office, Mr. Fox, replied that those who had the chief direction in an administration should always bear the greatest share of blame. And, in the month of October, Fox, after betraying what Dodington calls "an extraordinary perturbation," resigned; for, as Murray, the attorney-general, was about retiring to the bench and the House of Peers,[3] in spite of every effort to retain him in the commons, he foresaw that he should be left alone to contend in the commons against Pitt and the opposition, whose tongues would be sharpened by other disgraces and failures besides those in the Mediterranean. Seeing that he had neither Fox nor Murray to fight his battles with Pitt, Newcastle endeavoured to disarm the great orator's hostility by bringing him into the cabinet; and he prevailed so far with the king as to convince him that Pitt was an inevitable necessity. But Pitt now thought himself strong enough to impose his own terms, and, when summoned to town by the king's orders, he positively refused to coalesce with Newcastle, or belong to any ministry of which that nobleman formed a part. The bewildered premier, who had recently incurred the mortal hatred of Leicester House, by opposing, as long as he could, the promotion of the Earl of Bute to be groom of the stole to the young Prince of Wales, while Pitt had, in a manner, identified himself with the interests of Bute, hardly knew where to look for colleagues and for support. At last he addressed himself to Lord Egmont, the Tory declaimer, who had gained a reputation in the house by his spirited speeches on the opposition side, and who had an excellent character in private life. But Egmont would not engage with him upon the terms he offered. His grace next applied to the dashing, daring Granville, who was president of the council, and modestly proposed exchanging employments, he, the duke, descending to the presidency, and Lord Granville mounting to the head of the treasury and premiership: but age had somewhat cooled Granville's boldness, and he told Newcastle that he was not now what he had been ten years ago, that experience had made him wiser, and that he was well contented with the ease and dignity of his present employment. At last, when all his proposals had been rejected, and when no man would stand in the gap, the Duke of Newcastle, after having filled the offices of secretary of state and first lord of the treasury for thirty-two years, reluctantly resigned, and was followed by his friend the chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, who had held the seals nearly twenty years.

---

[1] The French admiral did return almost as soon as Byng was out of sight, but he took care to run away again before Hawke came in sight.

[2] The king was so well satisfied with Blakeney's conduct that he made him an Irish lord.

[3] Sir Dudley Rider, chief-justice of the King's Bench, had died very unexpectedly, and Murray put in for his place. Rather than lose their ablest debater in the House of Commons at a moment when his services were so much wanted, ministers tempted him with a profusion of offers—as a very honourable employment, with a large salary for his own life, a considerable reversion for his family, and a peerage in futurity; but Murray, who had a large independent fortune, and no children, refused them all, having always aimed at the post of chief-justice, for which, in the estimation of all men, he was admirably qualified.

Nothing then was left for the king to do but to call in Pitt, whom he still detested, and Pitt's great political friends. Pitt showed no great eagerness, reporting that he had got a fit of the gout, a malady which he frequently and notoriously put on to serve an occasion. The Duke of Devonshire was scarcely more eager than Pitt, and did not accept the treasury and the nominal premiership till his majesty had given his word, that, in case he disliked his employment, he should be at full liberty to resign at the end of the approaching session of parliament. Lord Temple and Lord Bute—for the understanding with Leicester House was now complete—seem to have had the chief management, the king mentally reserving to himself the determination to undo what was now done as soon as he should be able. Pitt therefore succeeded Fox as secretary of state; his friend Legge was re-appointed chancellor of the exchequer in lieu of Sir George Lyttleton, who was raised to the peerage and retired into the country to study divinity, and to write *Dialogues of the Dead;* Pitt's brother-in-law, Lord Temple, was placed at the head of the admiralty in lieu of Lord Anson, who had become exceedingly unpopular on account of our naval failures; and Temple's brother, George Grenville, was made treasurer of the navy in the place of Bubb Dodington, who had scarcely held that office a year; Pitt's other brother-in-law, James Grenville, was restored to his seat at the treasury board; the great seal was put in commission, with Willes, chief-justice of the Common Pleas, as first commissioner; and the rest of Pitt's friends were provided for in the treasury, admiralty, or other places of less consequence, in proportion to their parliamentary interest or their abilities in debate.

But the ministry thus formed was so badly provided with interest in the boroughs that it was said to resemble an administration out of parliament, and it was no easy matter to turn the House of Commons now sitting from their old allegiance to Newcastle. Dr. Hay, one of the new lords of the admiralty, was defeated in an election at Stockbridge by the friends of Fox, and there was a difficulty in finding a borough for Charles Townshend. Nor was the conduct of some of the new cabinet at all calculated to remove the antipathies of the king. Pitt protested he would not serve if thanks were moved in the House of Commons to his majesty for having brought over the Hanoverian troops; and Lord Temple thwarted the royal inclination in this and in several other matters. Pitt, however, was ready and willing to support his majesty's treaties in Germany; and parliament opened in the midst of clamours, and discontent, and popular riots in many places, occasioned by the excessive dearness of bread. Notwithstanding his numerous and his very recent protests against German treaties and alliances, Pitt adopted the subsidizing treaty with Prussia, which was avowedly for the defence of Hanover; and his first appearance as *minister* in the House of Commons was to express his affection for our good ally the King of Prussia, and to propose a vote of £200,000 on his account. Fox reminded him that he had lately called Hanover "a millstone round the neck of England;" but Pitt paid little attention to such attacks, and kept his countenance in spite of his inconsistency. The brilliant achievements of Frederick may perhaps have convinced him that this time the money of England would not be altogether thrown away. One evening, in the month of August, Frederick, at a great supper, whispered to Sir Andrew Mitchell, the English ambassador, that he wished to see him at three o'clock on the following morning. Mitchell kept the early appointment, and was conducted by Frederick to his camp. "Here," said the great soldier, "are 100,000 men setting out this instant they know not whither: write to your master that I am going to defend his majesty's dominions and my own." By the end of August, Frederick was master nearly of all Saxony; by the middle of September he had taken possession of Dresden, blockaded the Saxon army in their fortified camp at Pirna, and defeated two Austrian armies; and by the middle of October he had compelled the Saxons to flee everywhere or surrender, and had driven their elector into his kingdom of Poland. The "Seven Years' War" was now fairly begun. France, Sweden, Russia, all declared against Frederick; and our hopes of coming honourably out of the war on the continent of Europe, and advantageously out of it in America and the East Indies, all rested upon the personal safety and the genius and energy of that wonderful man.

A.D. 1757. The overthrow of the cabinet which had employed him had not the effect of moderating the popular indignation against Admiral Byng; and if the Duke of Newcastle and his colleagues had been willing to make him a scapegoat, the new ministry were just as unwilling to contract any odium by saving him. After Pitt's accession to office the admiral was removed from Greenwich to Portsmouth harbour; and there, on board the *St. George*, his trial was begun by court-martial. Byng made so sure of a prompt acquittal, that he kept a post-chaise standing daily, nay hourly, ready to carry him up to London, as it were, in triumph; and he told a friend, that as soon as he should reach town he would take his seat in the House of Commons, and return the charge upon his enemies by a regular accusation, the heads of which he had written out.[1] But after a long and careful examination of witnesses—the trial lasted a month—the court-martial[2] came to the resolution that Byng had not done his utmost to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, which it was his duty to have engaged, nor to assist such of his majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have assisted, and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of Fort St. Philip; and they therefore unanimously agreed that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament of the twenty-second year of his present majesty, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act the laws relating to the government of his majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and as that article positively prescribed death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court under any variation of circumstances, the court did unanimously adjudge the said Admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board such ship as the lords-commissioners of the admiralty should direct. The court, however, added to their sentence, that as it appeared by the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Colonel Smith, Captain Gardener, and other officers who were near the person of the admiral during the engagement, that they did not perceive any backwardness in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confusion, either from his countenance or behaviour, and that he did not seem wanting in personal courage, the court, from these and other circumstances, did not believe that his misconduct arose either from cowardice[3] or disaffection; and did therefore unanimously think it their duty most earnestly to recommend him as a proper object of mercy; and not resting satisfied with this, the president of the court-martial, and every member of it, sent up a petition or representation to the board of admiralty, where Pitt's brother-in-law, Lord Temple, now presided. "In the whole course of this trial," said they, "we have done our utmost endeavour to come at the truth, and to do the strictest justice to our country and the prisoner; but we cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man to death under the great severity of the twelfth article of war, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment only; and therefore, for our own consciences' sakes, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to his majesty's clemency." Nothing was more uncommon than the execution of any criminal when his judge recommended him to the mercy of the crown; but in the present instance it was resolved to let the law take its course.

---

[1] Letter from Mr. Symmer to Sir Andrew Mitchell, in Sir H. Ellis's *Collection*.

[2] Ibid.

[3] That vain, flighty, and empty scribbler and poetaster, the Rev. Percival Stockdale, who was an officer of marines before he entered the church, and who was present in the engagement off Minorca, says, roundly, that Byng betrayed symptoms of personal fear; but the assertions of such a coxcomb scarcely merit any attention. "A very odd circumstance," says the correspondent of Sir Andrew Mitchell, "was thrown in after the close of the evidence, which has afforded matter of speculation. A letter came from M. Voltaire addressed to Mr. Byng, which was stopped at the post-office, brought to Lord Holderness, and opened. This contained an original letter from the Duke de Richelieu to M. Voltaire, in which he declared that Mr. Byng had acted like a brave and a prudent admiral in the engagement; and that, as the French were greatly superior in men and in the condition of their ships to the English on that occasion, had Mr. Byng obstinately persisted in a closer engagement, he must by that have given up the English fleet to sure destruction. You may judge whether that attestation could have been of great service to Mr. Byng. Many are of opinion that this *certificate* of good behaviour had been begged by him or his friends."—Letter from Symmer to Mitchell, in Sir H. Ellis's *Collection*.

A better objection to the letter would be, that Richelieu, on shore and at a distance of some leagues, could hardly be a good judge of what passed at sea. The letter should have been written by La Galissoniere; but, even then, it would have had little weight with the English public, but would probably have increased the irritation. The sending of the letter was certainly the spontaneous act of Voltaire. His note to Byng, including Richelieu's letter, was written in English.

The fate of Byng rested with the king and the king's advisers. It is generally stated that Pitt was willing that the unhappy officer should be pardoned, but wished to throw the unpopularity of the act on the king personally;[1] and it appears to us quite in character that he should carefully shun risking his own popularity, which he had revived and brightened up by going out of office on the Hessian subsidy in 1755, but which he had put in some peril by returning to office and voting for far greater subsidies in 1756. We can hardly credit that Pitt pretended to know more of the matter than all the officers who sat on the court-martial, or that he conceived (which the court-martial most assuredly did not) that Byng really merited death, and that the war articles, as applicable to his case, were *not* too severe. We know that Lord Temple, though equally anxious to avoid committing himself, looked upon the sentence of death with horror; yet Temple, as head of the admiralty, signed the sentence. Hence, we confess, the damning conviction rests on our minds that Pitt and his friends would rather permit a murder than lose office, or risk the favour of the people by opposing their blind fury. The officers who had sat on the court-martial became exceedingly uneasy when they saw the execution advancing; but the city grew impatient for it, and Mr. Fox, to damage the popularity of Pitt and his associates, represented them in the House of Commons as being much too compassionate. At first three and then seven members of the court-martial renewed their solicitations at the admiralty; and Lord Torrington and other kinsmen and friends of the unfortunate Byng made a fruitless attempt upon the feelings of the old king. Some earnest efforts were made in parliament by Captain Keppel, who had sat on the trial; but these efforts, hopeful though they seemed at first, were overruled and thwarted. As this last reed had broken, Byng was left to his fate. His heroic behaviour seemed to justify the sentence of the court-martial in exempting him from the foul charge of cowardice; yet it must be remarked that a man of the greatest personal bravery may be capable of hesitation, over-caution, and a misgiving timidity in a great and difficult situation like that in which Byng was placed. His crime was, that *he* was not, what the ministry had taken him for, as great a man as his father.[2] His behaviour, after he knew that his doom was inevitable, was manly and firm in the highest degree. A few days before his execution, one of his friends, standing up by his side, said—"Which of us is the taller?" Byng replied—"Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man come in and measure me for my coffin." He declared that, being acquitted of cowardice, and being persuaded he had acted for the best, he was not unwilling to die. On Monday morning, the 14th of March, the *Monarque*, his prison-ship, was surrounded by the boats belonging to the squadron at Spithead and the ships of war in Portsmouth harbour, all manned and armed; and with an infinite number of other boats crowded with people, all anxious to catch a glimpse of so rare a spectacle as the execution of a British admiral. Byng desired as a favour that he might be shot on the quarter-deck, took leave of a clergyman and two friends who stayed with him to the last, and at the hour of noon walked out of the cabin with a firm deliberate step and sat down in a chair, in front of the two files of marines who were to shoot him; for he would not kneel. He refused to have his face covered, saying that his countenance should show whether he feared death; but upon its being represented that his looks might unnerve the marines and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to tie a white handkerchief over his eyes. He gave the signal by throwing his hat upon the deck, and in the next instant he received a bullet through the head, another through the heart, three others in different parts of his body, and fell dead. The time from his walking out of his cabin to his being deposited in his coffin did not exceed three minutes.[3]

The old king's aversion to Pitt and to Lord Temple took a more decided turn after this tragical transaction, and the death of Byng hurried on their expulsion from office. Other causes, however, contributed to this new change of ministers. The Duke of Newcastle, still formidable from his numerous and old connections, from his control of boroughs, and from a half superstitious belief that one who had been thirty years a minister must be a minister again, and have the good things of the church and state at his disposal, was planning and manœuvring with great activity; and the Duke of Cumberland, who had been appointed to command the allied army assembled for the protection of Hanover, positively refused to go while Pitt and his friends remained in office. Pitt, suffering or pretending to suffer from the gout, met the king as seldom as possible, and when he made his appearance behaved with proper respect; but Temple, who had no gout to plead, was frequent in his attendance, and was accused by the king of pert familiarity. In the month of February, Lord Waldegrave, who had quitted the service of the Prince of Wales on the promotion of Lord Bute, had a long conversation with the king, whose confidence he enjoyed to an extraordinary degree. "His majesty," says his lordship, "*then* expressed his dislike to Pitt and Lord Temple in very strong terms; the substance of which was, that the secretary made him long speeches, which possibly might be very fine, but were greatly beyond his comprehension; and that his letters were affected, formal, and pedantic: that as to Temple, he was so disagreeable a fellow, there was no bearing him; that when he attempted to argue he was pert, and sometimes insolent; that when he meant to be civil he was exceedingly troublesome; and that in the business of his office he was totally ignorant."[1]

---

[1] Lord Waldegrave says, "The popular cry continued violent against the admiral; but Pitt and Lord Temple were desirous to save him; partly to please Leicester House, and partly because making him less criminal would throw greater blame on the late administration. But, to avoid the odium of protecting a man who had been hanged in effigy in every town in England, they wanted the king to pardon him without their seeming to interfere—agreeably to the practice of most ministers, who take all merit to themselves when measures are approved of, and load their master with those acts of prerogative which are most unpopular."

[2] Horace Walpole says that people believed him to be a real "Mediterranean Byng"—a name given to his father, Lord Torrington, after his exploits off Sicily and the coast of Spain—and were transported with indescribable rage when they found out their mistake.—Letters to Horace Mann.

[3] Walpole's *Mem. of George II.*, and Letters to H. Mann; Lord Waldegrave's *Mem.; Smollett;* Sir J. Barrow, *Life of Lord Anson.*

RICHARD GRENVILLE TEMPLE, Earl Temple.
From a picture by W. Hoare.

The king next questioned Waldegrave concerning old Newcastle. His lordship answered, that, though his grace was no longer a minister, it was evident that a great party in both houses of parliament still considered him as their chief. The king charged Waldegrave to go and encourage his grace. "Tell him," said the plain-speaking and irascible George, "I do not look upon myself as king whilst I am in the hands of these scoundrels; that I am determined to get rid of them at any rate; that I expect his assistance; and that he may depend on my favour and protection." Waldegrave had several conferences with the Duke of Newcastle, whom he found eager and impatient to come into office, but fearful of the danger. He said that it was not yet the proper time—that they must wait till the supplies were granted, the Byng affair ended, and the late cabinet excused or acquitted; and that then Pitt and his followers might be set at defiance. When Waldegrave reported this answer to the king, the old sovereign exclaimed, "Neither the Duke of Newcastle nor yourself are judges of what I feel: I can endure their insolence no longer." He desired his lordship to speak to Newcastle again; but as the king grew more determined his grace grew more irresolute. Thus time was consumed and the Duke of Cumberland's impatience made unmanageable. His royal highness pressed very strongly that at least Pitt and Lord Temple might be turned out without further deliberation. Cumberland and Fox were then desired to draw up a plan of administration; but they found they were powerless without Newcastle. After various and tedious negotiations the king lost all patience, and absolutely commanded Fox to form a plan of administration in concert with the Duke of Cumberland. Fox drew up a hopeless plan, taking care, however, not to neglect the desperate chance of promoting his own pecuniary interests. Those to whom Fox applied excused themselves. Lord Halifax would not accept unless the Duke of Newcastle would promise to support him. Lord Strange kept away in the country. Charles Townshend was found to be furious against Pitt and his mean employment; but he recollected that old George was seventy-three, and young George nineteen, and of a promising constitution, and he therefore did not think it advisable to undertake the defence of an old king, nor to be connected with unpopular associates who might bar his future progress. In short, Bubb Dodington was the only man ready to engage. It was now the end of March, and Cumberland, who ought to have been in the field, still refused to go until at least Pitt and

---

[1] Lord Waldegrave also says, "The king, who had a quick conception, and did not like to be kept long in suspense, expected that those who talked to him on business should use no superfluous arguments, but should come at once to the point; whilst Pitt and Lord Temple, *who were orators even in familiar conversation*, endeavoured to guide his majesty's passions, and to convince his judgment according to the rules of rhetoric."

Temple were turned out. The perplexed old king then sent to the Earl of Winchelsea, who had held the same office in Lord Granville's administration, and made him an offer of the admiralty. Winchelsea, "with most unfashionable readiness," accepted; and then it was notified to Lord Temple that his services were no longer required. It was imagined that his brother-in-law, Pitt, would immediately have resigned; but Pitt "did not choose to save his enemies any trouble, and attended to his duty with unusual assiduity." But time pressed; the day appointed for the Duke of Cumberland's departure arrived; and so, about a week after Temple's dismissal, Pitt was told he must go also. This was followed by Legge's resigning the chancellorship of the exchequer, and by some other resignations. But though the king had thus got rid of the Pittites, he had not been able to accomplish any arrangements to replace them; and now hardly knew where to look for ministers. From the cabinet Pitt again stepped to the very apex of popularity, and freedoms of corporations in rich gold snuff-boxes were liberally showered upon him and his friend Legge. This made those who were timid before still more timid, and increased the difficulties of the king. The Duke of Devonshire, avowedly out of compassion to his majesty, remained at the head of the treasury till a successor should be named; but he was anxious to be gone, and no successor could be found! Lord Waldegrave, the only man on whom George really relied, was again employed to look out for ministers. At last, when everybody had refused, and when the Duke of Cumberland had gone over to Hanover, the Duke of Newcastle became more courageous, and seemed willing to undertake a new ministry. He demanded permission to treat with whomsoever he pleased; the king found himself compelled to give him a kind of tacit permission. His grace was soon obliged to tell the king that there could be no cabinet without Pitt. His majesty then once more, and most unwillingly, consented that Pitt and his friends should be treated with; the duke having first pledged his word that in case they continued unreasonable, he would perform his part and undertake the conduct of affairs without them. The duke, being joined by the ex-Chancellor Hardwicke, had several conferences with Pitt and Lord Bute, settled articles of peace and amity, and carried a new plan of administration to the king for his assent.[1] It was now the month of June and the country had been nearly two months without a ministry. Yet his majesty, in casting his eye over the joint scheme of Newcastle, Hardwicke, Pitt, and Bute, cut the affair short, and at once rejected their proposals; for Fox, who was hated by the Leicester House party and feared by Newcastle, was not to be paymaster—Lord Temple, who was detested by the king, was to have a cabinet employment—and what was sorest of all, Lord Winchelsea, who had so recently accepted the admiralty to oblige his majesty when all others kept aloof, was to be unceremoniously dismissed. The Duke of Newcastle endeavoured in vain to make his majesty indifferent to the sense of gratitude and the shame of promise-breaking; and then shamelessly broke his own promise to the king by refusing to take part in any administration, unless he had the cordial assistance of Pitt and Leicester House. This was on the 7th of June. On the morning of the 8th the Duke of Devonshire and the Duke of Bedford and Lord Granville went separately into the royal closet, and when they came out they spoke with Lord Waldegrave, saying that the king's situation was pitiable; that this was no time for his friends to consult their own ease. This was a prelude to a demand which startled Waldegrave, though the king had more than hinted at it some weeks before. He was summoned into the closet, where his majesty told him that the Duke of Newcastle had proved himself equally false and ungrateful; that few princes had ever been treated so scandalously; but that it was in his (Lord Waldegrave's) power to disengage him from all his difficulties, by taking the lead in a ministry as first commissioner of the treasury. George poured out a torrent of words, and would hear of no excuses of want of experience or want of abilities; and Waldegrave, *nolens volens*, found himself prime minister of Great Britain! But his lordship's prediction was soon verified, that he would find few followers. That morning the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Bedford, Lord Winchelsea, Lord Granville (who had plucked up some of his old spirit), and Mr. Fox promised to stand by him in the cabinet and support him in parliament; but in the evening when Waldegrave went with Devonshire to meet Fox at Holland House, he found him wholly changed since the morning and full of doubts and apprehensions.

The king was himself affected by Fox's despondency, and complained bitterly that almost everybody was abandoning him. And thus the whole system broke down, leaving the old king prostrate at the feet of Pitt! His majesty summoned Murray, now lord chief-justice and Baron Mansfield, and gave him full power to negotiate with Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle on their own terms, insisting only that Temple should have no employment which required a frequent attendance in the closet; and, as a *sine quâ non*, that Fox should be paymaster, because he had pledged his word that he should. It appears to us, that in all the proceedings the king behaved with far more honour and candour than any of them, Lord Waldegrave and Lord Winchelsea only excepted. According to Horace Walpole, the old man complained that they were doing everything by and for Leicester House; that they were making his grandson king in his lifetime, and constituting him a prisoner for the rest of his life. The negotiations, however, proceeded; and being, through some mistrust and jealousy, taken out of the hands of Lord Mansfield, they were intrusted to the Earl of Hardwicke, who concluded them in about a fortnight. The substance of the treaty was, that the Duke of Newcastle should be first commissioner of the treasury, without having one man at the board that really belonged to him; that Pitt, with a voice doubly potential, should be again secretary of state, with Lord Holderness for his colleague or subaltern; that Lord Granville, whom Pitt had stigmatized as "*the Hanoverian minister*," "*the flagitious taskmaster*," should again be president of the council; Lord Temple privy seal, in the room of Lord Gower, who was to be master of the horse in the room of the Duke of Dorset, who was to have a large pension, under the name of additional salary annexed to his place of warden of the Cinque-ports. The attorney-general, Sir Robert Henley, afterwards Lord Nottingham, was to have the great seal, not as chancellor, but as lord-keeper, with a pension, and a good reversion for his son; and Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, was to take Henley's place of attorney-general. The royal promise to Fox was kept, for he was set down for the profitable place of paymaster; and Potter, who had been holding half that office, was to be made one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Cholmondeley, who was to be gratified with a considerable pension on the *Irish establishment*—a source seldom overlooked when jobbing placemen or court favourites were to be gratified or kept quiet. The INTER-MINISTERIUM now ceased, after lasting more than eleven weeks. Pitt's reappointment was formally announced in the *Gazette* on the 29th of June, and all the set kissed hands. "Men," says Walpole, "could not but smile, observing Pitt return to court the moment he had been made free of so many cities for quitting it, exactly as he had accepted an employment there before old Marlborough was scarce cold, who had left him £10,000 as a reward for his patriotism."[1]

---

[1] *Lord Waldegrave.*

The great orator was scarcely repossessed of the seals ere he confirmed the opinion of Lord Waldegrave—that he would go farther than any man. He opened a secret project to Sir Benjamin Keene, our ambassador at Madrid, for ceding Gibraltar to Spain in exchange for Minorca, and on condition of Spain joining England in the war against France; and he intimated that satisfaction should be given to the Spanish court touching the establishments made by English subjects on the Mosquito shore and in the Bay of Honduras since the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, and that all establishments so made should be evacuated.[2] When our veteran and able diplomatist read the despatch, he threw his cap on the ground, and exclaimed, "Are they mad on the other side of the water? What can they mean?"[3] And, in truth, Pitt's offer savoured of insanity. Because the popular clamour exaggerated the importance of Minorca, a place difficult for us to defend, this dashing secretary of state proposed giving up Gibraltar, a place almost impossible for any enemy to take, and the importance of which could not be exaggerated; or, because he wanted to strengthen the arms of his majesty's allies on the Continent, and secure Hanover, he was ready to make a sacrifice which would have transported the English people with ten times more rage than the loss of Minorca had done. But, luckily for Pitt, not even the offer of so precious an object as Gibraltar could tempt Ferdinand VI. to break his neutrality and to engage in a war with France; and the secret negotiation ended in nothing except in contributing to hasten the death of the excellent Sir Benjamin Keene.

Nor were Pitt's first warlike schemes either well conceived or attended with success. They centred in one of those descents on the coast of France which had so often failed, and which, notwithstanding the failures, were so lamentably persevered in both by Pitt and his son. In this inglorious expedition to Rochefort there were two heroes, Captain Howe, the king's nephew by an illegitimate source, and Colonel Wolfe. "The world," says Walpole, "could not expect more from Wolfe than he thought himself capable of performing. He looked on danger as the favourable moment that would call forth his talents. . . . Howe was undaunted as a rock, and as silent—*the characteristics of his whole race.* He and Wolfe soon contracted a friendship like the union of cannon and gunpowder."[4]

Before this failure, the Duke of Cumberland, with an army of Hanoverian and confederate troops, amounting to 50,000 men, had been foiled, beaten, driven from the banks of the Rhine, the Weser, and Hanover, by the French under Marshal D'Etrée, pushed into a corner between the river Elbe and the German Ocean, and led to sign a most disgraceful capitulation, memorable in history by the name of the "Convention of Closter-Seven." By this convention, signed on the 7th of September, the electorate of Hanover was left in the hands of the French till peace should be concluded between them and the English; and the Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers were dispersed into different and distant cantonments, under the obligation of not taking up arms again during the war. Frederick, who had been defeated by Count Daun and the Austrians in the terrible battle of Kolin, was now left alone to defend his frontiers from French, Austrians, Russians, and Swedes. General Haddick, with a detachment from the great Austrian army in Lusatia, made a dash at Berlin, and laid Frederick's unfortunate capital under contribution; but Haddick was presently obliged to retreat more rapidly than he had advanced. General Apraxin, who had crossed the eastern frontier with more than 100,000 Russians, got such a lesson from Marshal Lehwald and 22,000 Prussians, who attacked him in his camp at Jægerndorff, that he evacuated Prussia with the exception of the fortress of Memel; and, immediately after this, Marshal Lehwald and General Manteufel drove the Swedes like a herd of cattle out of Prussian Pomerania, taking 3000 of them prisoners. Acting at once upon the offensive and defensive, Frederick proceeded in person against an united army of France and the empire, which was encamped on the bank of the river Saale, under the command of Marshal Soubise and the Prince of Hildburghausen, leaving the Duke of Bevern to watch Prince Charles of Lorraine, and Marshal Keith to face another Austrian army under Nadasti. At the approach of Frederick, Soubise and Hildburghausen beat a retreat. They fell back to Eisenach; Frederick followed them; and then they broke away for Erfurt and Gotha, with the Prussians still close behind them. But Frederick was recalled from his pursuit by learning that Bevern and Keith were in difficulties. After a variety of most brilliant manœuvres, he rescued Keith at Leipsic; then, on the 3d of November, with an army of only 20,000 men, he crossed the Saale, and, on the 5th of the same month, fought and won the wonderful battle of Rossbach. Immediately after this splendid victory, the Hanoverians and Hessians resumed their arms in spite of the convention of Closter-Seven. It was alleged that the cruelties and extortions exercised by the French and the Duke of Richelieu, the inglorious conqueror of Minorca, upon the electorate, provoked this infraction of the usages of war and the faith of treaties. The conduct of the French in Hanover was indeed culpable; yet it is pretty certain, that but for the battle of Rossbach the convention would have been observed at least a little longer. At the desire of his English majesty, Frederick sent Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, one of his best generals, to take the command of his forces, and also detached his brother Henry with 15,000 Prussian veterans to co-operate with the Hanoverians and Hessians. A series of actions took place, and in every one of them the Hanoverian troops behaved admirably, and were successful. They drove the French from Lüneberg and from Zell, and they recovered a great part of Brunswick. The Duke of Richelieu took up his head-quarters at Hanover; but he was driven thence in the end of November, and he soon afterwards left the army in disgust. The Count of Clermont, a prince of the blood, then came from Paris to take the command.[1] Clermont was driven from post to post —forced to cross the Weser, and by the end of the year the Rhine. Prince Henry of Prussia, after assisting the Hanoverians to drive the French out of Hanover, returned to Dresden to defend Saxony against the Austrians and the army of the empire. "This time," said Frederick, "we must not talk of winter-quarters—our operas and balls must be in the field." He was now in Silesia, where Prince Charles of Lorraine and General Nadasti had been taking a town or two and gaining the battle of Breslau over the Duke of Bevern and the Prussians; but in less than a fortnight Frederick restored his affairs by gaining the great victory of Lissa. This tremendous battle, fought on the 5th of December, was even more decisive and remarkable than that of Rossbach; for Frederick, with 30,000 men, defeated an army of 90,000 Austrians and Imperialists, took 24,000 prisoners on the field, 15,000 on the retreat, and 17,000 in the neighbouring city of Breslau, which was forced to surrender after a very short siege. It was in contemplating all this military genius, and all this astonishing success, that Pitt was led to exclaim, "that America was to be conquered through Germany!" —meaning thereby, that while Frederick was occupying France and her allies, the English might obtain possession of the Canadas, and of everything belonging to the French in the western world.

---

[1] *Memoirs of George II.*

[2] Letter from Secretary Pitt to Sir Benjamin Keene, in Archdeacon Coxe's *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain.* The archdeacon was informed by Mr. James Rivers, under-secretary of state, that Pitt dictated this most secret and confidential letter with peculiar solicitude, and employed three days in its composition.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Memoirs of George II.*

After General Braddock's defeat Pitt had devised a bold plan for securing North America—reinforcements had been sent from England—a regiment had been raised, consisting of four battalions of German Protestants—and Lord Loudon was appointed commander-in-chief. Loudon, though reinforced, achieved little or nothing, and he returned to England at the end of the year. But in the East Indies the tide of victory had been turned in our favour by the activity, daring, and military genius of Clive, who had begun his extraordinary career in the East as early as 1748, when, as a mere stripling fresh from the writer's desk, he out-generaled the veteran commanders of the French. By this time the English and French had extended their fierce contest to all the four quarters of the globe; for they were fighting in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa.

---

[1] Archenholz, *Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*

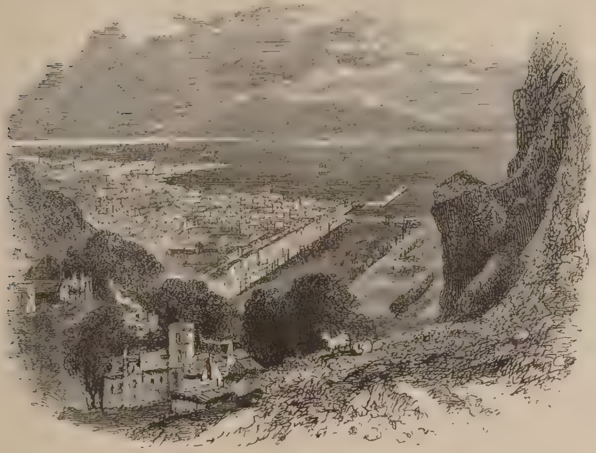
The Duke of Cumberland returned to England in October, about a month after signing the disgraceful convention of Closter-Seven, which the king, his father, disavowed before the Hanoverians took up arms again. If any doubt remained upon the mind of George, he apparently thought he should clear himself from the dishonour of infringing the convention of Closter-Seven by disavowing his son's authority, which he constantly did. The Duke of Cumberland, on his side, thought he would escape all odium by resigning his commands, which he did as soon as he returned to England. According to Horace Walpole, old George welcomed him with the words—"Here is my son, who has ruined me and disgraced himself."

The English parliament opened on the 1st of December. Pitt spoke with transport of our successes in the East, and called Clive "*that heaven-born general.*" He also panegyrized his Prussian majesty; and his eloquence and the enthusiasm both of parliament and people procured, as if by acclamation, the passing of a subsidy of £607,000 per annum to enable Frederick to carry on the war.

A.D. 1758. In the course of this session Lord George Sackville, whose interest with Pitt was great, distinguished himself by his abilities in the House of Commons, and seemed to be on the fair road to a high post in the government and the first rank in the army. "Unfortunately," says Horace Walpole, "Pitt's mind was not yet purged of its vision of Rochefort, and he again chose the coast of France for the scene of his romance." A mighty fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, thirteen frigates, three sloops, four fire-ships, and two bomb-ketches, and carrying an army of 14,000 men and 6000 marines, set sail on the 1st of June for the French coast, where they were to do something which was to be of the greatest moment, but which was not very clearly defined. The Duke of Marlborough, who was personally brave, but without experience, without military knowledge, with nothing of the great general but the name he had inherited, was appointed to the chief command of the land forces, with Lord George Sackville and Lord Granby under him. The silent, stern, and heroic Howe was appointed to the command of the fleet; but upon this his senior, Sir Edward Hawke, struck his flag and refused to serve. This quarrel was appeased by Lord Anson's taking the command himself. On the 5th of June Howe, heading and leading the transports, anchored in the Bay of Cancalle, near St. Malo. He presently knocked a coast battery about the ears of the French, and then the troops were landed without opposition. But the generals soon found that the town of St. Malo was so strongly situated and so well fortified that it could not be carried by assault. Here it is said that the soldiers observed that Lord George Sackville was shy in courting danger; "and Howe, *who never made a friendship but at the cannon's mouth*, conceived and expressed a strong aversion to him." After burning a parcel of small vessels, generals and men returned to their shipping; "and the French learned that they were not to be conquered by every Duke of Marlborough." The duke embarked in some haste, for he left his tea-spoons behind him; and these were sent home in a cartel-ship by the Duke d'Aiguillon, "politely to mark contempt." Howe led the transports through a storm back to Portsmouth, whence the Duke of Marlborough and Lord George Sackville, heartily sick of the sea, repaired to take the command of our troops in Germany;[1] for notwithstanding Pitt's phrases and declarations, we had sent a small army to that part of the Continent to defend Hanover and co-operate with the King of Prussia. The old king's prediction that the Rochefort affair would be a failure was amply verified; but still Pitt resolved that the experiment on the French coast should be repeated by the same force which had just failed, and which was now much lessened, as Anson and Hawke had not returned, and as part of the troops were withdrawn to be sent into Germany. This time the command of the land forces was given to General Bligh, a very old cavalry officer; and Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with his blood relative Howe. They sailed from St. Helen's, in the Isle of Wight, on the 1st of August, anchored in the Bay of Cherbourg on the 7th, and put out their boats on the 8th, when the troops were landed under a loose fire, which the French soon gave up. They then entered the town of Cherbourg without opposition, and began to plunder and ill-use the inhabitants. On the following morning Bligh set his men to work upon the dockyard, basin, and forts, upon which the French government had spent large sums; and they were soon destroyed and made useless. While this work was doing, parties of English light horse scoured the country to the distance of some four leagues, and had several little skirmishes with the French troops, who were waiting in the neighbourhood for reinforcements. As soon as intelligence reached Bligh that these reinforcements were coming, he levied about £3000 sterling upon the unfortunate town—carried off some brass cannons and mortars, which were afterwards exhibited for a few days in Hyde Park as trophies of victory—re-embarked his men—and sailed back to the English coast. But in about a fortnight Bligh returned to St. Malo to make another attempt there. The landing of the troops was beautifully performed under the eye of Howe; but we cannot possibly discover what it was intended the men should do when landed. Bligh marched and counter-marched, skirmished, and encamped. The autumnal gales blew Howe off the coast; so that when a retreat before a far superior French army became inevitable, he could render no assistance to Bligh, whose rearguard, consisting of 1500 men, was entirely sacrificed, together with General Dury, who commanded it.

---

[1] "Lord George Sackville said he would no longer go *buccaneering;* the king refused to let him go to Germany, but his majesty was *obliged to submit.*"—Dodington's *Diary*.


CHERBOURG.—From a recent view by Skatton.

It was well for Pitt's popularity that the fleet and army in America began to furnish better materials for his gazettes. He had wisely appreciated the genius and daring of Wolfe, had procured his promotion, and sent him across the Atlantic. General Amherst, with Wolfe and 14,000 men, embarked with Admiral Boscawen for Cape Breton. Boscawen destroyed five French men-of-war that lay to cover Louisburg, took five French frigates, and landed the troops, who by the 27th of July made themselves masters of the whole island. General Abercromby, who undertook the reduction of all the French forts on the Lakes George and Champlain, was repulsed with the loss of 800 men at Ticonderoga; but Brigadier Forbes and Colonel Bradstreet, whom Abercromby had detached for those services, took Fort Duquesne, on the Ohio, and Fort Frontenac, on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, at the point where that river issues from Lake Ontario. Although there remained much to do, it was evident the tables were completely turned, and that the French, instead of driving us out of Nova Scotia, would themselves be driven out of the Canadas.

In the meanwhile our good ally Frederick was again fighting against armies of Austrians, Imperialists, Russians, Swedes, and French, and was not allowed to go into quarters at all. In the depth of winter, Count Fermor, with 100,000 Russians, burst into Prussia, took many towns, and forced the inhabitants to swear allegiance to the Czarina Elizabeth. But this did not prevent Frederick from prosecuting to a successful end the siege of Schweidnitz, and undertaking the siege of Olmütz, in Moravia, which had been the principal station for provisioning and arming the Austrian forces. Marshal Daun advanced with a large army to the relief of Olmütz, and then, leaving a part of his army to cover Silesia, Frederick marched off with 20,000 men to make head against the Russians, who were bombarding his good town of Küstrin. After an extraordinary march, and a still more extraordinary battle, which lasted from nine in the morning till seven at night, he obliged "that savage and undaunted people" to retire. From this great battle of Küstrin, or Zorndorf, as it is more generally called, Frederick marched away for Saxony, where his brother, Prince Henry, had been driven, by the Imperialists and Austrians, back upon Dresden; but on his way he was unexpectedly met by Marshal Daun, who defeated him in the battle of Hochkirch, where Frederick lost nearly all his artillery, 5500 men, and one of the best of his generals, the brave Scottish veteran and exile Marshal Keith, who fell mortally wounded in the arms of an English volunteer. After keeping his ground for several days in the face of Daun, who did not venture upon a second attack, Frederick went away with a grin and a sneer, saying that the game was not yet lost—that Daun did not know how to play his cards! And in a brief space of time he compelled the Austrians and Imperialists to abandon all their sieges, to clear out of Saxony, Silesia, and Pomerania, and retire for winter-quarters into their own territories. Frederick's much-esteemed general, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, with the Hanoverians and Hessians, seemed almost as successful upon the Rhine. On the 14th of August, the prince was joined by the Duke of Marlborough and the English auxiliaries, who amounted to about 12,000 men. But these English troops had scarcely taken the field when an epidemic disorder broke out among them, which thinned their numbers and carried off the Duke of Marlborough. The command then devolved to the incapable and imperious Lord George Sackville, who thought it unworthy of an English lord to submit to the commands of a German prince. It appears that quarrels between them began immediately, and that the gallant and good-natured Lord Granby, after attempting in vain to moderate the pride of Lord George Sackville, sided with Prince Ferdinand. In spite, however, of these dissensions the Prince of Soubise was well beaten and driven out of Hesse.[1]

Parliament re-assembled on the 23d of November, when Pitt told them that the war must be carried on with increased vigour, and that, as war was now more expensive than in former times, some additional millions of money must be raised. The addresses of both houses justified and panegyrized the conduct of ministers; not a word was said about this being a war for the defence of Hanover—but our conquests in America were upheld as worth the money we were spending. In the heat of this enthusiasm an army of 95,000 British troops and 7000 foreigners was voted, and about £12,000,000 was raised for the service of the ensuing year.

Havre-de-Grace.—From a drawing by Morel.

A.D. 1759. New taxes were called for to support our conquests and military glory. Duties were laid upon sugar and other dry goods. Pitt thought that a tax upon hops would be better than a duty upon sugar—that a tax upon wine or linen would be preferable to that upon dry goods—but, that the best thing of all would be a bill of general excise, like that proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, which Pitt had vehemently opposed at the time, losing his cornetcy of horse for his opposition. While the head of Pitt was filled with splendid schemes of foreign conquests, a message was received from the king, importing that his majesty desired to be enabled to collect the militia and march them out of their several counties, as he apprehended the French intended an invasion. And, in fact, there had been for some time a great stir and a show of preparation all along the French coast—a gathering of flat-bottomed boats, &c. Our militia were called, and our 24,000 and odd prisoners of war were marched up into the interior of the island and put under the guard of our militiamen. To meet and dissipate the apprehended storm before it should reach our shores, Admiral Rodney was despatched to the French coasts. He bombarded Havre-de-Grace, set fire to the town in several places, and at an enormous expense to the English did considerable damage to the French. Admiral Boscawen failed in an attack on the outer harbour of Toulon. The commander of the Toulon fleet, M. de la Clue, whose object it was to get out into the ocean and join the Brest fleet under M. Conflans, thinking the opportunity favourable, slid down the Mediterranean soon after Boscawen's departure from Toulon. He was not wholly deceived in his calculations—he got through the Straits of Gibraltar—but Boscawen watched and followed, and fell upon him off Cape Lagos, in Portugal. De la Clue, after fighting very gallantly, was mortally wounded; his ship, esteemed the finest in the French navy, and three other first-rate ships, struck to Boscawen, and a fifth was driven on shore and burned. This battle was fought on the 18th of August. On the 20th of November, Sir Edward Hawke, who had been driven from the coast he had been blockading, returned to the neighbourhood of Brest, and found that M. Conflans had stolen out with his fleet, and was then near at hand in Quiberon Bay. It blew a storm at the time, yet Hawke, disregarding the dangers of a lee-shore, off a coast roughened with rocks and sand-banks, and covered with a hostile and brave population, went at once to the attack, even before half his ships had joined him. The English had twenty-three ships in all, the French only twenty-one; but many of the English did not come up in time to engage; and what was of still greater advantage to the French, they were sheltered among the rocks and banks, and the English, in a gale of wind, had to go through narrow and most dangerous passes in order to attack them. Commodore Howe, now, by the death of his elder brother, who had been slain in America, Lord Howe, attacked the great French ship the *Formidable*, with fury, and came so close to her in a trough of that stormy sea that her prow struck his ship's waist, and drove in the lower tier of guns. The thick darkness of a November night fell upon this scene of horror, and slackened the fire of the English, whose guns had been out-roaring the elements. Conflans' own ship and another were driven on shore and burned; two more were sunk, one was taken, and another struck her colours, but afterwards got off, as the storm prevented the English sailors taking possession of her. Two of our ships were lost in the storm, but the crews were saved. It is said that not above eight or ten of our ships were *actually* engaged in obtaining this decisive victory, which, for a time, put an end to the navy and the hopes of France, and to all English apprehensions of invasion.

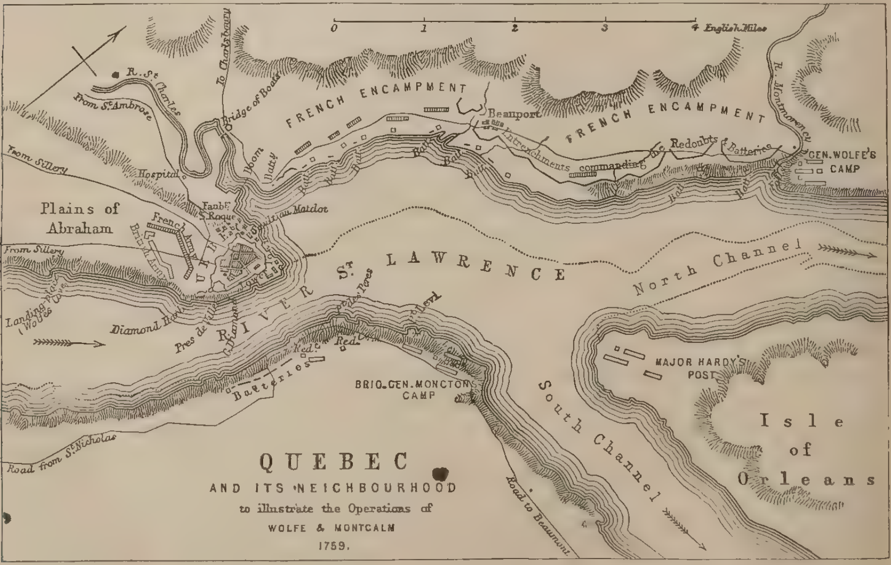
---

[1] *Archenholz; Voltaire;* Frederick's own *Account of the Seven Years' War;* Lord Dover, *Life of Frederick;* Walpole, *Memoirs and Letters.*

But the great harvest of laurels this year was in those lands "that see the Atlantic wave their morn restore." The Canadas had been left open to attack the year before, and the defeated, impoverished, bankrupt Louis XV. had not been able to succour them. The time was come for executing Pitt's great scheme; and he had now wisely insisted that the execution of it should be intrusted to a hero. The king, who thought only of antiquity and seniority in the service, selected old Hopson, who may have been a very respectable jog-trot veteran, though he had certainly never done anything to distinguish himself as a general. Pitt, who would have his own way, put forward Wolfe, now a lieutenant-general of his own promoting; and never was a choice more fortunate to a minister, though it sent his admired soldier to an early grave.

The military scheme, after being subjected to various alterations, was finally arranged thus:—Wolfe was to advance with a part of our forces and seize Quebec, the capital of the French provinces; General Amherst, with a second division, was to occupy Crown Point, reduce Fort Ticonderoga, then cross Lake Champlain, fall down the St. Lawrence, and join Wolfe under the walls of Quebec; while General Prideaux, with a third division, and a considerable body of wild Indians, was to invest Niagara, then embark on Lake Ontario, besiege and carry Montreal, and afterwards form his junction with Wolfe and Amherst under the capital. These combined movements had generally failed even when natural obstacles were far less numerous, and the distances to be traversed by the different corps far shorter; and when Wolfe got near to Quebec he found himself alone with the division he had brought. Amherst had, indeed, carried Crown Point and Ticonderoga, and Prideaux had made himself master of Niagara; but there they stopped. No blame, we believe, attaches either to Amherst or Prideaux, who were checked by a variety of circumstances and difficulties, some of which at least ought to have been foreseen and provided for by those who planned the campaign. Nor does the honour of Wolfe at all rest on his being the first at the place of rendezvous; for he was carried by sea, and then up the St. Lawrence by Admiral Saunders, whose ships and seamen remained to co-operate. About the last day of June, Wolfe disembarked his troops upon the large and fertile Isle of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. Here he erected some batteries, which Montcalm, the French general, vainly attempted to prevent by throwing a strong detachment across the river; and sent forward General Monkton to take possession of Point Levi, opposite Quebec. Wolfe also prepared a military hospital and works to secure his stores. He attempted to reconcile the Canadians on the island by friendly proclamations; but those rough people joined scalping parties of wild Indians that were skulking among the woods, and butchered all the English stragglers they could surprise. While the fleet lay at the Isle of Orleans it was exposed to great danger; and if once the fleet had been destroyed, or even driven from its post, nothing would have remained for Wolfe but a surrender. The troops were scarcely landed when a terrible storm blew down the river, driving several of their large ships from their anchors, and making the transports run foul of one another. Some of the smaller craft foundered, and a considerable number of boats swamped. While they were in this confusion the enemy sent down from Quebec seven fire-ships, which made for the thickest part of our shipping; but the British sailors grappled these fire-ships, towed them away to the banks, and left them fast aground, where they lay burning to the water's edge without doing any mischief. Quebec by this time was strongly fortified; and its natural situation has always rendered it formidable to an assailant, for it stands on a steep rock at the confluence of the St. Charles and St. Lawrence, and these rivers, rocks, and ravines render it inaccessible on three of its sides. Montcalm, as brave an officer as Wolfe, covered the town with 10,000 men, having posted himself on the left bank of the St. Charles, with encampments extending as far as the river Montmorency, and with entrenchments thrown up at every accessible place. With an inferior force Wolfe resolved to attack Montcalm in this almost impregnable position. On the 9th of July, at night, he crossed the north channel of the St. Lawrence, and encamped near Montcalm's left, the river Montmorency being between them. On the following morning, a company of rangers which he threw out were almost annihilated, in a wood, by a body of wild Indians. He carefully examined the course of the Montmorency, and found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was entrenched, and steep and woody, and he gave up the idea of crossing there. His escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who though repulsed, killed or wounded some forty men. On the 18th of July, two English men-of-war, two armed sloops, and two transports, with troops

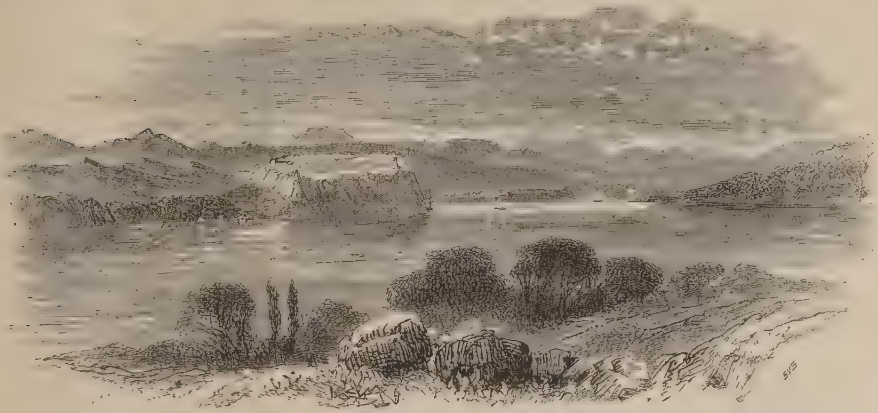
QUEBEC, from near Point des-Pères.[1]—From an engraving by G. Cooke.



---

[1] On the left, looking across the St. Lawrence, are seen the precipitous heights of Cape Diamond, on which stands the citadel. On the right in the distance is seen the mouth of the St. Charles river.

on board, passed by the town of Quebec, and got into the north channel, and close to Wolfe's encampment on the Montmorency. With the assistance of these ships, which had got into the north channel, Wolfe reconnoitred the banks, and threw a detachment under Colonel Carleton on shore, to make a diversion, and tempt Montcalm, or part of his forces, out of their entrenchments. But the French general stayed where he was, kept his men in their strong posts, and left Wolfe to seek an avenue to attack him. At last, on the 31st of July, Wolfe attacked Montcalm in his entrenchments: leaving Brigadier Townshend to ford the Montmorency, and attack in flank, he, with the help of the ships and the fleet's boats, threw himself on the beach, and attacked in front. The *Centurion* ship of war was so placed as to check the fire of the French battery, which commanded the ford of the Montmorency; and two transports drawing little water were furnished with guns, and sent close in shore to cover the place which Wolfe had selected for his landing; but these two vessels could not get near enough to be of much use; a number of boats filled with soldiers grounded upon a ledge of rocks; time was lost in getting them off; and Wolfe was obliged to send an officer to stop Townshend, who was crossing the ford. The French meanwhile had crowded their artillery on the point menaced, which was a rising ground beyond the river bank; and, galled by their fire, the English grenadiers, as soon as they were landed, rushed tumultuously up towards the entrenchments, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them and join in the attack. Indeed, Townshend, though upon his march in very good order, was still at some distance, and Brigadier Monkton, who had crossed the St. Lawrence with the troops at Point Levi, had not got his men out of the boats. The grenadiers were met in the teeth by a fire too terrible for the bravest of them, and they fell back in confusion after sustaining a great loss. Still further deterred by the approach of night, and the tide coming roaring up against the current of the St. Lawrence, Wolfe gave up the attack and withdrew his men to the camp across the Montmorency, to avoid submersion on the beach by the foaming waters. His situation seemed growing desperate, and his health began to fail him. In his letter to Pitt, which was written from his head-quarters at Montmorency on the 2d September, more than a month after this failure, he confessed that he had descended to the dubiousness and despondency of consulting a council of war. When this letter reached England, it excited consternation and anger. Pitt feared that he had been mistaken in his favourite general, and that the next news would be, either that he had been destroyed or had capitulated. But in the conclusion of his melancholy epistle, Wolfe had said he would do his best—and that best turned out a miracle in war. He declared that he would rather die than be brought to a court-martial for miscarrying, and, in conjunction with Admiral Saunders, he concerted a plan for scaling the Heights of Abraham, and gaining possession of the elevated plateau at the back of Quebec, on the side where the fortifications were the weakest, as the French engineers had trusted to the precipices and the river be-



CAPE DIAMOND AND PART OF QUEBEC, looking down the St. Lawrence.[1]—From a drawing by G. B. Fisher.

---

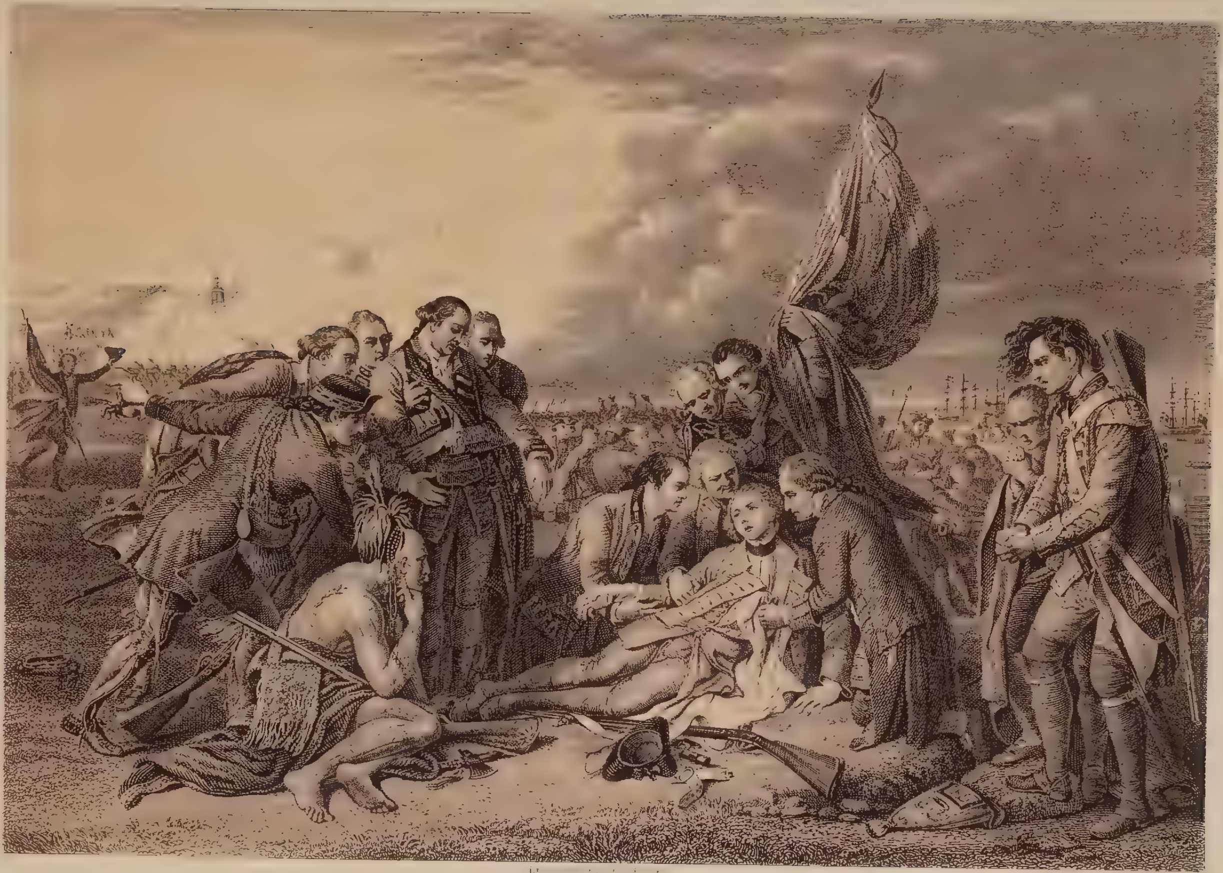
[1] On the left of the picture are the Heights of Abraham, and immediately beyond is the mass of rock on and around which the town of Quebec is built. Only a portion of the fortifications are seen, the town itself being on the farther side. In the distance is the long straggling village of Beauport, where Montcalm had his entrenched camp; and at the farther extremity of it is the position of Montmorency falls. Had the view been continued a little way to the left, it would have embraced the spot where Wolfe landed the night before his memorable victory.

neath. In order to deceive the enemy, the camp at Montmorency was broken up, the artillery and troops conveyed across to Point Levi; and the admiral, sailing some three or four leagues higher up the river, lay there as if intent on other business, and then, on the night of the 12th of September, glided down the river and put out all his boats to land the troops under the Heights of Abraham, at a place now called Wolfe's Cove. Through the darkness of the night and the skill and caution of the seamen, the French sentinels posted along the banks of the river, and even close to the narrow ledge of rocks selected for the disembarkation, were all passed without notice or alarm given, and the English soldiers were landed by boatfuls at a time. The first that were landed were some Highlanders, who began to climb the steep face of the rocks, using their hands more than their feet, and grasping at every bush and bough, or projection, that could facilitate their ascent. The Highlanders were followed in the same manner by the English light infantry, and those by the line. There was a French guard over their heads, and hearing a rustling noise, but seeing nothing, these fellows fired down the precipice at random. Our men then fired up into the air, and also at random; but, terrified at so strange and unexpected an attempt, the French picket ran off, all but the captain, who was wounded and taken prisoner; and who begged our officers to sign a certificate of his courage, lest he should be punished as corrupted, believing that Wolfe's bold enterprise would be deemed impossible without corruption. That general now stood on the Heights of Abraham; but he had no artillery with him, and excessive fatigue and disease, the French and the wild Indians, had reduced his army to less than 5000 men. His light infantry, however, seized four guns which the French had placed in battery, and the English seamen made shift to haul up one gun from the landing-place. On the other side, Montcalm came on in too great a hurry to allow the French to bring their artillery with them, and they brought no more than two small field-pieces. At first the French general could hardly credit the evidence of his senses—so impossible did it seem for an army to ascend those dangerous cliffs—at last he said, "I see them where they ought not to be; but, since we must fight, I will go and crush them." Quitting his entrenchments, he advanced with confident haste to the Heights of Abraham, where Wolfe had formed his little army in order of battle, within long cannon-shot of the outworks of Quebec. After lining the bushes with detachments of Indians, the French and Canadians advanced to the charge in good order, and with great vivacity; but they opened an irregular fire before they got within musket-range. The English, who had been ordered to load with two bullets each, reserved their fire until the enemy were within a few yards of their front; and then they poured in a terrible discharge. This first volley was succeeded by a most steady and deliberate fire, and, in less than half an hour, the French began to waver. But as Wolfe stood conspicuous in the front line cheering his men, a musket-ball struck his wrist. He wrapped a handkerchief round the wound, continued giving his orders, and soon put himself at the head of his grenadiers, who had fixed their bayonets for the charge; he was hit by a second ball in the upper part of the abdomen; but he seemed scarcely to heed this more serious wound, and was giving his orders, or repeating his encouragements, when a third musket-ball hit him in the breast, and brought him to the ground. His grieved men picked him up and carried him to the rear. He was dying fast, yet still continued intent on the battle. As his eyes were growing dim, he heard a wounded officer near him exclaim, "See how they run!" "Who run?" cried Wolfe. "The French," replied the officer; "they give way in all directions." "Then," said the hero, "I die content!" and after giving an order for Webb's regiment to move down to the St. Charles river and secure the bridge there, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, he expired. General Monkton, the second in command, was dangerously wounded, but Townshend completed the victory. Montcalm received a mortal wound in attempting to rally the French, and his second in command was made prisoner, and conveyed on board an English ship, where he died the next day of his wounds. The city of Quebec capitulated five days after the battle, and the disheartened remnant of the French grand army of Canada retired to Montreal.

Other triumphs, unmixed with that deep grief—for the nation had wept the fate of Wolfe—other victories in various parts of the world, were reported in rapid succession. In India, Colonel Coote, worthy of competing with Clive, defeated the French under General Lally, and conquered the whole of Arcot; Colonel Ford defeated the Marquis de Conflans, and took Masulipatam; and other advantages were gained by Captain Knox. On the continent of Europe success was not quite so invariable, for the French gained one or two battles, and once more threatened the unlucky electorate of Hanover. But Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, with his Hanoverians, Hessians, and English, determined to make a bold effort for the defence of the country, and took post near Minden. Here he was attacked at the dawn of day, on the 31st of July, by Marshal Contades, the Duke de Broglie, and the French, whose recent successes made them

THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE.

General Wolfe found himself in a desperate situation. Before him was the strong fortress of Quebec, standing on a steep rock at the confluence of the St. Charles and St. Lawrence, held by 10,000 picked French soldiers under Montcalm, an able French general; and to assail this strong position he had only about 5000 men, whose attempts at capture had hitherto failed. As the season when operations were possible had nearly come to an end, Wolfe determined to scale the cliffs on which the fortress stood, and carry the place by sheer surprise and audacity during the night. Accordingly, on the 13th September, 1759, he landed his forces, with the assistance of the fleet, at a point where the cliffs were considered inaccessible. The soldiers, however, climbed the rocks like goats, surprised the French picket at the top, and soon found themselves on the long-desired Heights of Abraham. Montcalm could scarcely believe his eyes when day dawned and he found the English drawn up for battle, but he resolved at once to crush them. In the terrible struggle which ensued General Wolfe was wounded. *As he lay dying on the field he heard an officer beside him exclaim: "See, they run! they run!" "Who run?" cried Wolfe. "The French", was the reply. "Then", said the hero, "I die content!"* Yes, run the Frenchmen did, and the result of it all was that Canada became a British colony.



THE DEATH OF GENERAL WOLFE

ON THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM, QUEBEC, [illegible]

FROM THE PICTURE BY BENJAMIN WEST P.R.A. IN THE DUKE OF WESTMINSTER'S COLLECTION

disregard his strong position, and the admirably served British artillery which garnished it. After fighting nearly to the hour of noon, the French fell into disorder, and reeled back from a field covered with their dead. At this moment Prince Ferdinand sent orders to Lord George Sackville to bring up all the British and Hanoverian cavalry, which had been lying on the right wing inactive and unexposed. This order was scarcely delivered by Ligonier, when a second order was brought to march with only the *British* cavalry. Lord George, who had not ceased quarrelling with the prince, replied to his aid-de-camp, in some confusion, "This cannot be! Would he have me break the line?" Young Fitzroy, the aid-de-camp, said, "My orders from the prince are positive: the French are in disorder!—here is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves!" Lord George Sackville still hesitated, saying it was impossible the prince could mean to break the line. Lord Granby, the second in command, was spurring on, but Lord George made him halt. In the meanwhile the French fled completely from the field, and the battle was over before the British and Hanoverian cavalry came up. His dissensions with his superior in command were notorious to the whole army, but this did not hinder many officers from believing that there was cowardice mixed with spite. The weight of opinion was generally against Lord George, both in the camp abroad, and in court and city at home. He wrote for leave to resign his command, and returned to England to face and brave a court-martial, which, after Byng's affair, had become more terrible in the eyes of most officers than all the risks and dangers of a bloody battle. But, if our cavalry had no part in the honour of Minden, our infantry, as well as our artillery, obtained a large share of it. Six regiments of English foot sustained for a time the whole effort of the French, who exceeded 60,000 men. The whole force of the allies engaged was about 35,000. On the very same day the hereditary Prince of Brunswick defeated a French corps at Coveldt. After various successes, Frederick was again called to defend his own frontiers against the Russians, who were advancing with 86,000 men. Before his Prussian majesty could come up, the Russians had effected their junction at Frankfort-on-the-Oder, with an Austrian army of 12,000 men under Marshal Laudon; yet, with only 48,000 men, Frederick attacked these hosts in their intrenchments, and was defeated, after a horrible slaughter on both sides. This battle of Frankfort, or Kunersdorf, cost the King of Prussia nearly all his artillery, half of his generals and officers of distinction, and above 18,000 men in killed and wounded.

The British parliament met on the 13th of October, when Pitt spoke as the oracle of war. He disclaimed particular praise to himself, and professed his determination of keeping united with the rest of the ministers. Success, he said, had given us unanimity; not unanimity success. But the ministerial unanimity of which he boasted did not exist, and his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, was at this very moment urging a claim that put the cabinet in jeopardy. Temple asked the king for a vacant order of the Garter—the king, it appears, had promised the first riband to the Marquis of Rockingham, and wanted one, besides, to confer upon Prince Ferdinand. Pitt, with great eagerness, pressed his majesty to gratify Temple, saying that he would take it as a personal favour done to himself. But from entreaties he proceeded to threats, hinting to the Duke of Newcastle that, if he were not gratified, he would no longer sustain "the vast and dangerous load his majesty had been pleased to lay on his feeble shoulders." The great patriot-minister had openly said, and no doubt felt inwardly assured, that he, and he alone, could manage the war and serve his country effectually at this crisis; yet he was ready rather to cease serving his country than forego his brother-in-law's claim to a gew-gaw! Seldom has a man been so meanly proud or so proudly mean; and, bringing his inconsistencies, as it were, into a sentence and an antithesis, he spoke to a courtier with an insolent scorn of courts while he was begging and bullying for a court distinction.[1] But the old king, who loved Temple no better now than he had done two years before, continued obstinate; and Temple, on the 13th of November, just a month after the meeting of parliament, resigned. It is said that, in doing so, his lordship besought Mr. Pitt and his brothers (the two Grenvilles) not to follow his example, but remain where their services were so much wanted. But the king, who knew the close links that bound the parties, and who could hardly be ignorant of Pitt's menacing letter to Newcastle, took the alarm, and commissioned the Duke of Devonshire to persuade Lord Temple to resume his place, by promising him that his ardent passion for the blue riband should be gratified. Temple, whose sudden resignation had been censured by the public, who felt that it *must* lead to the retirement of Pitt, was soothed by Devonshire's persuasion and promise; within a week he kissed hands again for the privy seal; and, shortly after this violence on the old king, he got the blue riband.

Pitt declared that this was no time for paltry economy; that the best economy was to push expenditure so as to finish the war. France, he represented as a dying monarchy, whose final overthrow could be secured by a vigorous onset. Few or none ventured to oppose or contradict; supplies, amounting to the hitherto unparalleled extent of £15,000,000, were voted; and the army, including the 18,000 militia, was fixed at more than 175,000 men in British pay!

---

[1] See letter to the Duke of Newcastle, in *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, edited by William Stanhope Taylor, Esq., and Captain John Henry Pringle, executors of his son, John, Earl of Chatham.

A.D. 1760. Lord George Sackville, having waited till the return of his brother officers from Germany, imperiously demanded a court-martial. After many delays the court-martial was appointed. Lord George was bold with his tongue, and he was skilful too. He assumed a dictatorial style to the court, as he might have done if sitting amongst them, instead of being a prisoner before them. He browbeat the witnesses, gave the lie to one of them, and treated the judge-advocate with contempt. The trial ran out to a great length; but at last, on the 3d of April, the court-martial finished their tedious business by pronouncing Lord George Sackville guilty of having disobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand, and declared it their opinion that he was unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever. The sentence was confirmed by the king, who, moreover, signified his pleasure "that it should be given out in public orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and in every quarter of the globe where any of the English troops happen to be; that officers being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature, and that seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders." Nor did the old king stop here; he, with his own hand, struck out Lord George's name from the list of privy counsellors, and forbade his appearance at court; ordered the lord-chamberlain to notify this prohibition to the Prince of Wales and the princess-dowager; and sent the vice-chamberlain to acquaint Lord Bute with it. The potent favourite said, to be sure the prince would not think of seeing Lord George while it was disagreeable to his majesty; but the advanced age of the king gave assurance that the proscription at court could not last very long; and almost as soon as George III. was king, the haughty Sackville was taken back openly into favour, and he subsequently obtained lucrative employment and a peerage.

General Murray, a brave and adventurous soldier, had been left to defend the half-ruined town of Quebec, and our fleet had retired to escape being frozen up in the St. Lawrence. M. Levi, who had succeeded Montcalm, spent the winter in making preparations for a desperate effort to recover all that the French had lost; and, early in the spring, he took the field with a mixed body of French, Canadians, and Indians, exceeding in all 10,000 men. He marched from Montreal; and in the month of April, when the weather was still inclement, he appeared before Quebec. Murray, with scarcely 7000 men, disdaining to wait a regular siege, marched out and attacked him, but was defeated, lost most of his guns, was nearly cut off in his retreat, and got back to the city with great difficulty. As the ice cleared away, Levi brought up six French frigates, and began to form the siege by land and water. But on the 9th of May, Lord Colville, with two good frigates, outsailing the rest of the English squadron, ascended the river and destroyed the French ships under the eyes of Levi, who presently decamped, and with such precipitation, that he left his artillery and stores behind him. Nothing now remained to the French in Canada except Montreal; and that last stronghold, wherein the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the governor-general, had collected all his magazines, was soon invested by General Amherst, General Murray, and Colonel Haviland; and, despairing of any succour from France, which could scarcely put a ship to sea, or spare a man from her wars in Europe, Vaudreuil capitulated on 8th September. Thus were the Canadas won, and the conquest of them had cost us comparatively but few men. This encouraged Pitt to call it "a bloodless war;" but as he was conquering America through Germany, the blood spilt there was assuredly, in some measure, to be taken into the account; and there the carnage was and continued to be unprecedented in modern warfare.

On the 23d of June the Austrians, under Laudon, attacked the Prussians, under Fouquet, near Glatz, in Silesia, and gained a victory, which cost the Prussians 8000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the Austrians themselves 3000 men; and after their victory the Austrian soldiers committed unspeakable atrocities in one or two towns which their unusual success opened to them. From Glatz Laudon advanced upon Breslau. Frederick's brother, Prince Henry, obliged him to raise that siege; but before the Austrians departed they had reduced the greater part of the thriving Breslau to a heap of ruins. Frederick himself, after a fruitless attempt to recover Dresden, was intercepted at Leignitz, and almost completely surrounded by Austrians and Russians; but on the 15th of August, with a union of heroism and consummate skill, he cut his way through the Austrians, killing 2000 and taking 5000 prisoners. He himself lost in killed and wounded about 1200 men; but this he called "only a scratch." He then joined his brother Henry, and rescued the town of Schweidnitz, besieged by Daun. But, in the meanwhile, a Russian army, under Tottleben and Czernichef, and an Austrian army, under Lacy, after firing red-hot balls into the town, and bombarding it with shells and grenades, took Berlin, committed dreadful havoc, and threw out their Cossacks and Pandours to ravage all the country round about. Frederick struck away to rescue his capital, and Daun followed him. In a moment of despondency Frederick spoke, as he had done once or twice before, of committing suicide; but the Russians and Austrians ran away from Berlin as soon as they had heard of his approach, and his genius soon gave him fresh triumphs over the mediocrity of his enemies' generals. Prince Ferdinand, who had with him nearly 20,000 British troops, gave the French a complete defeat at Warburg, and drove them into the Dimel, where many of them were drowned. The British grenadiers, artillery, dragoons, and the Highlanders particularly distinguished themselves in this sharp encounter, and the gallant Marquis of Granby was always found charging at the head of the horse. Such, however, was the numerical superiority of the French, who were reinforced, that they were soon enabled to overrun Hesse and threaten the electorate of Hanover once more.

But George II., who had already spent nearly all his private treasure in defending his electorate, looked confidently to the arms of his nephew Frederick, and the increasing poverty and disorganization of the French monarchy; and if he had any tender apprehensions about Hanover, they were soon quieted in the grave.[1] On the 25th of October, the temperate, methodical old man rose as usual at six o'clock and drank his chocolate. At a quarter after seven he went into a little closet. Presently his German valet heard a noise as of some one falling, and, running into the closet, he found the king dead on the floor. They carried him to a bed and applied the lancet, but not a drop of blood followed—a ventricle of his heart had burst and caused an instantaneous and painless death. "Full of years and glory, he died without a pang, and without a reverse. He left his family firmly established on a long-disputed throne, and was taken away in the moment that approaching extinction of sight and hearing made loss of life the only blessing that remained desirable."[2]

CHAPTER XXIV.—HISTORY OF RELIGION.

A.D. 1689—1760.

Nature of the settlement of 1639—The Revolution unacceptable to the generality of the clergy—Its compulsory character with the nation at large—The nonjuring bishops who refused to acknowledge it—Penalties imposed on their refusal to take the new oaths—Spirit in which the oaths were taken by the recusant clergy—Bishops deprived and new ones appointed—Formation of a nonjuring church—Two bills for the relief of dissenters passed—A convocation petitioned for and granted—Purpose of church reform to be effected by it—The convocation dissolved without producing any change—Prelacy abolished in Scotland—State of lay patronage in Scotland—Act for abolishing it passed—Mode appointed for the election of ministers—Episcopal clergy who still retained their livings in Scotland—Condition of the Protestant dissenters at the revolution—Condition of the Roman Catholics—Acts of parliament against Popery—Severe penalties with which they were to be enforced—The enactments fall into disuse—State of the church at the accession of Queen Anne—Convocation of 1710—Royal restrictions laid upon it—It effects nothing—Abortive measures of the bishops in the following year—New doctrine of the exclusive validity of Episcopal baptism—State of the church at the demise of Queen Anne—Convocation sinks into an empty formality—Effect of its suppression as compared with the Scottish right of public discussion and legislation in the church—Innovation in the Scottish church by the restoration of patronage—The Scottish Secession and English Methodism contemporaneous in their origin—Causes of the Secession in Scotland—Its commencement—State of religion in England—Need of religious reform—The student life of John Wesley—Of George Whitefield—Their training as reformers—Whitefield's surprising preaching and its effects—Career of Wesley—Wesley and Whitefield originate the English Methodists—Polity of Wesleyan Methodism—Connection of Methodism with the Established church during the lives of Wesley and Whitefield.

THE settlement, as it used properly to be styled, of 1689, was, in the church as well as in the state, much less of a revolution, than was either the abolition of the ancient government in 1640, or its restoration in 1660. The change in regard to the one, as well as to the other, was not of institutions, but only of persons. As the monarchy remained, with only a new king, so did the Established church, with only the substitution of some new bishops and other clergymen.

---

[1] In the course of the summer the Duke of Cumberland had a stroke of palsy. He soon recovered the use of his speech and of his limbs, but one of his eyes remained distorted, and the grossness of his habit and other disorders seemed to threaten a brief and miserable residue of existence.

[2] Walpole, *Memoirs*.

The victory of 1689 was really, in the main, a victory of Protestantism, and, as such, a victory of the Established church. Yet, notwithstanding this character of the result, and notwithstanding also the fact that it had been principally brought about by means of the church, there is no doubt that the Revolution was far from being acceptable to the generality of the clergy. That event, indeed, brought with it no new laws directly affecting the Established church in England—no alteration of anything in either its internal or external condition, in its doctrines, its discipline, its endowments, or its position in the state. On the contrary, all its ancient rights and liberties, some of which had been recently attempted to be infringed, were confirmed, and more distinctly recognized than they had been at any former period. But still there were obvious enough reasons why such a body as the Established clergy should be in general dissatisfied with such a change as the Revolution. It is certain, in the first place, that, although the resistance of some of the heads of the church, in which they were backed by the nearly universal body of the clergy, as well as of the laity, had been principally instrumental in driving the late king from the throne, yet that was a consequence of their conduct which was neither foreseen nor desired, either by some of themselves, or by the great multitude of their inferiors by whom they were supported and applauded.

The mass of the people can scarcely be said to have taken part at all in the measures that were ultimately adopted. And, even in the legislature, the majority of the peers were avowedly hostile to the deposition of the king. The Revolution of 1689 was the act of the House of Commons alone, in so far as it was a national act at all. And even that body might possibly have contented itself with a less decided change if it had not been for the attitude taken by the Prince of Orange himself, who soon made it be clearly understood that he would only go on with and finish the work he had been called in to do upon one condition. So that, after all, this glorious Revolution, as it is styled, may be said to have been, on the part of the English nation, little less than a forced leap over a precipice, at the edge of which it found itself, without the power of retreat. It was not wonderful, therefore, that at first it should have failed to give universal satisfaction, or that it should have ultimately been the source of so much contention and dissent.

When the convention, which had conferred the crown upon William and Mary, had, by an act of the two houses, which received the royal assent in the usual form, been turned into a parliament, and the oath of allegiance imposed by that act came to be administered to the lords and commons, only eight of the bishops in the first instance consented to take it; two more, after some hesitation, followed their example; but eight absented themselves, and persisted in refusing to acknowledge the new government. Of the number were Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, Turner, Bishop of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, and White of Peterborough, five of the seven prelates whose refusal to read King James's declaration of indulgence had given the signal for the late Revolution. The other three who refused to take the oath were Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, Lloyd of Norwich, and Frampton of Gloucester. Lloyd of St. Asaph, and Trelawney of Bristol, were the only two of the seven petitioners against the indulgence who consented to sanction the change which their petition had mainly contributed to bring about; the others, who took the oath along with them, being Lamplugh, Archbishop of York (to which see he had been translated from Exeter scarcely three months before by King James), Compton, Bishop of London, Barlow of Lincoln, Mew of Winchester, Sprat of Rochester, Beaw of Llandaff; and, shortly afterwards, Smith of Carlisle, and Watson of St. David's. To these may be added Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who seems to have taken the oath in his capacity of a temporal peer. But, indeed, nearly all the bishops who complied with the new settlement were opposed to it at heart; Compton and Trelawney must be regarded as the only members of the right reverend bench who were really in favour of the transference of the crown from the head of James to that of William; only these two voted in the majority of fifty-one against forty-nine, by which it was carried that the vacant throne should be filled, not by a regent but by a king, while thirteen of their brethren were counted in the minority. On the whole, of the twenty-six spiritual peers, seven may be said to have been, at this time, owing to one cause or another, absent from parliament; and, of the remaining nineteen, eleven consented to take the oath of allegiance to the new government, and eight refused, or withdrew from the house to avoid it.

Before, however, they took this step, some of them, Burnet tells us, moved the house for a bill of toleration and another of comprehension, "that they might recommend themselves," he is pleased to add, "by a show of moderation." But the truth is, these nonjuring prelates, while they evinced their sincerity and conscientiousness by the strongest of all tests, were most of them, in all probability, more mildly disposed towards the dissenters, and really more favourable to a measure of toleration, than some of their brethren who took a different course.

Meanwhile, when it was found that the bishops who were averse to take the oaths could not be reached by the existing law, so long as they chose to refrain from presenting themselves in parliament, a new bill was brought into the House of Commons, which was eventually passed under the name of "An act for abrogating the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and appointing other oaths," and which, among other regulations, declared that every archbishop and bishop neglecting to take the new oaths should be liable to the same penalties as they would have been liable to by any statute for refusing to take the abrogated oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and further, that every holder of any ecclesiastical office whatsoever, by whom the new oaths should not have been taken before the 1st of August, should be in the first instance suspended for six months, and, at the end of that time, if he had not taken them, should be deprived. The debates upon this bill brought out very strongly the determined attachment of the majority of both houses to the sacramental test, the great bar which kept the dissenters without the pale of the constitution. Accordingly, notwithstanding the exertions of Burnet, who having been made Bishop of Salisbury, was, he tells us, "the chief manager of the debate in favour of the clergy, both in the House of Lords and at the conferences with the commons," the measure passed with no further mitigation of its original severity than the annexation of a clause leaving it to the king to allow to any twelve of the nonjuring clergy he might think fit to select, "an allowance out of their ecclesiastical benefices or promotions for their subsistence, not exceeding a third part, and to continue during his majesty's pleasure, and no longer."[1] But from his further statement it is evident that there was good cause for this apparent severity. The nonjuring ecclesiastics indeed prayed for the king; but as they named no king or queen, it was easy to guess their Jacobite predilections, and the sovereign to whom their loyalty was devoted.

After all, the generality of the clergy took the oaths, "though," according to Burnet, "with too many reservations and distinctions, which laid them open to severe censures, as if they had taken them against their conscience."[2] In another passage, he imputes much of the general corruption of principle, which, he affirms, notwithstanding an outward face of virtue and sobriety, was now fast spreading through the nation, to this conduct of the ministers of religion. "It must be confessed," he says, "that the behaviour of many clergymen gave atheists no small advantage; they had taken the oaths and read the prayers for the present government; they observed the orders for public fasts and thanksgivings; and yet they showed, in many places, their aversion to our Establishment but too visibly; so that the offence that this gave, in many parts of the nation, was too evident; in some places it broke out in very indecent instances, that were brought into courts of law and censured. This made many conclude that the clergy were a sort of men that would swear and pray, even against their consciences, rather than lose their benefices; and, by consequence, that they were governed by interest and not by principle." Those of the bishops, however, who had in the first instance refused the oaths, had so far committed themselves that they could not well retract; and, accordingly, after remaining suspended for six months, they became, from the 1st of February, 1690, *ipso facto*, deprived under the late act. They were allowed, nevertheless, to continue at their sees for a year after this. However, all hope of winning them over was at length given up; and their actual ejection from their sees was resolved upon. Of the eight bishops who had expressly refused to take the new oath of allegiance, Thomas of Worcester had died in June, 1689, and Lake of Chichester in August of the same year; and their places had been already filled up by the appointment, in the following October, of Dr. Stillingfleet to Worcester, and Dr. Patrick to Chichester. The other six, Sancroft of Canterbury, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Lloyd of Norwich, and White of Peterborough, were all now put out of their sees on the same day, the 1st of February, 1691, being exactly a year after they had incurred deprivation under the late act; and, immediately thereafter, Dr. Tillotson was appointed to Canterbury, Dr. Patrick to Ely, Dr. Fowler to Gloucester, Dr. Moore to Norwich, Dr. Cumberland to Peterborough, and Dr. Kidder to Bath and Wells; Patrick being succeeded in Ely by Dr. Grove. Salisbury and Bangor, which were vacant when King William came to the throne, had, soon after that event, been given, the former to Dr. Burnet, the latter to Dr. Humphreys. Exeter, also, which had become vacant just before the Revolution, by the promotion of Lamplugh to York, had been filled up in April, 1689, by the translation of Trelawney from Bristol, where he was, in the following October, succeeded by Dr. Ironside; and now, in July, 1691, Croft of Hereford having lately died, Ironside was removed to that see, and was succeeded in Bristol by Dr. John Hall. The death of Cartwright of Chester, immediately after the Revolution, had made room for Dr. Strafford in that see. Dr. Timothy Hall, whom James had made a bishop in October, 1688, died in April, 1690; upon which Dr. Hough was appointed to his see of Oxford. Finally, Lamplugh of York died in May, 1691; and Barlow of Lincoln in October of the same year; when the former mitre was bestowed upon Dr. Sharp, the latter upon Dr. Tennyson. Altogether, it thus appears that, before he had been three years on the throne, King William, without including his completion of the translation of Trelawney, had issued no fewer than eighteen *congés* for the election of bishops, all devoted to the principles of the Revolution and the interests of the present government. The new prelates, according to Burnet, "were generally looked on as the most learned, the wisest, and best men that were in the church." But general as was the at least outward submission of the church, the number of ministers that openly stood out and seceded was not altogether insignificant. About 400 of the inferior clergy followed the eight bishops in refusing the new oath of allegiance, and lost their livings in consequence. These, with the laity who accompanied them, formed a nonjuring church, avowedly Jacobite in its political predilections and principles, which, though ultimately reduced to a very quiescent as well as feeble condition, continued for many years after the Revolution to wage fierce controversy with the Establishment on the theological aspects of the great question which divided them, as well as to give considerable uneasiness to the government on various occasions.

---

[1] 1 Wm. and Mary, c. 8.

[2] *Own Times*, ii. 28.

It has already been noticed that two measures for the relief of the dissenters—a bill of toleration and a bill of comprehension—were left as legacies to the House of Lords by the section of the Episcopal bench which the new oath of allegiance scared away from parliament. The bills were actually brought forward, as well as drawn up, by the Earl of Nottingham, the Tory secretary of state, and the single representative of his principles in the cabinet, who on this occasion, however, not only acted as the mouth-piece of his party, but advocated opinions and views which were cordially participated in by his majesty himself. Very little opposition was made from any quarter to the bill of toleration, which accordingly was soon passed under the title of "An act for exempting their majesties' Protestant subjects, dissenting from the Church of England, from the penalties of certain laws."[1] Proceeding avowedly upon the consideration that some ease to scrupulous consciences, in the exercise of religion, might be an effectual means to unite their majesties' Protestant subjects in interest and affection, it relieved dissenters from all penalties for not going to church, or for attending their own places of worship, provided they were duly registered, and had not the doors locked or barred, on condition only of their taking the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribing the declaration against transubstantiation. Instead of the oaths, the Quakers were permitted to make and subscribe a declaration of fidelity to the government, and a profession of their Christian belief. The only classes of religionists excepted from the benefits of this act were the Papists and the Socinians, or such as should deny, in preaching or writing, the doctrine of the Trinity as declared in the Thirty-nine Articles.

A plan for very extensive alterations in the church encountered such violent opposition that it was wisely allowed to fall to the ground. Its chief objects were to admit Presbyterian ministers into the church without invalidating their former ordination, and to permit certain ceremonial observances in public worship to be retained or omitted at discretion. By this plan of comprehension, kneeling at the sacrament and the use of the sign of the cross in baptism might be dispensed with, while the parties who subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles were to be required to submit to them, and promise conformity, instead of the *assent* and *consent* which had hitherto been demanded. But, independently of the hostility of the Established clergy, the dissenters themselves were opposed to this plan; it was too vague, they alleged, in its principles, and too difficult of application, to be of any practical use. Accordingly when the bill, after a struggle in the lords, was sent down to the House of Commons, it was allowed to lie on the table, while the house, instead of proceeding to consider it, drew up an address to the king for summoning a convocation. In this manner the comprehension, which was more or less unsatisfactory to all parties, was allowed silently to pass away.

But before this project of church reform was altogether dropped, a trial was made of what could be effected by means of a convocation. The address to the king, praying him to summon that body, was not from the commons alone, but from both houses, and was presented on the 19th of April. The convocation, it may be observed, though regularly assembled with every parliament since the Restoration, had done no business since the year 1662, so that the members were detained in town, at considerable expense, during the session, merely to go through the parade duty of reading the church service in Latin. The clerical legislature had been kept thus tame and quiet, in part by the general spirit of subserviency to the crown which had taken possession of the church, but chiefly through the subjection to which the convocation had been reduced by an act of parliament passed in the reign of Henry VIII., absolutely prohibiting it from either assembling, except by authority of the king's writ, or attempting to enact any canons, constitutions, or ordinances, without the royal assent and license.[1] The king, too, as head of the church, was admitted to have, or at least had, ever since the Reformation, exercised the power of proroguing or adjourning, and dissolving the convocation, as well as of summoning it; so that the entire regulation of its proceedings was really in the hands of the crown, especially since the clergy had given up the right of taxing themselves, which they had done ever since the year 1665. All this considered, the prudence of reviving the clerical parliament at the present crisis might have been reasonably doubted. In compliance with the address of the lords and commons, however, the king's writ was issued for a convocation to meet during the next session of parliament. This announcement immediately set in action all the latent discontent with the course affairs were taking which was so generally diffused among the clergy, and inflamed to fury the various passions to which the late change had given birth. Burnet asserts, and probably with truth, that the Jacobites, or friends of the deposed king, took advantage of the occasion to fill men's minds with all sorts of false rumours and unfounded fears, declaring that the whole was only a design to overthrow the national church, and set up Presbyterianism in its room.

---

[1] 1 Wm. and Mary, c. 18.

In the meantime, however, with the view of getting in readiness the propositions to be laid before the convocation, royal letters had been directed to ten bishops and twenty dignified clergymen, commissioning them to meet and prepare such alterations of the Liturgy and Canons, and such plans for the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, as might, in their judgments, be best suited to the exigencies of the time, and to the correction of existing deficiencies and abuses. Great care, according to Burnet, was taken to name the commissioners so impartially that no exceptions could lie against any of them. Among them were all the bishops except the six under suspension, and Barlow of Lincoln, Beaw of Llandaff, Watson of St. David's, Crewe of Durham, Croft of Hereford, Wood of Lichfield and Coventry, and Hall of Oxford, all of whom were either old and in infirm health, or notoriously disaffected although they had taken the oaths to the present government—some objectionable on both these grounds.[2] The list also comprised Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, Sharp, Kidder, Hall, Tennyson, Fowler, and Grove, all of whom were raised to the bench within the next two years. The commissioners had many meetings in the Jerusalem Chamber, and occupied themselves with the business intrusted to them very diligently for some weeks. "They had before them," Burnet tells us, "all the exceptions that either the Puritans before the war, or the Nonconformists since the Restoration, had made to any part of the church service; they had also many propositions and advices that had been offered, at several times, by many of our bishops and divines upon those heads; matters were well considered and freely and calmly debated, and all was digested into an entire correction of everything that seemed liable to any just objection." Still unanimity was not to be expected; four of the commissioners soon withdrew, but those who remained agreed on many material changes. These were, that chanting in cathedrals should be laid aside, that the lessons from the Apocrypha and certain portions of the Old Testament should be discontinued, and that the saints' days in the calendar should be omitted. The use of the sign of the cross, and of godfathers and godmothers in baptism, although recommended, were not to be positively enjoined; the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was to be imparted to those who refused to receive it kneeling, and the word *remission,* complained of as a relic of Popery, was to be expunged from the form of absolution. The prayers for the king and queen were to be divested of those laudatory phrases with which their titles were coupled, and the word "sovereign" substituted in their stead; and the Athanasian Creed, although still retained, was to have its curses limited by comment and explanation. A few phrases, also, in the Prayer Book, that had become obsolete or were deemed objectionable, were to be altered, and the use of the surplice, in particular cases, regulated according to the desire of the people, so far as the discretion of the bishop should see fit. Calamy gives it as his opinion that these alterations, with a qualified allowance of ordination by presbyters, would, in all probability, have brought over two-thirds of the English dissenters to the Established church.

But the labours of the commissioners were never so much as laid before the convocation. That body met on the 21st of November, when the lower house immediately showed the temper in which it was, by the election of "the rigid" Dr. Jane as its prolocutor or president, and the rejection, by a great majority, of Dr. Tillotson, the person proposed by the moderate party for that office.[3] It is said that this vote was procured principally by the management of the two brothers, the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, with a view to embarrass the government. When Jane was presented to Compton, Bishop of London, who, in the absence of the primate, sat as prolocutor of the upper house, he delivered, as was customary, a long Latin speech, in which he extolled the Church of England, not only as standing above all other Christian communities, but as absolutely perfect, and requiring no amendment in anything; concluding, in triumphant defiance, with the celebrated expression of the unanimous barons in the time of the third Henry—*Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*—We will not that the laws of England be changed. Compton, to whom Jane had formerly been chaplain,[1] replied with good temper, telling the inferior clergy that they ought to preserve a moderation in such things as were not essential in religion, thereby opening a door of salvation to a multitude of straying Christians; and observing that it could not but be their duty to show the same indulgence and charity to the dissenters under King William which some of the bishops had promised in their addresses to King James. This mildness, however, had no effect. The two houses disagreed upon nearly every point which came under discussion, and they could not even agree in the wording of an address to the crown. "There was at this time," says Burnet, "but a small number of bishops in the upper house of convocation; and they had not their metropolitan with them, so they had not strength nor authority to set things forward. Therefore they advised the king to suffer the session to be discontinued." The convocation was accordingly prorogued to the 24th of January, 1690, and on the 6th of February was, along with the parliament, dissolved; nor was it suffered to meet again for the transaction of business during the present reign.

---

[1] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

[2] The sees of Chichester, Worcester, and Bristol were vacant when the commission was issued.

[3] The lower house of convocation consists of all deans and archdeacons, one representative for every chapter, styled a

And thus ended the project of a comprehension, or, in other words, of a re-modelling of the Established church, as entertained at the Revolution, being the last attempt of the kind that has been made. No concession for the purpose of satisfying the dissenters, no change of any kind in Liturgy or Canons, in doctrine or discipline, was wrung from the church at this crisis. Burnet was originally a zealous advocate for the proposed alterations, but he lived to feel and to acknowledge that it was fortunate the scheme had not succeeded.

What perhaps more than anything else operated to excite among the English clergy, and throughout the nation, a distrust of William's attachment to the Established church, was the course which he found it necessary to allow ecclesiastical affairs to take in Scotland. In that kingdom the Revolution of 1689 threw the Anglican church to the ground at the first shock. Some hopeless attempts were made to build it up again, but there were no materials in the country for the reconstruction. The sympathies of the clergy, which they had so extravagantly expressed to the last moment in favour of the abdicating king, had cut them off from the favour of the new government, while their persecution of the people had arrayed against them the irreconcileable hostility of a whole nation of Presbyterians, so that they stood helpless and alone, the rejected of court and people, of England and Scotland. Nothing, indeed, it is clear, that the king could do, could possibly have preserved the Episcopal church as the national establishment in Scotland, unless he had taken the settlement of the question out of the hands of the parliament altogether, and, as was done by Charles II., attempted to maintain the authority of the bishops, against the fierce determined hostility of the whole people, by the mere power of the sword. He failed even in the endeavours he made to moderate the extreme demands of the now all-powerful champions of Presbytery. At least, if they gave way to him in one or two mere points of phraseology, they yielded nothing that was essential. On the 22d of July they at length passed an act utterly abolishing Prelacy as a form of church government, which was, and had been ever since the Reformation, a great and insupportable grievance to the nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people.

Lay patronage, abolished in 1649, had been revived after the Restoration, and was now the law of the land—as, indeed, it always had been, with the exception only of the interval from 1649 to 1661; for even the act of 1592, by which Presbytery first obtained a legal establishment, had bound and restricted the church, in collating to vacant benefices, to receive and admit any qualified clerk presented by his majesty or other lay patron. The church, however, had always contended against this right of presentation in the crown and the other patrons of livings as an oppressive grievance. The Scottish act of June 7th, 1690, while reviving the act of 1592, in all its other provisions, expressly excepted "that part of it relating to patronages," which, it was declared, should be reserved for after-consideration. We have explained in a former book what was the real nature of the system which took the place of lay patronage in 1649: the act of par-

---

proctor, and two proctors for the clergy of each diocese; making altogether 166 members.

[1] It is said that Jane, having been sent to the Prince of Orange by his university to make him an offer of their plate, conceived that he ought to have been rewarded with the bishopric of Exeter; and upon that preferment being given to Trelawney, became a professed enemy to King William and the Revolution.

liament merely ordained, in general terms, that whosoever should, upon the suit and calling of the congregation, after due examination of his literature and conversation, be admitted by any presbytery to the exercise and function of the ministry in any parish, should thereby become entitled to the manse, glebe, and stipend; and left it to the next general assembly to determine, by some clear rule, the just and proper interests of congregations and presbyteries in providing of kirks with ministers—in other words, the shares which the congregation and the ecclesiastical court respectively were to have in the appointment; upon which the general assembly drew up a directory, by which it was provided—first, that the congregation were to be of right entitled to hear and to make their choice from only such preachers as the presbytery should send to them; secondly, that, if they desired to hear any other, and the elders chose to make suit to the presbytery for that purpose, the presbytery should endeavour to procure them that satisfaction; thirdly, that the election should be made in the first instance by the session, and only submitted to the congregation for their approval; fourthly, that, if the majority of the congregation should dissent from the choice of the session, the matter should be submitted to the judgment of the presbytery, who should appoint a new election, unless they should find the dissent "to be grounded on causeless prejudices;" and, fifthly, that where the congregation should be "disaffected and malignant," in that case the presbytery should provide them with a minister. It is evident that under this system the appointment of ministers was in the hands of the presbyteries or church-courts much more than in those of the people. It was the system which the clergy, and probably the majority of the people also, would have been best pleased to see restored along with the rest of the old Presbyterian establishment at the Revolution. One of the demands in a petition which was drawn up for presentation to the Prince of Orange, soon after his landing, was, "that the laical patronages be discharged, as was done in the parliament, 1649, and the people restored to their right and privilege of election, according to the warrant of God's Word."[1] There was found to be somewhat greater difficulty, however, in arranging this matter than in effecting any of the other restorations called for by the popular voice. The revival of the practice introduced in 1649, however agreeable it might have proved to the church, and to the mass of the population, which was at the moment identified in feeling with the church, would undoubtedly have been opposed both by the crown and by the generality of the noblemen and landed proprietors, the holders of the rights of patronage, whose influence in the parliament was of course very formidable. It appears, accordingly, that a bill for restoring the system of 1649, introduced by the Earl of Morton in concert with the Presbyterian ministers, could not make its way through the house.[2] The act abolishing patronage was passed on the 19th of July. It gave the right of selecting the candidate in the first instance, which seems to have been regarded as nearly equivalent to the right of actual appointment, or at least as the most important part of that right, not, as in 1649, to the elders, but to the elders conjointly with the heritors; which term, though now used for landholders in general, then signified the landed proprietors having a certain amount of valued rent. The person thus selected by the heritors and elders was then to be proposed to the congregation, who might indeed disapprove of him, but their dissent did not necessarily involve his rejection: the matter was to be finally submitted to the presbytery, who, if they thought the reasons alleged against his settlement insufficient, might proceed to induct him into the benefice in the face of the opposition of the people. This new system then was distinguished from that of 1649 chiefly by the share in the appointment of ministers which it allowed to the superior landed proprietors, in the number of whom were of course to be found all the ancient patrons, or holders of advowsons, whose right of presentation was now taken from them. And the act also gave these persons a direct compensation for the rights of which it deprived them; first, by conferring on the patron all the tithes of the parish to which no one else could show an heritable title; and, secondly, by providing that there should be paid to him a sum of 600 marks (about £33 sterling) by the heritors, on his renouncing his right in their favour. It does not appear, however, that the acquisition of the right of appointing their own clergyman by the parish, in so far as such right was conferred by the new act, was made dependent upon the payment of this money, which indeed it has been doubted if the act made it compulsory upon the patron to accept. It is certain that, in point of fact, patronage was abolished, and a popular election substituted in its stead, as soon as this law was passed; and yet it appears that in the space of more than twenty years, during which it subsisted, only four parishes in all Scotland obtained renunciations from their patrons by the payment of the 600 marks. It is somewhat difficult, therefore, to understand what might be the precise meaning or purpose of this provision.

---

[1] See the paper in *Wodrow*, vol. iv. p. 477-481. The historian is not sure that it was actually sent to the prince; but it was, he says, drawn up by ministers and gentlemen who had suffered in the preceding time of persecution, and thousands were ready to sign it.

[2] *Report from Committee of House of Commons on Church Patronage, Scotland*, 1834, p. 361.

Meanwhile, a large proportion of the benefices from which Episcopalian clergymen had been ejected at the Revolution were filled up, in the first instance, without the observance of any particular form of election or appointment, under the clause of the act restoring Presbytery, which directed that the Presbyterian ministers who had taken their places by desire or consent of the parish should continue in possession till the church should further determine. By the same act the church, considered as consisting of these Presbyterian ministers, and such others as survived of those who had been deprived in 1661, was armed with absolute authority over all the other benefices in the kingdom, in so far at least as respected the ejection of the existing incumbents, the places of as many of whom as were thereupon turned out would of course be filled up according to the provisions of the other act abolishing patronage shortly after passed. It is rather surprising that so rough a winnowing should have left in their livings so many of the old Prelatical clergy as we are told were suffered to remain; it is said that about 300 of them retained their churches out of a body not numbering quite 1000 in all.

Such were the opposite effects of the Revolution upon the national church in the two ends of the island—in England consolidating and confirming the established Episcopacy—in Scotland sweeping it utterly away, and in its place establishing the storm-beaten edifice of Presbytery on broader and deeper foundations than ever.

The position in which the Revolution had placed the generality of the Protestant dissenters has been explained in the account given in a preceding page of the toleration act, which was the only measure passed in their favour; for the corporation and test acts, which excluded them from public employments, were still left upon the statute-book. But even the limited relief granted by the toleration act was not extended to the most numerous class of Nonconformists—the Roman Catholics. Nay, so far was this portion of the population from participating in the removal or relaxation of old bonds which the Revolution brought with it to all other descriptions of religionists (unless, indeed, we are to except the Socinians or Anti-trinitarians, who were excluded along with the adherents of Popery from the benefits of the act of toleration) that the penal laws affecting them were actually extended, and carried to a pitch of severity far transcending what they had ever before reached. Some hot spirits, we are informed by Burnet, were for having some new and more stringent laws enacted against the Papists as soon as they had got King William fairly seated on the throne; and his majesty could only restrain their zeal by frightening them with the danger of exciting another European Catholic league against this country, and giving France the advantage of making the war a quarrel of religion, in which she would have all the powers of that faith assisting her, if such a course should be followed. "This was so carefully infused into many," says Burnet, "and so well understood by them, that the Papists have enjoyed the real effects of the toleration, though they were not comprehended within the statute that enacted it." This, however, must be understood as true only of the first few years after the Revolution, when the passage was probably written. The national craving for more and more virulent laws against Popery, which had with difficulty been kept down for a time, became, before the end of the reign of William, too ardent to be repressed either by fear of Catholic leagues or any other consideration of mere state policy. Indeed, the popular feeling was now taken advantage of by the heartless politicians of both the great parties of the day, and the persecution of the Catholics which it yearned and clamoured for became the game at which they endeavoured to out-manœuvre and turn the tables upon each other in their contention for place and power. An act was passed in the year 1699, "For the further preventing the growth of Popery," which, after a preamble complaining of the neglect of the due execution of the laws already in force, proceeded to deal with the matter in the following extraordinary fashion:—First, a reward of £100 was ordered to be paid to every person who should apprehend any Popish bishop, priest, or Jesuit, and prosecute him to conviction for saying mass, or exercising any other part of his office within these realms. Secondly, it was enacted that the priest so convicted should be adjudged to perpetual imprisonment. Thirdly, the keeping a school, or undertaking the education, government, or boarding of youth, by any Papist, or person making profession of the Popish religion, was made a crime to be visited on conviction by the same penalty. Fourthly, every person educated in the Popish religion, or professing the same, who within six months after attaining the age of eighteen should not take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and also subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass—in other words, abjure his or her religion—was disabled and made incapable of inheriting, or taking by descent, devise, or limitation, in possession, reversion, or remainder, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments within this realm, and the next of kin being a Protestant was authorized to take possession of and enjoy what the rightful owner, in consequence of being a Roman Catholic, was thus deprived of. Fifthly, all Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, were disabled and made for the future incapable of purchasing any lands, tenements, or other hereditaments, either in their own names or in those of any other persons. Sixthly, the penalty of £100, imposed by an act of James I. upon the offence of sending a child to be educated abroad in the Romish religion, was directed to be paid in whole to the informer, instead of half only to the informer and the other half to his majesty, as heretofore. And, seventhly, it was directed that if any Popish parent should refuse to allow his or her Protestant child a fitting maintenance, suitable to the degree and ability of the parent, and to the age and education of the child, then, upon complaint thereof made to the lord-chancellor, his lordship should make such order in the case as should be agreeable to the intents of the present act.

Nor did these severe acts terminate the long course of penal or otherwise oppressive legislation, in regard to persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, which the English government had pursued from the reign of Elizabeth. In 1713, Anne's last parliament deemed it necessary to strengthen and make more effectual certain old statutes disabling Popish patrons from presenting to livings in the church;[1] and after the suppression of the rebellion of 1715, the first parliament of George I. passed an act compelling all Papists of the age of twenty-one years to register their names and estates, with the yearly rent thereof, in books, to be kept by the clerk of the peace for every county. The preamble of this statute boasts of the tender regard that had been shown the Papists for many years past, "by omitting to put in execution the many penal laws, which, on occasion of the many just provocations they have given, and horrid designs they have framed for the destruction of this kingdom and the extirpation of the Protestant religion, have been made against them," and asserts that they had enjoyed and did then enjoy the protection and benefit of the government, as well as the rest of his majesty's subjects. Yet, notwithstanding this indulgent treatment, they had all, "or the greatest part of them," it is affirmed, been "concerned in stirring up and supporting the late unnatural rebellion;" among the objects of which is enumerated, not only "the destruction of the Protestant religion," but "the cruel murdering and massacring its professors" — "by which," says the invective, "they have brought a vast expense upon this nation." And the new regulation compelling them to register their estates is specially put upon the grounds that "it manifestly appears by their behaviour that they take themselves to be obliged, by the principles they profess, to be enemies to his majesty and to the present happy establishment, and watch for all opportunities of fomenting and stirring up new rebellions and disturbances within the kingdom, and of inviting foreigners to invade it; and for as much as it is highly reasonable that they should contribute a large share to all such extraordinary expenses as are or shall be brought upon this kingdom by their treachery and instigation." It would seem from this as if some intention had been entertained of taking advantage of the registration of their estates, for the purpose of a separate taxation of the Roman Catholics. Nothing of this kind, however, was actually attempted; the hard words and angry menaces of the statute of 1715 were soon forgotten: during the remainder of the present period, if the penal laws against Popery were not repealed or even mitigated, they were not extended or made more severe; even the next much more serious Jacobite outbreak of 1745 came and passed away, without either setting the inventive powers of parliament to work to forge new fetters for the Roman Catholic part of the population, or so much as provoking another impassioned preamble.

The legislation affecting the other descriptions of dissenters, subsequent to the toleration act, did not amount to much. For the most part, however, it consisted in the removal, either wholly or in part, of old disabilities and restrictions, and in affording relief from inconveniences occasioned by conscientious scruples. Generally this relaxation of the law seems to have been proceeded with as far and as fast as the state of public feeling would allow: in some instances, indeed, the legislature rather outran the progress of opinion in favour of the principles of religious liberty. The principal circumstances have been related in the preceding chapters.

The accession of Anne almost turned the heads of the Tory and high-church clergy, and probably by that very means prevented them from acquiring the power and ascendency which they might now have secured had their proceedings been less incautious and violent. Throughout the greater part of her reign the convocation sat regularly at the same time with the parliament; but the session was seldom anything else than one long, stormy altercation between the two houses, for the most part about the same point of privilege that had originally set them against each other, or, rather, which had been taken up as the most convenient bone of contention around which their mutual animosities might gather and encounter; but, on one or two occasions, involving also some other matters, which in like manner derived nearly their whole importance from the opposing passions, to which they served as excitement and fuel. But, as we have intimated, the bishops, with everything against them—the queen at heart with the high-church majority of the lower house, and court and government openly adverse or secretly thwarting them—managed to maintain their ground, and sometimes even to drive back their assailants with loss and discredit, merely by the greater moderation and coolness which they opposed to the impetuosity and over-confidence of the other party, who, with the advantages they now seemed to possess, never could believe in the possibility of their own defeat, until they found themselves actually discomfited and sprawling in the mud.

---

[1] 12 Anne, stat. 2. c. 14.

During the session of parliament (1709–10) which is memorable for the prosecution of Sacheverell, we hear nothing of the convocation; the series of prorogations was probably continued so as to prevent it from ever meeting. But when Sacheverell's affair, and the intrigues of Mrs. Masham together, had thrown out the Whig ministers and brought back the Tories, the clergy found themselves in a new era. A new parliament and a new convocation met on the same day, the 25th of November, 1710. The clergy of the lower house chose Dr. Atterbury for their prolocutor;[1] and then came down a royal rescript in a style very different from that to which they had of late years been accustomed—a license empowering the convocation to enter upon such consultations as the present state of the church required, and also to consider of such matters as her majesty should lay before them; accompanied by a letter to the archbishop, directing that an account should be drawn up by the two houses of the late excessive growth of infidelity and heresy, and that they should take into consideration how to redress abuses in excommunications, how rural deans might be made more serviceable, how terriers (registers of land) might be more exactly made and preserved, and how a correction might be applied to the abuses in licenses for marriage. In all this, according to Burnet, neither the archbishop nor any of the bishops were so much as consulted with; everything was dictated by Atterbury, who had the confidence of Harley, the prime minister. As for Tennyson, he was prevented from attending after the first meetings by a sharp attack of the gout; the royal license, by an unprecedented deviation from the usual form, had named Compton, Bishop of London, and Hooper of Bath and Wells (the same that was prolocutor of the lower house in 1701), as the only substitutes the archbishop could appoint; but Compton was also unwell; and Hooper, "seeing," says Burnet, "how invidiously he was distinguished from his brethren, in which he had not been consulted, pretended ill health; and we were at a stand till a new license was sent us, in which the Bishops of Winchester (Trelawney), Bristol (Robinson), and St. David's (Bisse), were added to be of the quorum. The two last were newly consecrated, and had been in no functions in the church before; so the queen not only passed over all the bishops made in King William's reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the two last in a distinction above all their brethren."[2] A great stir was made in this convocation about a variety of matters, but, as usual, absolutely no business was done.

The next winter (1711–12) began with a new dispute between the two houses; the bishops proposing to take up the business of the preceding year at the point at which it had been stopped by the prorogation; Atterbury and the lower house insisting that, as in parliament, a prorogation by royal writ made it necessary that all proceedings should be begun afresh. The result was, that the unfinished business of the last year was dropped altogether. But an act having been passed in the last session of parliament for building fifty new churches in London and Westminster, an office for consecrating churches and churchyards was proposed by the bishops; "and probably," says Burnet, "this will be all the fruit that the church will reap from this convocation."[3] Other two subjects were taken up, indeed, the one by the lower, the other by the upper house; but only to end in nothing. Several books had been published by Jacobite and nonjuring divines, containing notions that were thought to savour of Popery; in particular, Dr. George Hickes, the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, had promulgated something like the Roman Catholic doctrine of there being a real sacrifice in the eucharist; and a clergyman of the name of Brett had preached and printed a sermon in which he maintained the necessity of priestly absolution in very high strain, asserting that no repentance could be of any avail without it. A motion was made in the lower house to censure these opinions; "but it was so ill supported," says Burnet, "that it was let fall." The bishops seem to have stood aloof from this business; but they also had a heresy of their own. This was a conceit, said to have been originally started by the learned Henry Dodwell, and to have obtained extensive circulation, that there was no validity in baptism unless when performed by a clergyman episcopally ordained. "This," observes Burnet, "made the dissenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view; and several little books were spread about the nation to prove the necessity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a state of damnation till that was done. Nothing," he adds, "of this kind was so much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptized by dissenters."[1] To put a stop to this new doctrine, the bishops drew up a declaration, pointing out the *irregularity* of baptism by persons not in holy orders, but stating also that, according to the practice of the primitive church, and the constant usage of the Church of England, no baptism, if it were only performed in the orthodox mode, ought to be reiterated. In the upper house, Bishop Sprat, who had no reputation as a theologian, was the only person who refused his assent to this exposition; but when it was sent down to the lower house, "they would not so much as take it into consideration," Burnet tells us, "but laid it aside, thinking that it would encourage those who struck at the dignity of the priesthood." Thus passed another winter in contention between the two houses, and a busy doing of nothing. In the next year the convocation seems to have met only to present the usual formal address to the crown; and in 1714 the two houses presented a joint address, concluding with the expression of their wishes and prayers that her majesty might be able to transmit the protection of the church and state "to a Protestant successor in the illustrious house of Hanover."[2] The majority in the lower house, therefore, can scarcely be considered as jacobitically inclined at this time. The close of the reign of Anne, we may here notice, was marked by several changes among the heads of the church. Sharp, Archbishop of York, died in February, 1714, and was succeeded by Dawes, Bishop of Chester, one of the most eminent of the party styled Hanover Tories. In the preceding year Atterbury had been raised to the bench as Bishop of Rochester, on the death of Sprat; and Dr. John Robinson (the diplomatist of the peace of Utrecht) had been translated from Bristol to London, as successor to Compton, who died in the beginning of July, in his eighty-first year—"a generous and good-natured man," says Burnet, "but easy and weak, and much in the power of others."[3] Archbishop Tennyson still survived; but he also died in the end of the year 1715, about a year and a half after the accession of King George. He was succeeded by Dr. Wake, translated from Lincoln, a prelate of distinguished learning and ability.

---

[1] A portrait of Atterbury is given, vol. ii. p. 212.

[2] *Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 570.

[3] Ibid. p. 603. Burnet says by mistake that the bill for the new churches was then in parliament.

Meanwhile the restless volcano, which had so long disturbed the church and the public mind, was fast approaching its final extinction. The convocation sat in 1714, along with Queen Anne's last parliament. It also appears to have been allowed to sit as usual, on the accession of George I. and for the next two years, but its proceedings, if any, were unimportant. But in 1717, when it was hotly engaged in a controversy about Dr. Hoadly and his alleged heresies, it was stopped in an early stage of its proceedings by a royal prorogation, which put an end to its debates for that year; and since then, although this clerical assembly has continued, as formerly, to be summoned, and to meet, with every new parliament, it has never been suffered to sit for the transaction of business, being always prorogued as soon as the mere preliminary formalities have been gone through.[4]

The suppression of the convocation in modern times has taken from the clergy of the English church their only arena of debate, and even chamber of common deliberation, thus leaving the greatest corporation in the kingdom without any such organ for making its voice be publicly heard as is possessed even by the smallest. The representation of the church, if so it may be called, by the bishops in the House of Lords, is all that now remains either of its ancient legislative authority, as one of the estates of the realm, or even of its power of independent self-regulation. Of the Church of Scotland, the liberty of public debate and internal legislation may be said to be a necessary part of the constitution—to its democratic and republican character the very breath of life; and, accordingly, that establishment has preserved to our own day, and can scarcely lose so long as it continues to exist, its presbyteries, synods, and general assemblies. But in another important particular the system of the Scottish church, as settled at the Revolution, was innovated upon before that event was many years old. The law of 1690, which gave the filling up of vacant churches to the heritors and elders, was repealed in 1712, and the rights of the ancient patrons restored by an act, the preamble of which asserts that that way of calling ministers had proved inconvenient, and had occasioned great heats and divisions in parishes.[5] There is no doubt that this act of 1712 was a most unpopular measure in Scotland, where, whatever inconveniences it might profess to be intended to remedy, it was generally looked upon both as opposed to the true spirit and principles of Presbyterianism, and as a direct violation of the treaty of union, passed only five or six years before, by which it was stipulated that no alteration should ever be made in any part of the worship, discipline, or government of the Scottish church, as established by the act of 1690 ratifying the Confession of Faith, and by all the other acts relating thereto passed in prosecution of the Declaration of Rights. But as the Scottish Declaration of Rights made no mention of patronage, it was probably held that the law regulating that matter was not one of those which were thus made for ever unalterable. Violent quarrels, schisms, and secessions from the kirk, followed closely on the heels of the act of 1712; and these have continued occasionally, more or less, to agitate Scotland down to 1858.

---

[1] *Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 604.

[2] *Tindal*, iv. 340; Boyer's *History of Queen Anne*, p. 671.

[3] *Own Times*, vol. ii. p. 630.

[4] The convocation, it is proper to observe, is not a national, but only a provincial synod. The convocation of the province of York does not appear to have ever been in the habit of meeting regularly. The convocation, of whose proceedings an account has been given in the text, and which still subsists in form, is that of the province of Canterbury only.

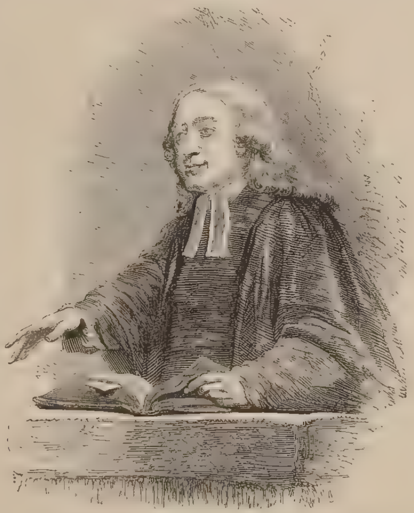
[5] Stat. 10 Anne, c. 12. There has been much difference of opinion, as has been already stated, about the actual working of the law of 1690. Much information on the subject may be found in the evidence taken by the committee of the House of Commons which sat on church patronage in Scotland, in 1834; we would refer particularly to the evidence of Dr. Cook, which is unfavourable, to that of Dr. M'Crie on the other side, and above all to that of Dr. Lee, whose facts and illustrations are collected from the widest range of reading and research.

The first of these movements, called the Secession, was a prelude to the more memorable Disruption of our own day, and, like it, had its origin in that hostility to patronage in the church which had been manifested almost from the commencement of the Reformation. In Scotland, the right of patrons was now exercised with a high hand, and with a powerful majority in the church courts to second them, so that ministers were often obtruded upon a people not only by arbitrary clerical decrees, but sometimes at the point of the bayonet. This state of things, and the evils it occasioned, led to frequent protest and remonstrance both in ecclesiastical courts and in the pulpit, but without effect, until 1733, when four of these protesters—Ebenezer Erskine, William Wilson, Alexander Moncrieff, and James Fisher — ministers of the Church of Scotland, were ejected from their charges by a sentence of the general assembly. In their appeal against the sentence, they denounced it as the act of a prevailing party in the church, and declared their purpose of forming a church of their own. "We do protest," they said, "that we are obliged to make a secession from them, and that we can hold no ministerial communion with them till they see their sins and mistakes, and amend them; and, in like manner, we do protest that it shall be lawful and warrantable for us to exercise the keys of doctrine, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and Confession of Faith, and the principles and constitution of the convenanted Church of Scotland, as if no such censure had been passed upon us; upon all which we take instruments. And we do hereby appeal to the first free, faithful, and reforming general assembly of the Church of Scotland." Having thus delivered their testimony, they went forth and formed the Secession church, the first signal departure, in the form of dissent, that had yet occurred in the Kirk of Scotland. How this small beginning expanded, until it grew into a very numerous and influential body in every part of the northern kingdom, can be best told in a later portion of its religious history.

But the religious movement in Scotland, of which the Secession was the most noticeable outward manifestation, had in reality a much deeper source than was indicated by the circumstances out of which it immediately arose, and the particular grievance, or grievances, against which it professed to be mainly directed. The law of patronage, and the various things that were objected to in the conduct of the church courts, only furnished the occasion for an outbreak and revolt against the existing systems, with the real elements of which these abstrusive but superficial subjects of complaint had little or nothing to do. They were but the drawing of the trigger—at most but the exciting spark. The explosive force that wrought the effect lay in passions and tendencies that had long been forming and gathering strength in the minds of men, and were now become, in a manner, the moving spirit of the age, in so far as religion was concerned. It is remarkable, that as nearly as possible of the same date with the Secession in Scotland is the origin of Methodism in England.

As the origin of this new sect was so important an event in the religious history of the period, the subject is worthy of particular notice. The time of its appearance was a season that not only demanded, but was almost certain to create a religious reaction. The high theological enthusiasm of the Reformation, the Revolution, and the Restoration, which had successively predominated during the former periods, had now become languid for lack of exercise; or if excited to action, it was only in the form of a political or drunken riot, with "Church and Sacheverell" or "No Popery" for its war-cry, and mischief and plunder for its chief object. The great luminaries of the church had departed, and were succeeded by intriguing political prelates, or drinking and fox-hunting parsons, whose dioceses were neglected, and whose flocks grew up untaught; and even where a spirit of study was still prevalent among the clergy, it was in such infidel or heretical directions as to be worse than useless to the people whose faith they attempted to direct. Such, with a few distinguished exceptions, was now the general character of the Established clergy; and thus, with the bulk of the community, the church was rather the symbol of political loyalty, and of a cordial hatred of the pope, the devil, and the pretender, than the house of spiritual instruction, and the guide to a better life to come. Nor was this all; for the old Puritan element, formerly so conservative of what was great and good in the national character, had also become corrupted in the universal contagion; and while the Presbyterianism of England was rapidly settling into Arianism and Unitarianism, the other and more fiery sects were pushing their ultra-orthodoxy into the ungoverned chaos of Antinomianism. While the spiritual guardians and instructors of the people were thus in so many cases unfaithful to their trust, or unfitted to discharge it, the example of the court and the aristocracy, which was still influential upon the community, only deepened the evil. For the pernicious influence of Charles II., instead of having passed away, was still as prevalent as when he lived; and the profligate flippant ethics of France which he imported into England were methodized into a shallow atheistic philosophy of home growth, which had now become the creed of the gay and fashionable of the reigns of the two first Georges. In such a state of things, it was well for the nation that its energies were still fresh, instead of being exhausted; that as yet it had reached nothing more than the prime of its strength and vigour, instead of a hopeless, irrecoverable senility. Its great career had yet to be accomplished; and within its heart, and in their full strength, lay the elements of a fresh revival. The mode of that revival was the only question at issue, and this was speedily settled by the singular progress of Methodism. Such is usually the religious history of a nation, in contrast to its political revolutions. When a church is to be regenerated, and a national creed revived or purified, the most inadequate means or the most unlikely agents are made sufficient for the enterprise.

John Wesley, the father of this great religious movement, was born at Epworth, a market town in Lincolnshire, on the 17th of June, 1703. He was of Puritan and persecuted ancestry, though his father had left the dissenters and become minister of Wroote, near Epworth. Even in early boyhood John was trained for the great work that lay before him by the example of his mother, who, during her husband's absence at the sittings of convocation, was wont to assemble a few parishioners with her family at the parsonage for religious instruction and prayer. After a course of education at home and at the Charterhouse, Wesley, at the age of sixteen, entered the college of Christ Church, Oxford, where he distinguished himself by his conversational powers, his wit, and ability in making verses, until the direction of his choice in life towards the ministry engaged him in more serious occupations. Two works at this period gave the chief bias to his thoughts, and subsequently affected his whole career. These were the *De Imitatione Christi,* attributed to Thomas à Kempis; and Jeremy Taylor's *Rules of Holy Living and Dying.* He was now so guarded in his conduct, in conformity with these high models, as to be a subject of satire to his companions; but he steadily persisted in his conscientious course, and was thus trained in good time for the obstacles that lay before him. In the meanwhile, his diligent course of study was not abated; and his proficiency was attested by his appointment to a fellowship, a Greek lectureship, and the office of moderator of the classes. He took deacon's and then priest's orders; but in every change there was with him a restless yearning and aspiration after a holier and more effective life, that showed the spirit of the reformer struggling within him, and not yet entered into its congenial sphere of action. He managed to secure at college a few companions who were like-minded with himself, and who met for religious exercises and biblical study; but these meetings only excited the derision of the university, and their frequenters were nick-named "methodists"—a title thrown at them in sport, but which they afterwards adopted in earnest. They were about fifteen in number, and their rules and course of daily action were sufficiently ascetic and self-denying. At first their studies were alternated with religious exercises, but the latter soon obtained the preponderance. They regularly visited the prisoners and the sick; they communicated once a-week; they fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, after the fashion of the ancient church. They also drew up a scheme of self-examination, in which the great object sought to be attained was "a re-


REV. JOHN WESLEY.—From a picture by J Jackson, R.A.

covery of the image of God." Thus earnestly were they struggling in the midst of darkness for the light and purity of an earlier day, while none was at hand in whose guidance they could place full confidence. It was in this situation that John Wesley formed the acquaintanceship of William Law, author of the *Serious Call*, before he had become a follower of Jacob Behmen; and the advices and encouragement of this able enthusiast completed, in Wesley's mind, the effect which the writings of Taylor and à Kempis had commenced. "Sir," he said to Wesley, "I perceive you would fain convert the world; but you must wait God's own time. Nay, if, after all, he is pleased to use you only as a hewer of wood or a drawer of water, you should submit—yea, you should be thankful to him that he has honoured you so far."

While these meetings continued to be held, upon which such important changes were dependent, they were joined by George Whitefield, afterwards as remarkable a personage as Wesley himself. Whitefield was born at the Bell Inn, in the city of Gloucester, towards the close of the year 1714. From his autobiography, we find that even in early boyhood a struggle was going on in his heart between good and evil, the result of which would determine whether he was to be the benefit or the bane of society. He tells us that he was so brutish as to hate instruction; that he stole from his mother's pocket, and frequently kept for his own use the money that was paid by the customers of the inn. And yet, in recalling this period of his life in after years, he saw enough to assure him that "God loved him with an everlasting love, and had separated him, even from his mother's womb, for the work to which he afterwards was pleased to call him." The rudiments of his education were received at St. Mary-de-Crypt's School; and it was here that those wonderful elocutionary powers were first manifested which were to be so resistless in the course of his apostleship, on which account he was usually chosen to deliver the speeches with which the corporation was addressed at the annual visitation. Even already the power of speech was eminently his; and the direction it would likely assume was also indicated by the fact, that the first money he received for these oratorical displays was spent in the purchase of Bishop Ken's *Manual for Winchester Scholars*, a religious work by which his young, earnest impulses were first directed. The same love of oratory made him a popular actor in the plays that were exhibited at the grammar school before the corporation; and in one of these Whitefield performed the part of a heroine in girl's clothes—a circumstance which he ever after remembered with self-reproach and disgust. At the age of fifteen he was withdrawn from school to attend to the affairs of his mother's inn, with no better prospect than to be a tapster for life; but while he was employed in drawing ale and summing up reckonings, he studied the work of Thomas à Kempis and composed sermons. A prospect having occurred of obtaining for him a servitorship in the university of Oxford, he returned to the grammar school to qualify himself for college; and was now distinguished by his close application to study, but still more by his exemplary conduct and strict attention to religious duties, while he was encouraged by the happy influence of his example upon the conduct of his school-fellows. At the age of eighteen he was admitted into Oxford as a student-servitor, a situation in which his ascetic piety and strength of moral principle enabled him to endure and finally to overcome the humiliations of his position and the ridicule of his companions, and gave him courage to join the despised "Oxford methodists." In this manner Whitefield and Wesley were led, though by different routes, to the same place of meeting, and prepared for their common aim. And well did their subsequent career evince how completely a diversity of endowments, and even in many cases a difference of opinions, can be made to harmonize in the accomplishment of a great work where the highest interests of society are at stake. More learned and more profound, of higher position in society and better acquainted with its character and habits, Wesley added to these advantages such wonderful capacities for the organization of a society as have scarcely ever been

REV. GEORGE WHITEFIELD.—From a picture by N. Hone.

surpassed, and show him to have been born a legislator, and one who could have formed a kingdom or a creed as well as a sect or a party. On the other hand, Whitefield was neither an accomplished scholar nor a profound original thinker, and either did not care for or could not understand the principles of ecclesiastical polity; but he had one talent, and this in such perfection as to be worth the whole ten of the most highly favoured mortals. He was entirely and exclusively an orator. His voice, that without straining could be heard distinctly over a crowd of 30,000 souls collected in the open air, was yet of such wonderful modulation throughout the whole gamut of speech, that its tones were irresistible, independent of words; and it was even alleged that he could have drawn tears from his hearers by only reading a bookseller's catalogue. His whole bearing was in conformity with his voice, so that every attitude was that perfection of gracefulness combined with truth which is only to be found in the primitive society of savages, but which men continue to lose as they advance into that artificial life which forms the invariable accompaniment of civilization. Thus his sermons, which when read appear ordinary enough, were, when preached, like flames or tornadoes to dismay the obdurate, or the music of heaven itself to elevate the lowly and cheer the downcast. They not only arrested mid-way the whips of merry-andrews, and converted the showmen of Bartholomew Fair into weeping penitents, but made Lord Chesterfield cry aloud in terror, almost persuaded Lord Bolingbroke to become a Christian and a Calvinist, threw David Hume into an ecstasy of admiration, and even extracted successively, by a charitable appeal, first the copper, then the silver, and finally the gold that lay ensconced in the well-guarded, prudential pockets of Benjamin Franklin. At the early age of twenty-one, or little more, Whitefield received ordination from the hands of Bishop Benson of Gloucester, the prelate being so much struck with the piety of the youthful neophyte as to dispense with the two years of probation that still remained; and the preacher commenced his public career with only one sermon as his whole stock of discourses, and five guineas in money which the good bishop had given him. With these he threw himself upon the world; and the sermon when first preached was so effectual, that, in the scoffing language of the day, fifteen persons were "driven mad" by it. After this he experienced no dearth of discourses; and as for money, he was contented with the bare means of the passing day.

After these statements of the origin of Methodism, in connection with the religious wants of the period, and the peculiar training of the two great founders of the sect, our notices of the public proceedings of the latter may be summed up within a narrow compass. In 1735 John Wesley and his brother Charles embarked for the new colony of Georgia, to preach to the American Indians; and in the following year Whitefield, then just ordained, began to produce a great sensation in London and other parts of England, and to draw crowded audiences around him, by the fervid manner and strain of his preaching, and by a species of what would now be called evangelicism in doctrine, which he and his Oxford associates appear to have drawn for the most part from the writings and the conversation of the celebrated mystic, William Law, and which at that time, to the unaccustomed ears of the congregations of the Established church, sounded almost like a new gospel. But neither Whitefield's nor Wesley's religious views were matured, or assumed their final shape and character, till some time after this. Wesley seems to have received his first impression of what he accounted genuine Christianity from the Moravians, with some of whom he met in America, and whose principal establishment, at Hernhut, in Germany, he visited after his return to Europe in 1738. He himself relates that his conversion took place at a meeting of some religious friends in Aldersgate Street, London, where one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, about a quarter before nine o'clock on the evening of Wednesday, the 24th of May, in that year. Whitefield, again, who had first visited Georgia about the same time that Wesley left that colony, and who, in the course of a second transatlantic expedition, on which he set out about two years afterwards, proceeded to the older settlements of New England, was confirmed by the American Puritans, and the books they put into his hands, in the Calvinistic creed of election and reprobation, of which he had already received a tincture from the writings of the old Nonconformist divine, Matthew Henry, and to which he ever after adhered. Preaching extemporaneously and in the open air was first practised by Whitefield in 1739, in the interval between his two visits to America. The colliers in the neighbourhood of Bristol—to whom, drawn forth from the living entombment of their black subterranean working-places, well might the blue sky seem temple enough—were, appropriately, the first audiences he addressed in this fashion; soon afterwards he gathered other crowds of thousands and tens of thousands around him by the same novel exhibition in Moorfields, on Kennington Common, and on Blackheath; and in this course he was speedily followed by Wesley, who had now returned from Germany, and found himself, as well as his friend, excluded from nearly all the pulpits of the Established church. "When I was told," says Wesley, "I must preach no more in this, and this, and another church, so much the more those who could not hear me there flocked together when I was at any of the societies, where I spoke more or less, though with much inconvenience, to as many as the room I was in would contain. But, after a time, finding those rooms could not contain a tenth part of the people that were earnest to hear, I determined to do the same thing in England which I had often done in a warmer climate—namely, when the house would not contain the congregation, to preach in the open air. This I accordingly did, first in Bristol, where the society rooms were exceedingly small; and at Kingswood, where we had no room at all; afterwards in or near London." But Wesley, who never altogether got over the feelings of a churchman, is very solicitous to show that this deviation from the established forms was rather forced upon than sought by him.[1] The great distinction of Methodism—the permission of lay preaching—soon followed; the first lay preacher whom Wesley employed being Thomas Maxfield, whom he originally engaged merely to watch over and pray with the congregation at his meeting-house, called the Foundry, which he had built in Moorfields, while he should himself be ministering elsewhere, but who, on one occasion of his master's absence, having discovered his talent, proceeded to exercise it. When Wesley first heard of what was going on, he hastened home to London with full resolution to shut the mouth of the aspiring youth, and that with all despatch. "So, Thomas Maxfield is turned preacher, I find," said he to his mother, as soon as he arrived, with dissatisfaction in his countenance, and speech abrupt enough; but the old lady withstood him to his face, warned him not to oppose the work of God, and told him that Thomas Maxfield was as surely called of God to preach as he himself was; upon which Wesley consented to hear him, and, by an examination into the effects of his administrations, was soon convinced that his mother was in the right. A year or two before this, indeed, Whitefield had, in Wales, associated himself for some time with Mr. Howel Harris, who, although a layman, had long been in the habit of preaching to the people in Welsh; Whitefield and he used to preach at every place to which they came, the one after the other, that those who understood either language might be benefited; but it does not appear that Whitefield had employed lay preachers in any of his own chapels, or contemplated their ministrations as a regular engine of religious instruction, before the adventurous attempt of Maxfield and its success made Wesley a convert to that practice, which indeed has been carried much further in the great Methodist community of which he was the founder than by the rival sect.

For scarce had the two revivalists well begun to act in concert, when, from friends and coadjutors they became rivals, and, for a short time, almost enemies. Notwithstanding the love of power, and aversion to equality and brotherhood, attributed to Wesley, it must be admitted that the breach was of Whitefield's making, or at least that it was he who first came forward as the public opponent and assailant of his senior. This happened in the year 1741. The consequence was an almost complete separation between the two for nearly ten years: it was not till 1750 that they ever again officiated together in the same chapel. Meanwhile, each had been unceasingly employed in extending the boundaries of what was still in the main their common Methodism, notwithstanding the discordance upon some points that kept them labouring apart, and sometimes at the opposite corners of the field. The Calvinism of Whitefield and the Arminianism of Wesley could not coalesce so easily as their common desire to effect a religious reform. The year 1743 is assigned as the epoch of the proper foundation of Wesleyanism, by the contrivance of the first form of that system of government and discipline which has ever since united the followers of Wesley into one compact and at the same time thoroughly organized body. Of its remarkable polity we can only give a very brief outline. The great metropolitan power and authority of the Wesleyan Methodists is lodged in the Conference, an annual convention of the clergy: by its decisions, funds are levied, territorial sections allotted, preachers appointed, and offenders punished; and as their deliberations are conducted with closed doors, the laity are excluded from their proceedings, and made acquainted with them only through the publication of the minutes after each meeting. The territorial range of Methodism is divided into circuits, to each of which as many preachers are appointed as it may require; while over it is placed a superintendent, whose talents, piety, and experience are judged worthy of the charge. This high office, however, is of annual appointment, and no one can officiate as superintendent in the same district for more than three years in succession. The same restriction is also laid upon the regular clergy of their communion. This system of itinerant preaching, which gives no opportunity of forming a permanent connection between the minister and his people, has often been regarded as the most unscriptural part of their polity; but Wesley has thus met the objection—"I know, were I myself to preach one whole year in one place, I should preach both myself and most of my congregation asleep. We have found by long and constant experience, that a frequent change of teachers is best." Each circuit has also its local preachers—men who, although engaged, it may be, in secular occupations, have proved their acceptance as religious teachers, and are permitted by the superintendent to preach in private houses, or chapels in the neighbourhood. Every Methodist congregation is divided into classes, generally consisting of twelve members; and over each class is appointed a leader, whose commission is to watch over his little flock—exhort and instruct them, and collect their contributions to the common fund; and at their meetings, the members confess their faults one to another, and detail their religious experience. But besides these classes, bands were instituted, each also under the charge of a leader; and as the purpose of such meetings was for a more close and specific confession of sin, and especially of besetting sins, it consisted of members of the same condition exclusively, as married women in one, married men in another, &c. Another band, distinguished from the foregoing, consists of the Sunday-school teachers of the congregation, over whose meetings a leader also presides. It will be observed, that all these office-bearers of a circuit are subject to the authority of the superintendent: his will is their law, and from his decision there is no appeal, except to the annual meeting of conference, of which he is himself a member. Such is the wonderfully brigaded body of Methodism, reciprocally sentient over all its circles, societies, classes, bands, and individual members; and also under the most complete subjection to the ruling authority which Wesley himself wielded so long as he lived, and then left to the council of preachers called the Conference, in so far at least as legal deeds could bequeath such a legacy. No such frame of polity was erected by Whitefield for his description of Methodism; and, whether owing entirely to that, or partly to other differences, this latter has never spread among the mass of the population to anything like the same extent with Wesleyanism; but it was, perhaps, somewhat before the other in penetrating to the upper regions of society—an advantage which it owed chiefly to the accident of Whitefield finding a convert to his peculiar views in the famous Lady Huntingdon. Selina, Countess-dowager of Huntingdon, appears to have taken to the open profession of Methodism soon after the death of her husband, in 1746. It was in the summer of 1748, after his return from a third visit to America, that Whitefield was first invited to preach in her house at Chelsea.[1]

---

[1] See Wesley's *Journal*.

Besides its early diffusion in the congenial climate of Puritanical America, where it continues to flourish in a degree unexampled even in the country where it first sprang up, Methodism was planted within the present period both in Scotland and in Ireland.

We have spoken of the Methodists as a sect; but, at least during the present period, they can scarcely be properly said to have assumed that character. Both Wesley and Whitefield continued to regard themselves as ministers of the Church of England, in which they had been ordained, to the end of their days; and Wesley, at least, seems to the last to have held to the principle that all the people ought to be in communion with the Establishment, whether they saw good to limit their attendance to the ministrations of the Established clergy or not. He recommended that the members of all his congregations should receive the sacrament thrice a-year, as the law required, from their parish clergymen—nay, he seems almost to have thought that it was their duty to hear service once every Sunday at their parish churches, as well as at their meeting-houses at another hour and on week-days. At first, indeed, he would not allow his own preachers either to administer the sacrament or to perform the office of baptism, though after a time he deemed it expedient to give way in that matter to the general feeling of his followers. Whitefield, perhaps, did not carry his notion of the rights of the Establishment quite so high, nor does he appear to have thought it of any great importance how those to whom he preached might be circumstanced in regard to the mere outward framework of a church; but this very indifference withheld him from sympathizing with dissent as such. Methodism, therefore, so long as its founders lived, was, or at any rate professed to be, rather an extension of the Established church than a hostile or rival institution —a cultivation of the waste lands and commons lying scattered and hitherto neglected within her territory, rather than an abstraction of any part of her ancient and rightful possessions. No doubt all this while, there were many elements in the new power thus called into action as essentially adverse to the interests of the Establishment as any system of open dissent that was ever preached. On the whole, the position of Methodism, in this respect, was exceedingly anomalous. The entire phenomenon bore a considerable resemblance to the appearance, in the early part of the thirteenth century, of the mendicant friars; who, both in the field and manner of their ministrations, and in the peculiar character of the relation in which they stood to the church and to the rest of the clergy, may be styled the Methodists of that time.

---

[1] Perhaps no man has left a higher traditional fame for eloquence than Bolingbroke—his estimate of that of Whitefield, therefore, may be regarded as at once impartial and intelligent. In a letter to Lady Huntingdon Lord Bolingbroke says of him:—"He is the most extraordinary man in our times. He has the most commanding eloquence I ever heard in any person; his zeal is unquestionable; and his piety and excellence genuine—unquestionable. The bishops and inferior orders of the clergy are very angry with him, and represent him as an hypocrite, an enthusiast; but this is not astonishing—there is so little real goodness or honesty among them. Your ladyship will be somewhat amused at hearing that the king has recommended to his Grace of Canterbury, that Mr. Whitefield should be advanced to the bench, as the only means of putting an end to his preaching. What a keen—what a biting remark! but how just and how well earned by those mitred lords."—*Life and Times of Selina, Countess of Huntingdon*, by a Member of the Houses of Shirley and Hastings, vol. i. p. 179.

CHAPTER XXV.—HISTORY OF SOCIETY.

FROM THE REVOLUTION (A.D. 1689), TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE II. (A.D. 1760).

Effects of the Revolution of 1689 on popular liberty—Effects of the Revolution on feudal and regal domination New historical era originated by it—Its effects in every department of society—Agriculture of the period—Improvement of agriculture and gardening—Increase of the necessaries of life—Increase of poor's-rates with the growing prosperity—Influence of the Union upon English industry and economy—Origin of workhouses —The correction and cure of poverty still undiscovered—Improved living of country gentlemen during this period—Their houses, furniture, and style of life—Their love of hunting—Effects of this attachment—State of the rural commons—Amusements of country fairs—Domestic sports and superstitious observances—Lingerings of credulity among the peasantry—Charms for the cure of diseases—City population—Increase of commerce—Establishment of the Bank of England—Account of William Paterson, its originator—Effects of its institution—Paterson's requital—Gambling spirit of the mercantile community—South Sea scheme—Similar bubbles of the period—Their downfall and consequences—Acceleration of mercantile progress by the reform of the national coinage—Establishment of the national debt—Its increase during this period—Stock-jobbing—Colonial commerce in the East Indies—The East India Company—Commerce with the West Indies and America—Account of William Dampier, the navigator—Manufacturing by machinery—Place and distinction now accorded to merchants—Style of mercantile living—Shopkeepers and their sign-boards—Arts of the shopkeepers to recommend their goods—Puffing advertisements—Dress of the gentlemen of the period—Dress of the ladies—Distinctions of Whig and Tory—Political excitement of the aristocracy—Their love of gambling —Their eagerness for sight-seeing—The Cock-lane ghost—Credulity in high life—Prevalence of drunkenness —Beaus and bullies of the period—The Mohocks—Their practices—Fashionable places of promenade—Separation at these places of the aristocracy from the commons—Watering places—Bath—Reign of Beau Nash—His legislation—Life at Bath—Tunbridge Wells—Recreations of Tunbridge—Common watering places—The theatre—Absurdities of dramatic costume—Feuds and riots of the theatre—The footmen's gallery—The opera —State of the public musical taste—Handel's arrival in England—His introduction of the oratorio—Places of public entertainment—Ranelagh and Vauxhall Gardens—The Rotunda—Belsize House—Punch's Theatre—Wynstanley's Water Theatre—Marybone—London fairs—May Fair—Bartholomew Fair—Excessive drinking of the London populace—Ineffectual attempts to suppress it—Origin of boxing in England—Boxing matches and challenges—Irregular and clandestine marriages—Disappearance of the old popular sports in London—State of the London streets—Of the country highways—Coaches and travelling of the period—Highwaymen—Prevalence of street robberies—Their audacity—Necessity of a moral change—The coming innovators—Establishment of the Royal Society—Account of Sir Isaac Newton—Of John Locke—The fine arts—Music—Painting —Artists of the period—Hogarth—Sculpture—Poetry and poets—Alexander Pope—Joseph Addison—Matthew Prior—John Gay—Jonathan Swift—Religious poets—Dr. Edward Young—Dr. Isaac Watts—Scottish poets —Allan Ramsay—James Thomson—Dramatic poets of the period—Origin of novel writing—Novel writers—Daniel Defoe—Samuel Richardson—Henry Fielding—Tobias Smollett—Laurence Sterne—Origin of popular essay writing—Steele and Addison, its founders—Progress of periodical writing—Its salutary influence.

WITH the Revolution of 1689, a long struggle, that had been maintained for centuries, was successfully terminated. It was the struggle, in which the liberty of the people had to be vindicated both from feudal and regal tyranny. The first of these, as we have already seen, was the earliest to fall; it was incompatible not only with the spirit of the English people, but the progress of society; and therefore the nobles who had hitherto ruled over their tenantry with a half kingly, and almost irresponsible authority, were reduced to the harmless condition of fellow-subjects, and allowed to retain no further power than that which is naturally conceded by society to wealth, title, and family. Then followed the struggle against regal domination, in which the question was to be tried whether kings reigned by right divine, and might therefore rule as they pleased, or whether the tie between them and their people was one of mutual obligation. This conflict, which had been going on with more or less vehemence, but in every case without intermission, since the days of the Norman conquest, was ended by the trial and execution of one king, and the deposition and banishment of another; while in either case, the deed, instead of being the sudden outburst of a few factious nobles or a mutinous mob, was the slow, solemn, deliberate act of the nation at large, announcing, by every form of law and statute, the mode in which they were to be ruled, and the conditions upon which they would yield obedience. In this way, a war of 600 years was fought and successfully ended, and the British constitution established. And who will deny that the benefits thus secured were well worth so protracted a contest? It was not, as in ordinary cases, that one nation might be independent of another—often a mere chivalrous punctilio—but that one class of the nation should be independent of another, by the establishment of equal laws in which all could participate.

From this period, therefore, Britain commences a new historical era; and the change becomes perceptible, not only in its relation to the great European family of nations, but the different portions of its own society. Kings can no longer assume the throne in the confidence of an infallible hereditary right, and reign by the law of *sic volo sic jubeo*, but by the act of settlement, and the will of the people expressed through parliament. Judges administer the laws no longer as the hirelings of royalty, whom the king can remove at pleasure; but as the responsible servants of that code of legislation alone, to which the sovereign is as responsible as themselves. In like manner, the parliament can assemble, and enter into discussion, without fearing that their sentiments may be displeasing to the royal ears, or that his majesty himself may enter the house, and apprehend them in the very midst of debate. The restraints upon kingly power which the Earl of Leicester had contemplated in the reign of Henry III., for which he was regarded as a crazy enthusiast, and the national representation he endeavoured to establish, which was ridiculed under the title of "Leicester's mad parliament," were now more than realized in an age and a state of society at last fitted for their application. These great political changes at the fountain-head, produced their correspondent effects through every other department of public life and action. Thus, the pulpit, freed from its unfortunate connection with politics, no longer needed to "preach to the times," by either exhorting the people to passive submission to the powers that be, under the name of Christian obedience, or rousing them to resistance and civil war under the pretext of Christian liberty: these offices had fallen into proper hands, so that it could now exclusively devote itself to the kingdom that is "not of this world." Literature, no longer dependent upon titled patrons or royal pensions, and thus reduced to the vassalage of a court troubadour or jester, could throw itself upon the community at large, and address itself to the many in the language of honest truth and independence. Merchandise, freed from monopolies conferred upon court favourites, could traffic where it listed; and agriculture could toil on, in the confidence of reaping the fruits undiminished by feudal imposts. Even the aspect, bearing, and language of the people at large also indicated the greatness of the change. Each man felt that he was somebody in the community, and had a voice in its government: his house was his castle, and his opinions were free: even at the worst, he could not be sent to prison but according to law, or be taxed but by act of parliament. Such were the results of those great movements that ended in the deposition of the Stuarts, and establishment of a new dynasty. From age to age the nation had been cautiously advancing—feeling its way and removing an impediment at each advancing step—while every step was fairly planted before another was hazarded. How different from that headlong rush into liberty which a day may accomplish, and a single hour destroy! Had the Revolution of 1689 been the first, instead of the last in the series, or had it been precipitated only a century or two earlier, England would have been thrown back into her pristine feebleness, or perhaps utterly undone.

The population of England at the Revolution is usually estimated at about 7,000,000, of which the greater part was still dependent upon the operations of agriculture, notwithstanding the rapidly growing increase of manufactures and commerce. In agricultural labour, not only a greater quantity of land was laid under tillage, but improvements introduced by the processes of drilling and horse-hoeing, and the operations of the thrashing and winnowing machine. The extensive cultivation of the turnip and potato formed also an important feature in the agriculture of the eighteenth century, by which not only the breed of cattle was improved, but a cheap subsistence provided for the poor. It was not, however, without considerable demur that the potato could be brought into general use; and even up to the close of the present period, bounties had still to be given in some parts of England to promote its cultivation. The best proof, indeed, of the agricultural industry which had started into fresh life after the insecurity of civil commotion had passed away, is to be found in the great increase in the exportation of corn, which towards the close of the reign of George II. amounted to nearly 400,000 quarters annually. The extension and improvement of gardening, as was natural, kept pace with that of agriculture; and while the gardens of the rich were laid out with greater taste, no expense was spared in the introduction of foreign fruits and flowers, and naturalizing them in the soil of England. This example extended to the peasantry, so that no cottage was reckoned complete without its kitchen garden, and a good display of vegetable produce. In this way, the peasantry of England were nourished and the markets supplied, while a superior style of living was gradually converting what had formerly been luxuries into the meals of every-day life. By curious calculations which were made at the close of the seventeenth century, it appears that nearly half of the population ate flesh daily, while none were so destitute as not to have a flesh meal at least once a-week; and that as for beverages, the amount of these consumed would have furnished each man of a whole beer-drinking population of 6,000,000 with an allowance of twenty-eight gallons of strong beer and forty of small annually.

While thus the bulk of the population was liberally supplied with the means of living, and while the wages of an industrious workman were fully adequate to the support of himself and family, we find that poor's-rates still continued to increase in a most alarming disproportion. Within half a century their amount in many places had nearly quadrupled; and towards the close of the reign of Anne, they were not less than £1,000,000 sterling annually. It was full time for political economists to be up and doing; and from the plans which they proposed for the arrest of such a rapid disease, we obtain many glimpses of the worst portions of rural life in England. The use of beer was rapidly diminishing in consequence of the use of brandy, and especially of gin, which was now consumed by the common people to a great amount, and producing its usual consequences of crime and reckless improvidence. The increase in the means of comfortable living had stimulated the appetites, without quickening the industry of many, and thus the abundant meal of to-day was but the cause as well as precursor of beggary to-morrow. The prospect also of parish relief encouraged the recklessness and waste, more especially when this relief was found to be considerably greater than the wages of a common labourer; and thus, as an author upon the subject informs us, "persons once receiving parish pay, presently became idle, alleging that the parish is bound to maintain them, and that, in case they should work, it would only favour a parish from whom, they say, they shall have no thanks." The spirit thus engendered, and the fashion in which it was manifested, are graphically pictured in the following account of Defoe, and may suffice for that portion of the rural population with which we are at present dealing. "Good husbandry," he declares with startling decision, "is no English virtue: it may have been brought over, and in some places where it has been planted it has thriven well enough; but it is a foreign species; it neither loves nor is beloved by an Englishman. The English get estates, and the Dutch save them; and this observation I have made between foreigners and Englishmen—that where an Englishman earns 20*s.* a-week, and but just lives, as we call it, a Dutchman grows rich, and leaves his children in very good condition. Where an English labouring man with his 9*s.* per week lives wretchedly and poor, a Dutchman with that wages will live tolerably well, keep the wolf from the door, and have everything handsome about him. In short, he will be rich with the same gain as makes the Englishman poor; he'll thrive where the other goes in rags; and he'll live where the other starves or goes a-begging." It was as well for England that the contrast of the Dutchman, by way of stimulus to industry and economy, was so soon to be unnecessary. The union with Scotland had been accomplished, and the Scot, no longer an alien in England, was to bring into it as active and as thrifty a spirit as ever was nursed among the fens of Holland. The sagacious, strong-minded author of *Robinson Crusoe* thus continues his bitter, but perhaps too faithful description:—"We are the most *lazy diligent* nation in the world: there is nothing more frequent than for an Englishman to work till he has got his pocket full of money, and then go and be idle, or perhaps drunk, till it is all gone, and perhaps himself in debt; and, ask him in his cups what he intends, he'll tell you honestly, he'll drink as long as it lasts, and then go to work for more. I make no difficulty to promise, on a short summons, to produce above a thousand families in England, within my particular knowledge, who go in rags, and their children wanting bread, whose fathers can earn their 15*s.* to 25*s.* a-week, but will not work—who have work enough, but are too idle to seek after it, and hardly vouchsafe to earn anything but bare subsistence and spending-money for themselves. I can give an incredible number of examples in my own knowledge among our own labouring poor. . . . . . As for the craving poor, I am persuaded I do them no wrong when I say, that, if they were incorporated, they would be the richest society in the nation; and the reason why so many pretend to want work is, that, as they can live so well with the pretence of wanting work, they would be mad to leave it and work in earnest. And I affirm of my own knowledge, that when I wanted a man for labouring work, and offered 9*s.* per week to strolling fellows at my door, they have frequently told me to my face that they could get more a-begging; and I once set a lusty fellow in the stocks for making the experiment."

In this description we have but the outline of a picture which the next century so amply filled up; and in all this, Defoe witnessed nothing more than what is visible every day before the present generation, and forms the chief subject of their complaint. It was but the natural consequence of that growing wealth and comfort which demanded a correspondent exertion—of that accelerated progress of society in which the lame and lazy were left behind. Of them, too, there would have been little notice or reckoning, but from the contrast they presented to the general community; and cases of remissness and destitution were now wondered at, which 100 years earlier would have passed unnoticed. Still, however, the evil was increasing until it became an intolerable burden; and then came the workhouses by which it was to be cured. These were provided first for the country parishes, and afterwards for towns, that vagrancy might have no place of escape; and it was hoped that this kind of imprisonment, combined with scanty fare, while it relieved real destitution, would be the ruin of able beggary, more especially as every man would be compelled to work for his own livelihood. Even this, however, instead of annihilating, only doubled the evil, and the incumbrance of the workhouse was added to the parish assessment, so that, before the close of this period, the expense of supporting the poor amounted to £3,000,000 per annum. The correction and cure of poverty was a problem which all the united wisdom of the eighteenth century could not solve; every corrective only seemed to aggravate the difficulty; and thus the question, gathering and growing in amount, weight, and complexity, has come down like an avalanche upon the perplexed and overburdened legislation of the present day.

While such was the refuse of the English population—now, alas! occupying so prominent a place—it is gratifying to find that the growing national wealth, and increasing intelligence, were gradually finding access into mansion and cottage. And first, of the country gentlemen—their condition, characters, and habits of every-day life, have been so familiarized to us by the writings of the great essayists and novelists of the period, that we feel as if we had sat at their tables, and shared in their amusements. The squire was still the great man of the district, and regarded with feudal veneration, although he could no longer raise military musters, or send culprits to prison at his own good pleasure. The stately home of his fathers could generally show a good gallery of ancestral paintings, executed by the best masters since the period of Charles I.; the chief rooms were now floored with carpets; tea was served off richly carved and ornamented Louis-Quatorze tables in cups of porcelain; and the choicest portions of his furniture were made of that glittering foreign wood called mahogany, which was first introduced into England at the close of the seventeenth century. Then, too, even if the time-honoured armoury had been swept away in the civil commotions, the mansion was generally honoured with the residence of a *ghost*, and the haunted apartment with which some aggrandizing family tradition was connected, impressed the rustics with awe and terror. The occupations of the honoured masters of these dwellings were also generally such as brought them into frequent out-of-door contact with their tenantry; they presided at rural sports—edified the peasantry with their regular attendance at church and decorous conduct there—gave huge Christmas doles of bread, beef, and puddings to the poor—and still, in many cases, kept up the good old practice of having open house at festival seasons, and giving public dinners on these occasions to their tenants and rural neighbours. Such were the Roger de Coverleys of the day. A great rural landlord was one who kept large throngs of servants, because none were discarded as being too old for service, and who regarded a family chaplain as an indispensable part of the household—who breakfasted at seven o'clock upon plum-cake and hot rolls from his own oven, and aged strong October of his own brewing—dined at twelve o'clock, and went to rest punctually at the hour of ten. During the day, however, he generally found enough of occupation, and such as was according to his own particular bias. As one of the quorum, he could enlighten his brother magistrates with legal expositions, take the lead in trials, and sign a mittimus. If he was a politician he might abjure, as a Whig, the pope, the devil, and the pretender; or denounce, as a Tory, the new dynasty, taxes, placemen, and Hanoverian rats; and if of a more practical character, the guardianship of his forests, hedges, and inclosures, improvement of his grounds, and levying of his rents, could keep him in full occupation. Such was commonly the patriarchal life of the country squires of this period. As for their wives and daughters, they too had sufficient occupation in baking, brewing, and cooking—embroidery and needlework—copying down receipts for the manufacture of new choice dishes and home-made wines—and diversifying these in-door occupations with the duties of a Lady Bountiful, in which they furnished medicine of their own distilling for the sick, and money for the poor, and perambulated at set times over the neighbouring cottages, in their angel visits of benevolence. But of all the occupations of the English squirearchy of the period, none were to be compared to those of hunting. The civil wars were ended—the political consequence of the rural aristocracy was in abeyance—and as literary pursuits were not yet general among them, their rough health, restlessness, and activity sought vent in the pleasures of the chase. It is in the descriptions of such men that Fielding and Smollett especially revel; and from their sketches we are familiarized with the character of a fox-hunter. His chief study was the points of a horse and the breaking-in of a pointer; while his whole patriotism was concentrated in the maintenance of the game laws and prosecution of poachers. Here, at least, the old Norman spirit had broken out afresh; and no treason was thought equal to snaring a hare or violating an inclosure, nor penalty sufficient to punish it. The full glee and madness of a hunt, also, among such unsophisticated spirits, had little of modern refinement; and after a breakneck chase, and sundry gory rites in the killing or cutting up of the game, which would have suited a tribe of wild Tartars, the whole was wound up with a dinner, in which the hard drinking fully equalled the hard riding that had preceded it. The consequences of this kind of life were abundantly manifested, not only in the impoverishment of fair estates through the maintenance of hounds and horses, but the many broken necks that were of yearly occurrence. Indeed, if a play-writer or novelist had brought his hero into some dilemma of poverty from which no human wit or prudence could extricate him, there was always at least a six-barred gate at hand, and a rich fox-hunting elder brother or uncle to tumble over it, and leave him a rich inheritance.

While such was the general state of the rural aristocracy, the condition of the commons had been steadily improving; a proof of which is to be found in the prevalent use of wheat among them, instead of the oats, rye, and barley, of which their bread had chiefly consisted. Even the servants of farmers were plentifully provided with greens, pease, and beans to eat with their salt meat. Country farm-houses and cottages also continued to improve in comfortable accommodation as well as superior diet. As for the amusements of the peasantry, these still chiefly consisted of the rough, stirring sports that were now in a great measure banished from the cities, such as foot-racing, cudgel-playing, and wrestling, and the more staid amusements of quoits, skittles, and bell-ringing. But the country fairs, as before, still continued to exhibit the old sports and rustic humours of England; and the canvas streets of booths which rose in the course of a few hours, and rivalled the cities themselves in extent, were scarcely large enough for the thirsty or sight-seeing crowds who thronged them in rotation to swill strong ale or stronger waters, purchase from the pedler's wallet, or try their fortune at the raffling tables which were laid out to tempt them. Upon the green, also, curious exhibitions were given upon multitudes of extemporized stages, where the quack doctor and his zany were rivalled by the fire-eater and conjuror, and all by a pair of cudgel-players contending for a laced hat; or a grinning match, in which the competitors vied with each other in droll grimaces through a horse-collar, while the laughing audience adjudged the prize to the best grin. Nor must those trials be forgot, in which the top of a slippery pole was to be ascended before the prize that surmounted it could be carried off; or a prize sow was to be caught, and secured by the tail, which had been well lathered with soap. Then, again, there were sack-races, in which rows of men, cased to the chin in strong sacks, and set upright, were to reach the goal by leaping, while more than half of them tumbled helplessly at the outset; and smock-races, in which active young maidens were the competitors, and a chemise the prize. Passing from the public amusements of fairs and festivals to those of the cottage fireside, we find that the ancient rites of All-Hallow Eve, Christmas, and other sacred days, were still, in a great measure, kept up, notwithstanding the warnings and denunciations of the church, and although they were now fast losing the charm which religion, or rather superstition, had conferred upon them. To these may be added certain observances partly of Druidical, partly of Teutonic origin, most of which were common to Scotland as well as England, and that are still kept up, more, however, as remembrances of the "good old times," than from any belief in their efficacy. Most of these were love spells, and chiefly adapted for female practice. Thus, if a girl was so fortunate as to have two suitors, and wished to know which of them would prove the most constant, she bestowed their names upon two kernels of a pippin, and stuck them on each cheek, when the kernel that kept its hold the longest decided the question. To find out which of them loved her most, she threw two hazel nuts into the fire, and the nut that blazed brightest and longest turned the scale in favour of the candidate after whom it was named. If a young maiden, not yet provided with a lover, or uncertain as to which of her acquaintances was really such, wished to have her heart set at rest on this important matter, she pared a pippin, and threw the rind over her shoulder, which, on falling, exhibited the initial letter of his name. Another charm, equally effectual, was to take a snail on May Day, and lay it upon the ashes of the hearth, when the creature, in crawling, was sure to trace the same letter. Still more important was the question with a young damsel, as to who should finally be her husband, and for this great problem of female life there was more than one mode of solution. Thus, as soon as she heard the first notes of the cuckoo, she had only to run until she was out of breath, and then, on plucking off her shoe, she would find in it a hair of the same colour as that worn by her destined partner. A still more satisfactory way, if she had courage to use it, was to sow hemp-seed on Midsummer Eve, and repeat a rhyming couplet commanding her future mate to follow and reap—and lo, on looking over her left shoulder, she saw the effigy, or something more substantial, with scythe on shoulder, and ready for the harvest. Omens, too, which had been so prevalent among our Saxon ancestry in the affairs of every-day life, still kept their hold among the rural population of England; and the upsetting of a salt-cellar, the unseasonable crowing of a cock, the falling of a picture, the running of a hare across one's path, or the croaking of a raven, was enough to dismay the poor peasant, and make him augur nothing but misfortune for the whole day. Then there were "cunning men," and also cunning women in abundance, who drove a gainful trade in soothsaying, and solved every question of doubt and difficulty by astrology, palmistry, or a pack of cards. Then, too, though witch-finding had ceased to be an especial profession since the unlucky fate of Hopkins—and although the days had gone by when old women could be hanged or drowned, as they had been in the reign of the Long Parliament, when between 3000 and 4000 were executed as witches—still, witchcraft was believed in almost as strongly as in earlier times, and every unfortunate casualty was apt to be traced to this source. Such was the case if no butter would come after churning, if the milk of a cow was dried up, or if a person was struck with some malady which the friends of the sufferer could not understand. In each and all of these events, a witch was assuredly the cause; and the most stupid or ill-natured crone of the parish was generally selected as the agent of Satan, whom it was necessary either to bribe or torment into a reversion of the spell. Even, too, where positive witchcraft was not supposed to have intervened, the preparation of simples for the cure of diseases was often strangely combined with magical influences; and the receipts for these, as they were followed out not merely by the vulgar, but by country practitioners of the healing art, and benevolent ladies who dispensed medicine gratis, give a strange idea of the amount of superstition that still lingered in England. The tips of crabs' claws pounded made a healing powder; but it had no efficacy unless the crabs were gathered when the sun was entering the sign of Cancer. Oil of swallows was a potent medicine; but to make it aright, the swallows had to be pounded alive in a mortar. Cock-water was frequently used; but in its distillation, the poor bird was plucked before it was killed. Such were the superstitions which still lingered in the rural districts till the close of this period, and which even then were not wholly abandoned.

In passing from the rural to the civic population, it becomes necessary in the first place to notice the progress of English commerce and manufactures, of which our cities were the great marts and emporiums. Here, however, the subject becomes so voluminous, that we must content ourselves with a few hasty notices. On the accession of William to the throne of Britain, a war with France was inevitable; and as a mercantile country must always, in the first instance at least, be a loser in such a state of things, more especially when the supremacy of the sea is still contested, there was a serious diminution in our exports during the eight years that followed, of about a third of the former amount. The reaction, however, occasioned by the peace of Ryswick, was so effectual during the three years of its continuance, that at the last year, the value of annual exports had risen from £2,729,520 to £6,709,881, and the English shipping that conveyed it from 91,767 tons to 293,703 tons; while the average annual income of the post-office had risen from £67,222 to £82,319.

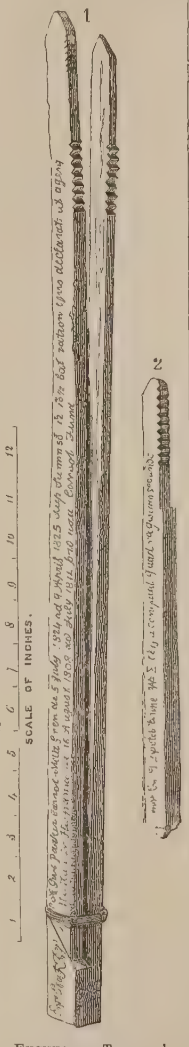
While commercial enterprise and activity had thus so speedily rallied, a great national institution was founded, by which the dangers of such vicissitudes might be more effectually counteracted. This was the establishment of the Bank of England, whose projector was William Paterson, also the founder of the unfortunate Darien Company. This scheming and sagacious Scot, whose mercantile views were so greatly in advance of the age, was born in Dumfriesshire in 1660, and had passed the earlier part of his life in a mysterious career in the West Indies, of which the nature has never been ascertained, some alleging that he was employed as a Christian missionary in the conversion of the Indians, and others that he was a buccaneer on the Spanish main. He saw that not only the mercantile community needed the accommodations of banking, but also the government itself, as in any sudden emergency it could not obtain a loan, even upon the safe guarantee of the land-tax, under eight per cent., and this, too, not without much urgent and humble supplication. He announced his proposal of a national bank in 1691, which was several years before his Darien expedition; but the suggestion was so hostile to the interests of those who had hitherto thriven by usurious profits, and even to the wishes of politicians who were opposed to the Revolution settlement, that when he brought it before the cabinet in 1693, a stormy opposition encountered it before it was finally ratified by act of parliament. The bank was no sooner established than its benefits were felt, not only in commercial, but great national movements, so that Paterson himself was able to declare of it with honest triumph:—"It not only relieved the ministerial managers from their frequent processions into the city for borrowing of money on the best and nearest public securities at an interest of ten or twelve per cent. per annum, but likewise gave life and currency to double or treble the value of its capital in other branches of public credit; and so, under God, became the principal means of the success of the campaign in the following year (1695), as particularly in reducing the important fortress of Namur, the first material step towards the peace concluded at Ryswick in the year 1697." These beneficial consequences went onward so rapidly, that during the reign of George I. the national interest of money had sunk to three per cent., and the government seldom borrowed at more than four. Most truly did Paterson observe:—"People and their industry are the true riches of a prince or nation; and in respect to them all other things are but imaginary." A man who had done so much was surely worthy not only of present reward but lasting gratitude; but, to the shame of England, a far different requital awaited his inestimable services. He was defrauded of his due honour as the founder of the Bank of England, thwarted and ruined in his Darien scheme, and refused a share of the equivalent money which was voted to the sufferers, although he had lost his all in the adventure. He retired into obscurity, and died old and poor; while even in the present day the commercial mart of Great Britain, which owes him so much, is ignorant of his name, or only remembers it as that of the mad projector of the Darien colony.

THE ORIGINAL BANK OF ENGLAND.—From a print after S. Wale.

While the benefits of reduced interest on money, and facilities of mercantile accommodation were so great, as well as so speedily realized, it is not to be wondered at if a gambling spirit was occasionally mixed among the ordinary operations of traffic. Capital being so abundant, and the percentage which it brought so small, proprietors were eager to turn it to better account, and hence the manifold bubbles in which this period was so abundant. It mattered not, also, how wild the scheme might be, or even how perilous, if it only promised mountains of profit in return; and thus many a fortune that slowly distilled its percentage drop by drop, was withdrawn from the banker's custody, and flung abroad at one wild throw, in the hope that it would descend in a shower of tenfold increase. Of these bubbles, that of the South Sea scheme was only the master-piece; there were others, and their name was Legion, wilder and more impracticable still, by which fortunes were lost or won in the twinkling of an eye. Among these may be mentioned the companies that were formed for the manufacture of hollow sword-blades—for the conversion of copper into brass—for the importation of fresh fish into London by sea—for the breeding of silk-worms in England, and erecting plantations of mulberry trees—for trading in human hair—for wheels with the perpetual motion—and for the importation of jackasses from Spain to procure the propagation of a large breed of mules over the island. "Any impudent impostor," we are told, "whilst the delusion was at its greatest height, needed only to hire a room at some coffee-house or other house near that alley [Exchange Alley] for a few hours, and open a subscription-book, for somewhat relative to commerce, manufacture, plantation, or of some supposed invention, either newly hatched out of his own brain, or else stolen from some of the many abortive projects of which we have given an account in former reigns, having first advertised it in the newspapers the preceding day, and he might in a few hours find subscribers for £1,000,000 or £2,000,000—in some cases more —of imaginary stock." This bare-faced system of imposture was finally doomed to ruin by the master-imposition. Incensed at the intrusion of these inferior bubbles, the South Sea Company applied to parliament for their suppression, and writs of *scire facias* having been granted against the principal offenders, the whole glittering effervescence burst and vanished. But by this act the South Sea Company had unwittingly sealed their own destruction. The general alarm and inquiry which the suppression of the other companies had awakened, rallied in full force against the monster evil, and it, too, speedily collapsed and passed away. And now, the Exchange Alley was converted into a comparative solitude; the tables of the money-changers disappeared; thousands awoke from their dreams of boundless wealth to find themselves beggared and undone. But while, as far as the nation was concerned, the money was only transferred, not annihilated, a warning was given, whose wholesome effect continued for nearly three generations, so that it was not until our own day that this old spirit began to show symptoms of revival.

One of the most important movements, during the early part of this period, by which the subsequent mercantile progress was mainly accelerated, was a reform of the national coinage. The clipping of money, at all times a common evil, wherever bullion is the circulating medium, is always most prevalent during a period of public destitution, or national commotion and change; and accordingly, at the Revolution, the coin of the kingdom had become so lightened by a long course of curtailments, that gold and silver pieces were now considerably short of the value they represented. Still, however, it was the current coin of the realm, and in the absence of a better, parliamentary acts were passed commanding it to be received as good statute money, and prohibiting pieces of full weight to be sold for more than the usual exchange. But these enactments were of no avail, as long as a complete guinea could be sold for fifty per cent. beyond its nominal rate, or a debased shilling contained only a few pennyworths of silver. It was found that nothing short of an entire re-coinage could avail, while the recent establishment of the Bank of England afforded new facilities for such a measure. This important mercantile revolution commenced with the silver money in 1696, and not an hour sooner than it was needed; for during three months of the previous year, a collection of silver coinage brought into the mint was found to have shrunk into little more than half its original weight, through the processes of filing and clipping. As the whole amount of the national coinage that was called in amounted to about £4,000,000, a loss of £2,000,000 was sustained by government in consequence of the re-issue. But the excellence of the new coinage, and the restoration of mercantile confidence which it produced, both at home and abroad, were well worth the sacrifice.

But by far the most important event of this period, not only in a political but mercantile point of view, was the establishment of that portentous modern marvel, the National Debt. We have seen, during the course of our history, how the burdens of the state were borne, and the expenses of its wars defrayed. When the difficulty was at the worst, an arbitrary stretch of kingly power had generally solved the trying question of ways and means, and the last exhibition of this kind was in 1672, when Charles II., on shutting up the exchequer, seized on the money deposited there belonging to the bankers and merchants, amounting to £1,328,526; and although it was thus appropriated under the name of a loan, no interest had been paid upon it, and it was thus suffered to accumulate until, on the accession of William, it amounted to more than £3,000,000. This, however, was a debt which he showed no inclination to liquidate; on the contrary, it was used as the nucleus around which additional loans were gathered, until repayment became hopeless, and a national debt was confirmed. And the rapid growth as well as confirmed inveteracy of the evil was certain; it was the practice of borrowing so alluring in common life, coupled with the means of deferring payment by a periodical gratuity. The political connection into which we were brought with the Continent by the Revolution and the wars of William, soon found ample use of this facility, so that at the peace of Ryswick more than £5,000,000 of additional debt had been contracted, and at William's death the whole, by subsequent loans, amounted to £16,394,702. The expensive wars of Marlborough succeeded, and mainly owing to these great national glories, which could not be procured but at an adequate price, the debt had risen at the death of Queen Anne to £52,145,363. At the close of the reign of George I., the debt had been diminished by about £135,000, owing to the establishment of the sinking-fund in 1716, by which the surplus of three several funds, out of which the interest of the debt was paid, was devoted to the diminution of the principal. But although this sinking-fund was *corban*—a treasure solemnly set apart, and not to be touched except for its own sacred destination—it fared as such sums commonly do when a present want is weighed against a remote contingency; and thus, while it was often invaded, not for the payment of the principal but the interest, the national debt, at the death of George II., instead of diminishing still further, had increased to above £100,000,000, paying 3½ per cent. interest. Almost coeval with this debt, and growing out of it, was the practice of stock-jobbing, in which moneyed men, taking advantage of the miscalculations of the state financiers in the produce of the various taxes, contrived to enrich themselves at the expense of the national resources. This profitable species of gambling rose so soon to a height, and was prosecuted so nefariously, that an act for restraining the "number and ill-practice of brokers and stock-jobbers" was passed so early as the year 1697. It complained, and with justice, "that divers brokers and stock-jobbers, or pretended brokers, had lately set up and carried on most unjust practices and designs, in selling and discounting of tallies, bank-stock, bank-bills, shares and interests in joint-stocks and other matters and things, and had unlawfully combined and confederated themselves together to raise or fall from time to time the value of such tallies, bank-stock, and bank-bills, as might be most convenient for their own private interest and advantage; and that the numbers of such brokers and stock-brokers were very much increased within the last few years, and were daily multiplying:" and then came the remedy—that all brokers should be licensed by the lord-mayor—that their number should not exceed 100—and that they should be put under the same regulations which are at present in force.



EXCHEQUER TALLIES.[1]
From specimens in the British Museum.

At the close of the reign of Queen Anne, the country had so well learned to appreciate its mercantile advantages, that, we are told by a writer of the period, England had "at least two-thirds as many merchants as all the rest of Europe put together, if not more." Even allowing this statement to be somewhat hyperbolical, it still suffices to show the immense preponderance which the country had now acquired over all its commercial rivals. These English merchants also, instead of being confined to London, and the other mercantile ports of Great Britain and Ireland, and our East and West India possessions, were settled in Turkey, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Germany, Russia, Norway, the Baltic, and Africa.

But of all the British mercantile transactions throughout this period, those of the East, impersonated in the East India Company, are worthy of something more than a passing notice. This institution was already beginning to struggle with those difficulties which were but the natural consequences of its greatness. Its monopoly of the wealth of India, by the exclusive privilege of trading with the gorgeous lands of Moguls and rajahs, had excited in 1691 a demand from the House of Commons to the king for its dissolution; and although the Company was allowed to continue its existence, the complaints against it were renewed in 1698 with greater violence than ever. These chiefly arose from the weavers of London against the importation of wrought silks from India; while the Company itself had got into mercantile disfavour from not having paid any dividends for several years in consequence of the losses it had sustained. To insure its future existence, as well as surmount the present crisis, the Company offered to advance £700,000 for the public service at four per cent. interest, in return for having the exclusive trade with India legally settled upon it; but this tempting offer was outbid by a number of merchants, who were ready to advance £2,000,000 at eight per cent. for the same privilege. Their tender was accepted; a new company was formed, and the old would have expired after a three years' notice, according to the terms of agreement, but for the difficulties experienced by both during the interval; and in 1702 a coalition was effected, by which both were combined into one company, under the title of "The united Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies." Thus the great coalition for the future dominion of the East acquired double strength and resources, when it seemed at the point of extinction. Still, the murmurs against its exclusive possession were not suppressed; they swelled into a political outcry that became periodical; but at every fresh remonstrance the Company was able to secure its monopoly by large money advances to government upon favourable terms. In this way the state was bound to the Company by the strong ties of debt, which in 1743 had amounted to £4,200,000. By steps such as these the mercantile spirit of Britain, represented by an association of its traffickers, was striding onward to conquests greater than those of Alexander, and an empire of wider extent than that of Augustus. Even already, also, indications of their intent were given on the banks of the Hooghly and the Ganges, by the conversion of English factories into forts, by the armed interference of their occupants with the quarrels of the native princes, and by the cessions of territory which they obtained as the price of their aid or forbearance. These proceedings had become so conspicuous before the close of this period, that in 1756, Ali Verdi Khan, the Subah of Bengal, thus warned his successor with his dying breath:—"The power of the English is great: reduce them first; the others will then give you little trouble. Suffer them not to have forts or soldiers; if you do, the country is not yours." But the warning was too late. In 1766 the East India Company had acquired such an extent of territory, that a claim was laid by government to the revenues of its conquests as of right belonging to the crown, but this the Company was glad to avoid by agreeing to give £400,000 annually in compensation. The victories not only over the native sovereigns but also over their rivals the French, by which our merchant princes had obtained such a dominion, are detailed in another department of our history.

---

[1] No. 1, dated 1824-5. No. 2, time of Edward III. An exchequer tally was an account of a sum lent to the government, or for which the government would be responsible. The tally itself consisted of a squared wooden rod, having on one side notches indicating the sum for which the tally was an acknowledgment. On two other sides, opposite to each other, the amount of the sum, the name of the payer, and the date of the transaction were written. The rod was then cleft longitudinally, so that each piece retained one of the written sides, and one-half of every notch cut in the tally. One of these parts was kept in the exchequer, and the other only issued. When the part issued was returned (usually in payment of taxes), the two parts were compared, as a check against fraudulent imitation. The size of the notches on the tallies varied with the amount The notch for £100 was the breadth of a thumb; for £1 that of a barley corn. A penny was indicated by a slight slit. Clumsy as was this contrivance, it was effectual in preventing forgery. Tallies were finally discontinued in the exchequer in 1834.

While British commerce was thus advanced in the East by conquest, it was promoted in the West by the more gentle means of colonization. The West India islands, and especially America, were found to be a more congenial home to our countrymen than the blighting climate of India; the way had already been prepared chiefly by the expatriated Puritans of England, and the growing destitution increased the desire for emigration to those tempting transatlantic settlements, where there was room enough to wander at liberty as well as bread enough to eat. Thither accordingly the needy and enterprising repaired in such multitudes as were beyond all precedent in our annals of colonization; and a specimen of this is furnished by the fact, that in 1729 the emigrants to the province of Pennsylvania alone amounted to 6208 persons, of whom all were English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish, with the exception of 243 Germans. Thus, while another Britain was growing in the West, the industry of its people and its natural resources promoted a mutual trade that was advantageous to all parties alike. Of the importance of this colonial traffic to Britain, it is enough to mention, that so early as 1734, the trade with our sugar islands employed 300 vessels and 4500 seamen—that from Jamaica alone, our imports were to the annual amount of £147,675, and our exports to it to £539,499.

Amidst this rapid growth of British commerce, its extension by means of nautical enterprise and the discovery of new islands had not been wholly neglected; and the name of one bold navigator at least ought to be preserved, as one of those pioneers by whom our merchandise in Eastern and Western India was benefited. We allude to William Dampier, sailor, gunner, buccaneer, exploring voyager, and writer of voyages, whose roving, adventurous life was chiefly spent among those remote islands and coasts which now form part of the British transatlantic empire, and who collected valuable information of every country at which he touched, that was afterwards turned by others to good account. Our limits make it impossible even to enumerate his wanderings, which are contained in a series of well-written publications.[1] But with all his

William Dampier.—From a rare print.

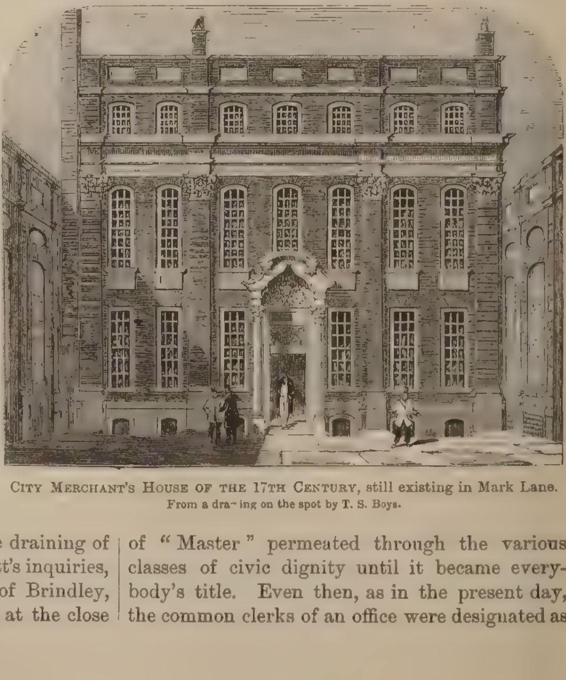
---

[1] Dampier's works are—1, *A Voyage Round the World*, 3 vols. 8vo. 2, *A Supplement to the Voyage Round the World*, describing the countries of Tonquin, Malacca, &c. 3, *Two Voyages to Campeachy*. 4, *A Discourse of Trade-winds, Seasons, Tides, &c., in the Torrid Zone*. 5, *A Voyage to New Holland*. Of this last-mentioned country, he was one of the earliest visitors in 1688, having thus by many years preceded Captain Cook; while his account of it and its inhabitants is remarkable for its fidelity.

restless enterprise, as well as remarkable talents, which proved so profitable to others, his voyages never seem to have benefited himself; for of every adventure he enjoyed nothing but the blows and knocks, and never rose beyond the rank of a common sailor, except on one occasion, when he was promoted to the command of a sloop, which foundered and disappeared from under his feet at sea, and left him as poor as ever. What ultimately became of William Dampier, the adventurous and useful navigator, is not known, for after the year 1711 we learn nothing further of his movements.

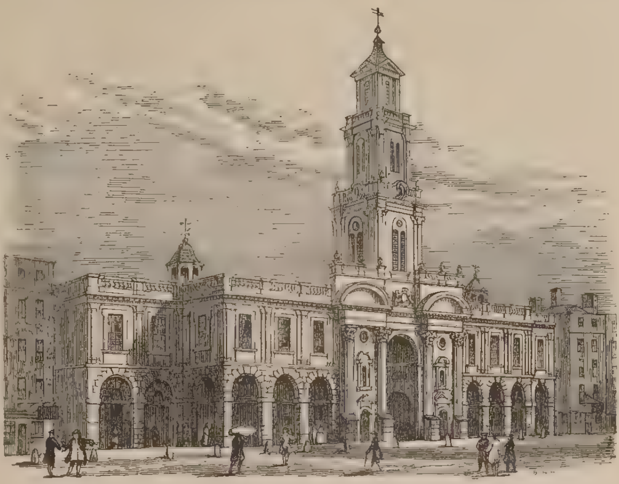
As England had thus become the chief market of the world, it was necessary to meet the immense demand for its goods by a proportionate supply, and therefore ingenuity was now busily at work in facilitating the means of manufacture and conveyance. Even already it was found that mere manual labour was insufficient, and that other agencies than human skill and industry must be enlisted in the service. The usual mode of throwing the shuttle by hand from side to side along the web was too slow a process; and in 1738 the picking-peg was invented, by which a weaver could pass the thread with double rapidity, and produce twice as much work as before. Silk-throwing was not understood in England, so that the thread had to be imported from Italy, until at last the secret itself of thread-making was imported also, and used with such success that, in the latter part of this period, the silks of English manufacture were preferred even in the Italian market. The spinning of wool and cotton by machinery, instead of the slow hand process, was now attempted; but although the first experiments were unsuccessful, so that the art was not brought to perfection till a later period, yet, even in 1733, Wyatt, the first experimenter, could boast that his model of a machine had spun "the first thread of cotton ever produced without the intervention of human fingers." Already, also, the power of steam, so long looked at but so little heeded, was beginning to be considered with reference to its practical application; and a master-genius, at the close of this period, was studying the momentous question, as to whether that stupendous power could not be employed to better purpose than the draining of mines. But the great results of Watt's inquiries, as well as the Bridgewater labours of Brindley, who had commenced his operations at the close of the reign of George II., belong to a subsequent period of our history.

In this way England was growing, if it had not already grown, into what was contemptuously called, at a later period, "a nation of shopkeepers." It is amusing also to trace the steps by which a British merchant obtained his proper place and distinction in society. While chivalry flourished, and when it was the chief fountain of honour, the idea of bestowing its warlike titles upon a peaceful, money-making trafficker would have appeared as incongruous in the eyes of knighthood as the sign of the hog in armour; and the blade of royalty that had conferred such an honour might have rusted in its sheath ever after. But at length it was discovered that a nation could not be wholly nourished and sustained by fighting; and when chivalry was about to be superseded by something more substantial, the benefits of commerce began to be appreciated, and its followers treated with due respect. Then it was that mayoralties, bearing the high title of "Lordship," were bestowed, not upon the prime nobles, but the wealthiest merchants; that knighthood was laid upon sleek burghers and pacific aldermen, who took upon them the usual obligations to uphold the dignity of their order "with horse and harness, and all knightly habiliments;" and that thriving citizens were addressed by courtesy with the titles of "Esquire" or "Gentleman," which hitherto had belonged exclusively to the highly descended; while that of "Master" permeated through the various classes of civic dignity until it became everybody's title. Even then, as in the present day, the common clerks of an office were designated as



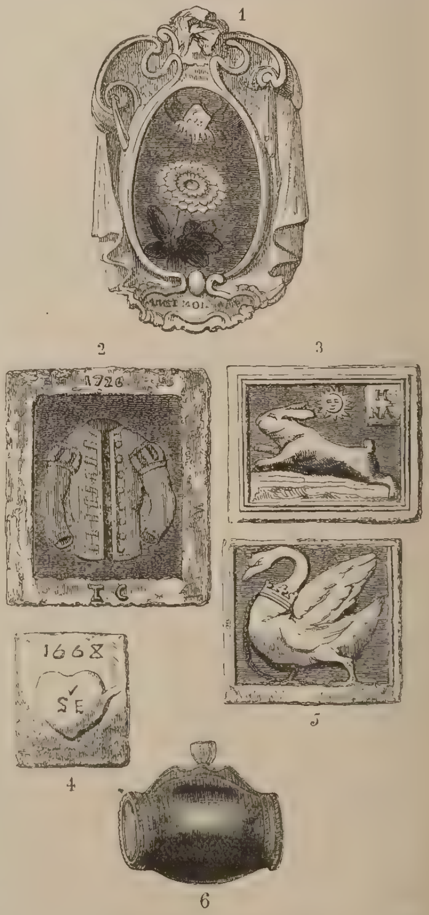
City Merchant's House of the 17th Century, still existing in Mark Lane.
From a drawing on the spot by T. S. Boys.

"Esquires," and thus could scarcely be distinguished from their employers. The mode of mercantile life, especially in London, had now made considerable improvement, both in elegance and dignity. The warehouses and offices fronted the street, behind which, and separated by a small court, were the dwelling-houses; and these, although in the city and thrust out of view, were not only built with all the improvements of modern architecture, which the destruction of the old city had occasioned, but furnished in a style that indicated the wealth of the owner. Indeed, rich furniture and plate, costly draperies, choice paintings, and a luxurious style of living, were found so indispensable to mercantile credit, that, deprived of these, a rich merchant's house would have been like a shop without a sign-board; and thus there was now very little difference between the home of an alderman and that of an earl. Many of these houses still remaining in the city, although now converted into stores and lodging-houses, evince, in the relics they retain of their former grandeur, what palaces they must have been in the eighteenth century. The drawing-rooms of these mansions, also, were often frequented by the high nobles of the day, who found it profitable to be on good terms with substantial merchants; and with the young scions of nobility, who beheld in a city marriage the best means of redeeming their mortgaged acres, and rebuilding their dilapidated halls. In fact, the aristocracy of wealth was now a sufficient counterpoise to that of family and title. A merchant, after spending the forenoon in his warehouse, to which he usually repaired at an early hour, was wont to betake himself, at half-past one o'clock, to the Royal Exchange, where the buzz and bustle of bargaining continued till three; and here, as in the present day, he transacted his principal affairs, and took his share in the fluctuations of the money market. In the neighbourhood of the Exchange were coffee-houses, to which negotiating parties could retire from the throng, either for rest or the private settlement of business; eating-houses, where foreign palates could be accommodated with the dishes of their respective countries; and taverns, in which bargains might be ratified over a cup of wine, or still stronger potation. In this last particular we find a remaining trace of the old barbarism; so that, in spite of the proverbial cautiousness of merchants, some of the old frequenters of the walks still commenced business in the forenoon with a whet of strong liquors, which they were so improvident as to continue at intervals during the course of the day.


THE ROYAL EXCHANGE (second building).—From a view in King's Collection, Brit. Mus.

Next to the merchants came the shopkeepers, whose paltry booths the great fire, as well as the increase of traffic and progress of refinement, had converted into commodious storehouses. These shops were now so numerous in London, that every dealer was driven to his shifts in devising the best modes of recommending his wares; and therefore these were not only carefully classified and tastefully set forth, but proclaimed by the blazonry of a sign-board. As it was necessary also that each sign should not only catch the eye, but, if possible, outstare or eclipse its neighbours, it was not only radiant with all the glitter of paint, but hung projecting over the shop-door and across the pavement, until it almost shouldered its rival on the opposite side of the street. In this way every great thoroughfare of London was festooned with hanging sign-boards, which reminded the passers-by at every step of the manifold wants of life, and the facility with which they might be satisfied. It was not always, however, that these gay emblems of traffic were either picturesque or agreeable; for in a high wind they threatened the safety of those below, and in wet weather drenched them with a collected stream of rain. It was also found out, in the course of sanitary inquiry, that they were obstacles to street ventilation, and civic laws were enacted, ordering them to be withdrawn from the open way, and placed against the wall, as at present; but this rule was not generally complied with until the close of the present period. The adornments of these signs were often of the most curious description—being sometimes an animal, the heraldic badge of the owner—sometimes a bird or beast such as nature had never created, but the more likely, on that account, to arrest attention—and sometimes a sacred emblem or celestial constellation. It was right that shopkeepers should have their freakish cognizances as well as the sons of chivalry. In cases of partnership also, where the two signs were blended into one board, the combination was often of the most incongruous description: hence the "Sheep and Dolphin," the "Fox and Seven Stars," the "Bell and Neat's Tongue," and other such signs, where we wonder how such objects could have possibly been brought together. Often, also, the emblem, or the sound of its name, became strangely travestied by the misapprehensions of the unlearned, until it has come down to the present day in a form that sorely puzzles the antiquary. In this way, the Boulogne Mouth or Harbour became the "Bull and Mouth;" the Belle Sauvage, the "Bell and Savage;" and the Satyr and Bacchanals, the "Devil and Bag of Nails." It fared as ill with celestial objects, where Capricornus and Bootes sunk into the "Goat in Boots;" and the devout motto of "God encompasses us," into the "Goat and Compasses." When a better taste predominated, the tradesman was content to announce his name and occupation, and these uncouth representations remained the exclusive property of inns and taverns. Another attractive sign was the portrait of some popular hero or statesman—a mode of sign painting that soon predominated over all the others; and if the great personage thus represented chanced to become unpopular, it was easy with a few touches to convert him into the new idol of the day. The readers of the almost forgotten *Spectator* will here remember how Sir Roger de Coverley's modesty was startled to find himself the patron saint of the village inn, and with what arguments he prevailed upon the landlord to have the portrait altered into a Saracen's head.

The extension of traffic soon showed that such stationary things as sign-boards were not enough; and even already the tradesmen had found out many of those expedients for popularizing their names and occupations which have been brought to such high perfection in the present day. Did a silk-mercer, for instance, wish to recommend a new pattern, or a clothier an improved cut? In that case, himself, or the best-looking of his apprentices, stood at the shop-door, dressed in white stockings, varnished pumps, and smart-powdered bobwig, with the new suit fairly disposed upon his outward man, and buttoned or thrown open to the best advantage. In this way, we are told, the fashionables of the West End were often dressed according to the exemplar of some spruce Paternoster Row 'prentice. In like manner the millinery shops were served by beautiful and elegantly dressed young women, who laid out their charms as well as goods for the attraction of customers, and could easily persuade the giddy and profligate to make a purchase. Another method of tradesmen, especially when the articles they dealt in could not be thus paraded, was the obvious one of placarding the walls, undeterred as yet by the brief and emphatic command—"Bill-stickers, beware!" Another consisted of



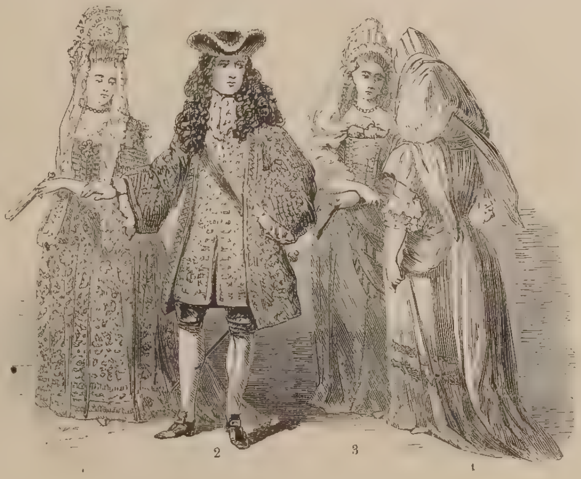
OLD LONDON TRADE-SIGNS.[1]—From drawings by J. W. Archer.

---

[1] 1, The Sun Flower, Child's Bank, Temple Bar. 2, The Doublet, Crowley's, Thames Street. 3, The Sun and Hare, Borough. 4, Barber-Surgeons' sign, City. 5, The Gorged Swan, Cheapside. 6, The Leather Bottle, Hoare's Bank, Fleet Street.

advertisements in the newspapers and literary journals of the period; and in these it is impossible to tell whether the effrontery of puffery, or the credulity of the public upon which it fattened, is most to be wondered at. In this manner Orator Henley—he of the "gilt tub"—trumpeted his clap-trap lectures on theology and philosophy, and announced the unknown paths of thought which he meant to open up; and thus also every kind of medical nostrum was advertised, from the "angelic snuff" that cured a headache, and even palsy, gout, and apoplexy—to that divine alchemical rappee by which decayed memories were restored in a twinkling, and the past recalled in all its original freshness—if it was worth recalling. In short, no disease—no infirmity, whether of body or mind—no deformity or ugliness into which the human frame can be twisted—was inaccessible to the wonder-working packet, which was announced to be sold for half-a-crown, or even so low as sixpence. These advertisements, too, instead of always taking an open, straightforward course, often reached the mark by shooting round a corner, so that the reader could little guess at the outset upon what important fact he was to be landed; and in reading these, we perceive that dexterity in puffing was just as well understood in the time of George I. and George II. as in the present day. Thus the Duchess of Buckingham advertises that a foundling had been dropped at her door, and warns all heartless mothers against such trespasses upon her premises in future; but the main drift is to announce to the world at large her grace's benevolence in having taken in the little stranger, fed and clothed him, and provided for all his wants, so that a mother's care should not be missed. An honest tradesman advertises that a purse containing a large sum in gold and bills has been inadvertently left in his shop, which he is anxious to restore on application to the proper owner; and though no one appears to claim the visionary purse, every one is eager to become the customer of such a paragon of integrity. Then comes another huffy bulletin from a much injured man, which we copy *verbatim:*—"Whereas, it has been industriously reported that Dr. Herwig, who cures madness and most diseases *by sympathy*, has left England and returned to Germany: this is to give notice that he lives at the same place, viz., at Mrs. Guzelman's, in Suffolk Street, Charing Cross, about the middle of the street, over against the green balcony." Thus, in spite of a whole world of invidious rivalry that strives to eclipse or extinguish him, Dr. Herwig is at his post, and will let all men be aware of the important fact. But another mode of advertising was by little hand-bills, folded up and adroitly popped into the hand of the passer-by; and thus, in a morning's walk, he could ascertain at what places the wants of a whole year might be best supplied. From the foregoing notices it will be seen how completely the bustle of traffic pervaded every corner of London, and how utterly the old proverb was lost sight of, that "good wine needs no bush."

From the industrious classes of merchandise and trade we now make a transit to the aristocracy; and here, of course, their costume demands our first attention. During the earlier part of this period the coat and waistcoat of a gentleman reached to the knee; his hat was cocked all round and adorned with feathers, beneath which was a huge periwig. Add to these, black or scarlet silk stockings, adorned with gold or silver clocks, and rising above the knee, and shoes with high red heels, and the general outline is complete. To fill up this outline, however, is not so easy, from that restless love of change in dress which had now apparently reached its height, before it passed away as an antiquated frivolity. Already the hat was losing its plumage, and was frequently worn, not on the head, but under the arm; and the wig, which at last superseded the

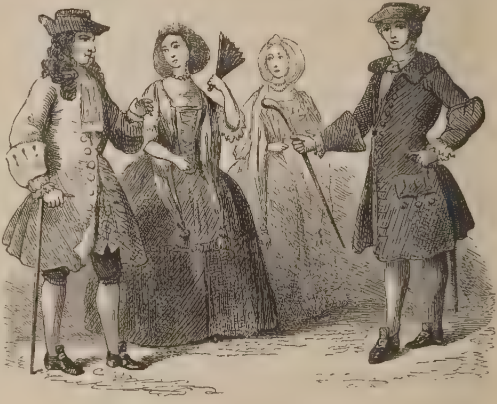


COSTUMES OF THE TIME OF WILLIAM III.[1]

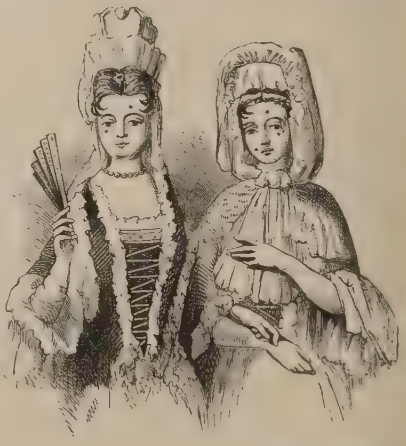
---

[1] 1, From Vandervaart's portrait of Queen Mary. 2, From a print of William III. (1694). 3, 4, From De Hooge's Coronation of William III.

natural hair among almost every class, sometimes expanded into such portentous dimensions, and was so curled and ornamented, as to cost thirty or forty guineas. Of course such an ornament occasioned much solicitude to the head that carried it; and the wearer frequently combed it in public, and laid it out carefully in state upon his bed when he was at home. It was also highly powdered, and often with scented pulvilio, so that his coming was fully announced before he entered into company. As a handsome wig was necessary for every one admitted into good society—being, besides a sword, the principal badge of gentility—every expedient was adopted to prevent its lustre from fading; and among the advertisements of the day on this subject we find tempting notices of the "incomparable, secret white water," by which "old wigs that look almost scandalous may be made to show inconceivably fine and neat; and if any lock or part of a wig be out of curl by the pressing of the hat, or riding in windy or rainy weather, in one night's time it may be repaired to satisfaction." Gentlemen as well as ladies for some time wore muffs of small size, frequently made of leopard skin, and sometimes adorned with bows of ribbons. When the wig ceased to be universal, tied hair came in fashion, which was first introduced by Lord Bolingbroke; and then queues followed, which obstinately kept their ground until our own day, when they were laughed out of fashion as monkey appendages. From these stiff dresses what imagination can dissociate the solemn "bowing upon the hand" that distinguished a Sir Charles Grandison, or the formal speeches of congratulation or condolence, according to the "bookish theoric," so gravely set forth and inculcated by Lord Chesterfield? Even before the close of this period, however, such a violent reaction was taking place as gave promise that a new era of costume was coming, in which both the formality and frippery of former ages would be discarded. Some gentlemen were so fearlessly independent, as to enter the theatre with loose greatcoats, called wrap-rascals, with gold-laced hats, slouched in imitation of stage-coachmen; while others wore dirty boots and spurs, and had black caps on their heads and long whips in their hands, like grooms; and a third class had scanty frocks, little shabby hats, worn on one side of the head, and carried clubs or cudgels instead of fashionable canes. So early as 1730, also, it was announced with symptoms of fashionable displeasure, that "the wearing of swords at the court end of the town is by many polite young gentlemen laid aside, and instead thereof they carry large oak sticks, with great heads and ugly faces carved thereon." It was well that such weapons of fatal quarrel could be so easily relinquished, and for no worse substitutes than such fantastic knob-sticks as are common in our own day.

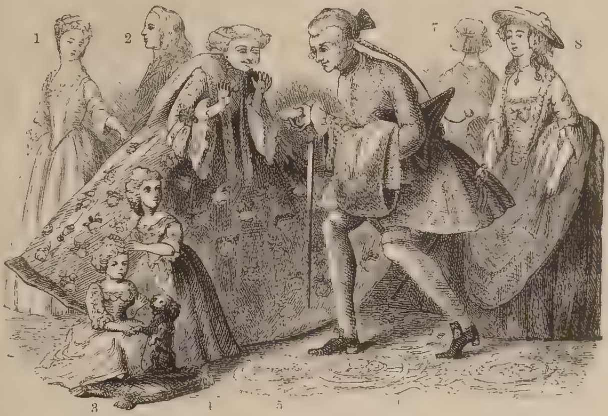

COSTUMES OF THE TIME OF GEORGE II.[1]

Of the fashionable female costume during the reigns of William, Anne, and the two first Georges, we can in like manner afford nothing more than a brief and general outline. The hair was generally powdered, and sometimes worn in a tower so high, as to exalt the owner twelve inches above her natural altitude; while the fashions of patching and rouging were still retained with more than their former profusion. The sacque and hood—the cardinal, apron, and muff—flowered petticoats, laced beavers, and nets of gold and silver thread, also, had successively or collectively their day, and figure


HEAD-DRESSES AND FASHION OF WEARING PATCHES.
From La Belle Amitie de la Modé, by G. Gole.

---

[1] From Curll's edition of the School of Venus, or the Ladies' Miscellany, 1739.



COSTUMES OF THE TIME OF GEORGE II.[1]

with much unction in the court descriptions of the different reigns. We quote the following instance of the court dresses of the birth-day in 1735:—"The ladies wore flowered silks of various sorts of a large pattern, but mostly with a white ground, with wide short sleeves, and short petticoats: their gowns were pinned up variously behind, though mostly narrow. Some few had gold or silver nets on their petticoats, and to their facings and rollings; and some had gold and silver nets on their gown sleeves, like flounces: they wore chiefly fine escalloped laced heads [head-dresses], and dressed mostly English. Some few had their hair curled down on the sides, but most of them had it pinned up quite short, and almost all of them with powder both before and behind." All this was decorous and graceful, and therefore well fitted for a palace festival; but there were other occasions in which ladies of rank could array themselves in a very different style. This was especially the case when they took an airing on horseback: they then seemed to think that riding was more properly a manly exercise, and should therefore be enjoyed in an appropriate costume. Accordingly, a young lady of this period was sometimes to be found galloping on horseback in powdered periwig and cocked hat laced and plumed, a coat and waistcoat of the common masculine cut and material; and if she dispensed with the periwig, it was only that her own hair should be tied up behind with a long streaming scarlet riband, in the fashion of a rakish young gentleman. No mark of her sex remained but the petticoat, which, however, was almost identified with her coat and waistcoat, by being made of the same material. Such were the figures that occasionally startled Mr. Bickerstaff, while taking his meditative ride, and excogitating a new number of the *Spectator*. But the greatest monstrosity of female dress which this or any other age perhaps has produced, still remains to be mentioned. This was the hoop, towards which approaches had been making more or less, under the form of the fardingale, since the time of Elizabeth. At last it burst into full maturity about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and, in spite of its most preposterous form as well as inconvenience, kept its hold of the fashionable world until nearly the close of this period. With its shape we are made fully acquainted by the numerous pictures of the period, and with its awkward restraints by the writings of novelists and essayists. These hoops seem to have been absolute bastiles of lace, silk, buckram, and whalebone—a thousandfold worse, indeed, than the bilboes of the Chinese slipper, as besides shackling all freedom of motion, they disfigured the whole person. The present age, that has preserved the relics of every kind of costume since the Elizabethan period, although it had discarded the hoop from its antiquarian collection, as if in mercy to the strange taste of our great-grandmothers who wore it, has once more turned to this curious relic, and adopted it, though in a less monstrous and repulsive form. As yet, indeed, it is only in the bud; but when the fashion, like a flower, has expanded into full blow, and can go no further, we may suppose that in the nature of things it will again collapse, wither, and pass away.

From the mere external appearance we now pass to the characters, occupations, and amusements of the aristocracy of the present period; and here the materials are sufficiently copious, from the writings of the essayists and novelists, and especially from the letters of Walpole. Even the age itself, like London comprised in a show-box, could, till within these few years, be seen in Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill. And first of all, we find that politics still formed the chief subject of action and conversation among the nobility and gentry of England. This was to be expected from the recent Revolution, and from the fact that two rival dynasties still contested the possession of the British throne. It was now also that the appellations of Whig and Tory had superseded those of Cavalier and Roundhead, as more applicable to the present state of politics. Of these terms, which are still in use, that of Tory was the first-born, having originated in 1678, and was used to stigmatize the Duke of York's party, on account of the reliance of their master upon Irish support, the word being equivalent to the Irish stigma of bog-trotter, and something worse; while the Yorkists, not to be outdone in abuse, retorted upon their enemies a year after with the title of Whig, a Scottish word for sour whey, which was first applied to the Covenanters. Of course, when James II. was deposed, the Tories were the adherents of the Stuart race, while the Whigs were the upholders of William and the Hanoverian succession. As these questions were not mere matters of abstract theory but vital importance, and involved life and living as well as political principle, they were carried into every-day action, and made the subjects of constant as well as most earnest debate. On the one side nothing was to be heard but the argument *de jure divino*, and the doctrines of non-resistance and hereditary right; on the other, the iniquity of a "foyst and a warming-pan," and the evils of Popery, tyranny, and wooden shoes. Such were the subjects at issue, and the phraseology with which they were discussed among an aristocracy not yet particularly refined, and with very limited means of information, as the few London newspapers were still comparatively worthless, and none of them of special value but the *Evening Post*. Of course, blows and duels were plentifully used to make up for lack of argument. As might be expected, too, each party frequented its own coffee-house, and even its own church. In such a state of things, it was natural that the ladies should become keen political partizans, for they too had a vital stake in the question; and they showed to what party they belonged by the particular colour of their hoods when they walked abroad, and by the side of the house on which they sat in the theatre. The charms of the toilet also were used by the ladies either to show their political leanings, or to win converts to their party; and for this purpose the brow was divided into a Whig and a Tory side, upon which the patches were disposed according to the principles of the wearer. Among these fair politicians, there was a middle party, composed of those who either had not declared themselves, or wished to remain neutral; and this they expressed by sitting in the central boxes of the theatre, with patches on either side of the forehead. In this way the strength of each party could be ascertained at a glance as effectually as if they had voted or been counted off in parliament.

---

[1] 1, 2, 3, 4, From Hogarth's print of the family of George II. 5, 6, From Hogarth's Taste in High Life. 7, 8, From Malcolm's Costumes.

Next to politics, the excitement of the gaming-table was in full force during this period; and the idle whom political change had thrown out of occupation flew to cards for very weariness, while the busy had recourse to the same expedient for recreation. In this way, many an estate, which proscription had spared, was lost in the turning of a trump; and forests were doomed to the axe under the frivolous definition given by Lord Caernarvon at an earlier date, "Wood—an excrescence of the earth, provided by God for the payment of debts." In this way, also, a lady's "debts of honour" were frequently incurred to profligates as well as fashionable sharpers, and were compounded for in a way that brought ruin upon the fair frail offender, and disgrace upon her family. In exacting payment, a lady could also at times be almost as unreasonable; and Walpole tells us of one who waylaid a gentleman who had lost largely to her at cards, but was in no hurry to refund; and upon whom she made a furious attack, by plucking a horse-whip from beneath her hoop, and plying it vigorously upon his back and shoulders. Sometimes, also, keen gamesters carried dice and cards in their pockets, so that they might be ready at any moment for their favourite amusement. The fashion of card-playing varied during the course of this period: at first, the favourite game was *ombre*, afterwards *whist*, then *loo*, and finally *faro*. But money was lost and ruin entailed at other places than the private card-table; and among these may be mentioned the numerous raffles that had now started up, at which, as in the present day, some piece of furniture, a trinket, or a picture, became the prize of one fortunate winner, while thrice its value had been secured from the losers. But of far worse consequence were the lotteries, instituted originally in England by Queen Elizabeth in 1567, but which were now prevalent over the metropolis, supported and encouraged by government, and made alluring to every class of the hopeful and the credulous.

In a period so craving for excitement, the love of sight-seeing was by no means controlled by the restraints of high rank and courtly etiquette, and accordingly the fashionables of the eighteenth century gave full swing to this general appetite. On this account we now find Pepys himself outdone by fashionable lords and ladies, who eagerly made part of the mob, wherever a crowd was collected or a marvel to be seen. A favourite recreation of these noble personages also was to repair to the cells of Newgate, and look at, or even converse with the condemned criminals, more especially if they had been dashing highwaymen or dexterous burglars; and the lives of such heroes, usually drawn up by the ordinary of the prison, formed an important part of fashionable reading. Even the court was not sacred from this gaping and shouldering love of spectacle; and we are informed by Walpole, that at a royal levee, when "the Duchess of Hamilton was presented on Friday, the crowd was so great that even the noble mob in the drawing-room clambered upon chairs and tables to look at her." This crazy appetite too was fully matched with childish credulity; so that so late as 1762, the Cock-lane ghost drew strange visitors, among whom might be comprised the greater part of the court calendar. On one of these occasions, the Duke of York, Lady Northumberland, Lady Mary Coke, Lord Hertford, and Horace Walpole himself, having changed their clothes at Northumberland House, that they might not be recognized, went to the lane in a hackney-coach, and waited in the wretched garret until half-past one in the morning, in the hope of seeing, or at least hearing this mysterious ghost. Under such patronage, impostors could not fail to flourish; and astrologers, fortune-tellers, and alchemists were sure not only of rich and noble dupes, but of being able to follow their prohibited vocations with impunity. It was unfortunate too, that even at this late age, such absurdities could still find a sanction in the credulity of the wise and the learned. Even Johnson was a believer in the Cock-lane ghost. Mary Tofts, the Joanna Southcott of her day, who brought forth a whole litter of rabbits to attest her divine commission, could enlist the discreet, erudite, mathematical Whiston among her disciples and champions. Steele, no dreaming mystic where money was concerned, threw away nearly his all in alchemical researches by which it was to be multiplied ten thousand fold; and Dryden, a still wiser and more practical man than all of them, cast nativities and put faith in horoscopes. While such visionary advantages were pursued with so much labour and expense, a prophecy of some approaching calamity was sure to find equal, if not greater belief, and the prediction of a coming fire, famine, or earthquake, was sure to shake London to its centre. It was then too that the flippant scepticism of the higher classes utterly gave way, and those who would not hear "Moses and the prophets" put faith in the ravings of a bedlamite. On one of these occasions, when it was prophesied that by a certain day London and its neighbourhood would be engulfed by a terrible earthquake, many of the fashionables removed to a safe distance; and when the appointed day drew near, the corner of Hyde Park was passed by a torrent of coaches in rapid flow into the country. This was not all, for many of the more courageous who stayed at home, were provided with "earthquake gowns," for which there had been a brisk sale—gowns, to wit, made of warm stuffs, in which they could sit out of doors all night, instead of waiting within until the house tumbled about their ears. The reaction, of course, produced by the non-performance of the earthquake was a conviction that every kind of prophecy was absurd, and all faith worse than useless; and thus nothing but a harder infidelity than ever ensued upon every such fit of soft, childish implicitness.

In reading the annals of high life during this period, as set forth by its satirists and moralists, we are continually apt to be puzzled with its strange contradictions—with the learning, elegance, and refinement which it could display on the one hand, contrasted with the silliness, ignorance, and depravity which it manifested on the other. But it must be recollected that the first of these were only special exceptions, while the second were general and prevailing characteristics. It was only the very few who were learned and witty, like Walpole, and Chesterfield, and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, while the vast majority were still coarse and semi-barbarous; and thus, instead of the former reacting upon the latter, the latter were sufficiently influential to affect, taint, and quell the former. The aristocracy of England had not yet found their proper place after the Civil war and the changes that had followed. The commons had obtained and still could keep the ascendency, and a considerable time had yet to elapse before the highest in rank could give proof that they were also the highest in intelligence and worth. The choicest portion of the nobility, moreover, disgusted with these changes by which they were reduced to so inconsequential a grade, and with the manners of the two first Georges, which were sufficiently haughty and reserved, had withdrawn themselves to the privacy of their country mansions, to brood over the restoration of the old state of things; while those who were left behind in the metropolis were generally distinguished by their lofty recklessness of public opinion, and the utter carelessness and extravagance of conduct which such a feeling creates. It was, in short, a great transition period, especially for this portion of society; and the first effect was to throw it backward before it started upon its new career. The education that was usual among them was commensurate with such a condition. If a young lady could barely read and write, she was learned enough. If she could intermingle her sentences with a few French phrases, she was fit to converse with the most scholarly. If she could execute a few old airs upon the spinnet, and dance a rigadoon and minuet, she was fully accomplished. As such training could be quickly got over, she was usually withdrawn from school and introduced into the world at the age of fourteen or fifteen, when the business of life commenced in earnest; and there she qualified herself to shine by gathering the light tittle-tattle of the hour, and studying plays and novels. Was it strange, then, if so many of them were hoydens, romps, or demireps? With the young gentleman of the day, education was not on a greatly more enlarged scale. A smattering of Latin and Greek, in addition to a scanty knowledge of his own tongue, and the accomplishments of fencing, dancing, and perhaps a little music, was sufficient; and anything more thorough was out of the question, as he was neither to be parson, doctor, nor schoolmaster, but a lord, a fine gentleman, perhaps a senator. And then to give him the "varnish of a complete man," he was usually sent upon the grand tour, at best to gaze at novelties which he was unable to comprehend; or if of a more active disposition, to pick up what was lightest and of easiest attainment—the fashions, frivolities, and vices of each country through which he made his transit. And thus he often returned in the character of rake, fop, epicure, or bully, or perchance a combination of them all, and prepared to astonish his home-bred neighbours with the variety of his foreign accomplishments. The cordiality with which such a Pickle was welcomed on his return, and all the wild changes of his subsequent career, could be nothing else than what was faithfully embodied upon the stage, announced in the chronicles, pictured in the novels, and finally impressed upon the histories of the eighteenth century in England.

Among the many ways in which the ordinary rules of decorum and common morality were set at nought by a society thus trained and constituted, it would have been strange if hard drinking had not come in for more than an equal share. Accordingly, we find that, even among the highest classes, intemperate table habits prevailed almost as powerfully as in the days of Hardicanute or William the Conqueror; and this, too, notwithstanding the solemn periwigs, stiff hoops, and stately bows that distinguished the etiquette of fashionable society, and the general progress of civilization and refinement. To Vauxhall, Ranelagh, and other places of fashionable resort, noblemen came who could scarcely keep their legs. At the theatre and opera the boxes could exhibit a large array of well-fuddled peers; and even the chancellor himself, the keeper of the royal conscience, was to be seen there particularly drunk. Such startling facts we learn from almost indiscriminate reference to the notices of Walpole. We need not therefore wonder to be told that, even to the close of this period, fashionable ladies not only supped frequently in taverns, but invited gentlemen to aid in their carousals. And what places were these taverns compared with the orderly hotels of the present day! In the next room, perhaps, might be found a troop of bacchanals, one-half on the floor, and the other half roaring indecent songs; and in the room beyond, a couple of duellists settling their deadly quarrel by the glimmer of a single candle. Even at the best, the harmlessness of such meetings could scarcely redeem them from their coarseness. Walpole, who willingly entered into such frolics, thus describes one of them under their most engaging aspects:—"We minced seven chickens into a china dish, which Lady Caroline [Petersham] stewed over a lamp with three pats of butter and a flagon of water, stirring, and rattling, and laughing, and we every minute expecting to have the dish fly about our ears. She had brought Betty, the fruit-girl, with hampers of strawberries and cherries from Rogers', and made her wait upon us, and then made her sup by us at a little table. The conversation was no less lively than the whole transaction."

As fashionable life at this period presented the extremes of effeminacy and rudeness, the happy mean having not yet been discovered, a large portion of its society might be classified under the titles of the beau and the bully; while the characteristics of each have been so copiously described by Addison, Steele, and other moralists, as well as the play and novel writers of the day, that a few notices may suffice for them. And first, of the beau or fopling: his late hours and midnight frolics generally kept him a-bed till noon; and when he rose, the serious occupation of dressing employed him for three hours. In this process, not only much perfumery was used, but sometimes rouge to heighten his haggard complexion, and patches to give expression where features or meaning had been withheld. At four o'clock he called his chair, and repaired to his favourite coffee-house, where congenial company assembled; and if a politician, he settled the balance of power or the pragmatic sanction, tapping emphatically his snuff-box lid, and embrowning his upper lip with dried Spanish to heighten its gravity; if a man of intrigue, he read *billets-doux*, whether genuine or forged, tore the reputations of ladies to tatters, and showed his accomplishments by making love to the bar-maid. He then repaired to the theatre; but as it was unfashionable in the extreme to attend to the play, he either turned his back upon the stage and the audience, or buzzed over the whole house in quest of acquaintances, or drowned the voices of the actors with his incessant chatter. After a transient visit of this kind an evening lounge in the parks followed, where his snuff-box, wig, cocked hat, cane, and sword-knot were brought into full requisition, and completely matched by the commodes, hoops, flounces, and fans of those in whose smiles he lived, and for whose admiration he dressed, fluttered, and fretted. And thus the day was spent and ended, unless an adjournment to the tavern or the card-table is to be taken into account. As scandal and intrigue necessarily involved him in frequent quarrels, he not only wore a sword, but knew how to use it; and if his quarrels were frivolous or contemptible, he at least showed that he had courage to fight them out, and skill to "pink his man," without which his admission into female society would have been impossible. Such was the beau; and now for the bully of the eighteenth century—the representative of the Drawcansirs, Bobadils, and Pistols of an earlier period. His dress was of a military character, and generally of the latest fashion of Ramillies or Dettingen. His favourite places of resort were the taverns and coffee-houses which military gentlemen most frequented, and where he was usually content to be an humble imitator. His choicest language was French and English camp oaths, which he discharged like minute-guns or in whole volleys, to the great admiration of the ladies and terror of shopkeepers, waiters, and porters; and he could talk fluently of gabions, fascines, and epaulements, without knowing precisely what these things meant. As it was necessary to confirm these bold assumptions by correspondent deeds, he was "sudden and quick in quarrel," but always with due discretion, and after having reconnoitred the ground; so that he could break the head of a shopboy, pull the nose of a tailor, or, like Captain Weazel, challenge a cheesemonger to single combat with great intrepidity. But it was at night, and in the unprotected streets of London, where he could advance or retreat at pleasure, that his campaigning was most frequent; and after mustering a strong band of congenial spirits, he could ruffle with those peaceful citizens who wore no swords, or give battle to the watch, who generally were so old and worn out that they could neither fight nor run away. In this manner the freaks of Sir John Brute and his compeers were no purely dramatic fiction. But of all the civic midnight ruffians of this age, whether characterized as "Scowerers," "Darby Captains," or "Cock-and-bottle Captains," "Tash Captains," or "Nickers," none were to be compared to the terrible "Mohocks," a class distinctive of this period exclusively, and of that, too, happily enough, a very brief portion. But how such a community could exist at all during the days of the "good Queen Anne" is astounding, and gives us a strange idea of the barbarism that still lingered in London. These "Mohocks," so called from a tribe of American savages, appear for the most part to have been young gentlemen of good means and family, who devoted themselves to a short and merry life of violence and mischief, because they were either fit for nothing better, or had nothing else to do. This strange conspiracy against all order, decency, and humanity, appears to have been regularly organized by a certain code of laws, and was governed by a president, who was called the Emperor of the Mohocks. The following is the account of them in the *Spectator:*—"An outrageous ambition of doing all possible hurt to their fellow-creatures is the great cement of their assembly, and the only qualification required in the members. In order to exert this principle in its full strength and perfection, they take care to drink themselves to a pitch that is beyond the possibility of attending to any motions of reason or humanity; then make a general sally, and attack all that are so unfortunate as to walk the streets through which they patrol—some are knocked down—others stabbed—others cut and carbonadoed." Well might Gay therefore ask—

> "Who has not heard the Scowerer's midnight fame?
> Who has not trembled at the Mohock's name?
> Was there a watchman took his hourly rounds,
> Safe from their blows or new-invented wounds?"

These "new-invented wounds" were in full character with those who inflicted them. As, for example, no sooner did they see a peaceful pedestrian in the distance by the dim lamplight, than they raised the cry of "A sweat! a sweat!" and set off in full chase; and after running down and surrounding their victim, they drew their swords, held them in a circle with the points towards his person, and kept him spinning incessantly round or leaping from side to side by the smart punctures they inflicted wherever his back was turned. Sometimes they flattened his nose, and scooped out his eyes with their thumbs—a process which they facetiously called "tipping the lion." It was not merely men also they assailed, but women, whom they set upon their heads, or sent rolling down Snow Hill in an empty barrel. Dean Swift, when in London, was kept in constant dread of these wretches, who, he was informed, had a particular hatred against him, and such notices as the following occur in his journal:—"March 9, 1712.—I walked in the park this evening, and came home early to avoid the Mohocks. March 16.—Lord Winchelsea told me to-day at court that two of the Mohocks caught a maid of old Lady Winchelsea's, at the door of their house in the park, with a candle, who had just lighted out somebody. They cut all her face and beat her without any provocation." This nocturnal reign of terror was soon suppressed; but the wonder is that it should have been suffered to exist in such a city as London for a single week. But here we must take into account not only the wretched inefficiency of the police, but the venality of the magistrates, who, being scantily salaried and little respected, were easily bribed into lenity by the wealthier class of offenders.

The parks of London, in consequence of the improvements they had undergone, were still greater resorts than ever for all the beauty and fashion of the metropolis. Of these, Hyde Park was especially set apart for military reviews, which were always attractive spectacles for all classes; while that part of the park called the Ring was exclusively the haunt of fashionables, among whom no mere plebeian might presume to intrude. As there were many lonely nooks also in this vast area, duels were frequently occurring there, the chief of which was that in 1712, between the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun. Kensington Gardens also was a fashionable resort after the accession of William, when this locality became the court end of London; and as the visitors to the gardens were required to appear in full dress, the company was not only of a splendid but most select description. Nigher, however, to the town, and therefore more convenient for every-day recreation, was St. James's Park, into which the Mall discharged its fashionable loungers with a constant flow during the hours of promenading. But in all these places of public resort, the aristocracy were not more distinguished by the superior richness of their dress and ornaments, than by the haughtiness with which they kept aloof from the common herd, and the disdain with which they regarded them. This scorn the others were not slow to return; and thus the breach was still kept open that had existed between the aristocracy and mobocracy of England since the days of the Norman conquest. It is to be observed, too, that as the commonalty had now attained their proper position, and felt their full consequence, they were no longer in the mood of enduring the hauteur of their superiors in silence; and therefore, toward the close of this period, ladies were apt to be insulted, and even mobbed, although the royal palace was in sight. Sometimes, however, the popular resentment took a more harmless turn, in the form of caricature, as was the case in the following instance, perpetrated by certain spruce young merchants' clerks:—"Having a porter just come out of the country, they dressed him in a bagwig, laced ruffles, and Frenchified him up in the new mode, telling him that, if he intended to make his fortune in town, he must dress himself like a gentleman on Sunday, go into the Mall in St. James's Park, and mix with people of the first rank. They went with him to the scene of action, and drove him in among his betters, where he behaved as he was directed, in a manner the most likely to make him conspicuous. All the company saw by the turning of his toes that the dancing-master had not done his duty; and by the swing of his arms, and his continually looking at his laced ruffles and silk stockings, they had reason to conclude that it was the first time he had appeared in such a dress. The company gathered round him, which he at first took for applause, and held up his head a little higher than ordinary; but at last some gentlemen joining in conversation with him, by his dialect detected him, and laughed him out of company."

ST. JAMES'S PARK.—From a print after J. Maurer, 1750.

It was chiefly, however, at the watering places that the best and the worst of English fashionable life was exhibited; and of these places Bath, on account of its pre-eminence, demands especial notice. As we have seen in a former chapter, it gave little promise of the distinction that awaited it, the accommodations of the town for lodgers being few and uncomfortable, and the baths themselves, notwithstanding their healing qualities, being dirty, and so ill-regulated withal, that Pepys, who visited the city in 1668, and enjoyed the luxury of its waters, was obliged to descend into them with his wife and his male and female attendants—an absurd sociality that was kept up during the eighteenth century, even when the place had attained its highest reputation—

> "O 'twas pretty to see them all put on their flannels,
> And then take the water like so many spaniels;
> And though all the while it grew hotter and hotter,
> They swam just as if they were hunting an otter;
> 'Twas a glorious sight to see the fair sex
> All wading with gentlemen up to their necks;
> And view them so prettily tumble and sprawl,
> In a great smoking kettle, as big as our hall."

BATH—the King and Queen's Bath and the great Pump room.
From a print of the period in the King's Collection, British Museum.

Although Bath had become a place of great resort for the idle, the diseased, and the hypochondriacal, it still continued, during the earlier part of this period, to be rather a place for killing time than enjoying it: no theatre—no promenade—no gaming-table—while the only public walk was a dull grove of sycamores, and the only ball-room a bowling-green, where the company danced to the music of a hautboy and fiddle. From this low plight the city was elevated to the height of grandeur and fashion by the exertions of only two men. These were Wood, the architect, who constructed its public buildings and renewed its baths; and Richard Nash, who, as master of ceremonies, ruled over the city and its aristocratic visitors with the highest regal authority. To this envied elevation he attained soon after his arrival, which was in 1703. What had been his previous vocation was a mystery; for although he possessed no fortune or visible resources, yet he had hitherto lived in splendid style, and was profuse of his money, which made many suspect that, like some other dashing adventurers of the day, he maintained this expenditure by the profession of a gentleman highwayman, until he gave proof that he was the favoured stipendiary of wealthy ladies, by showing a *billet-doux* containing a large sum of money. Thus qualified for his singular office of King of Bath, to which he was soon called, he commenced his reign with the energy of a Cæsar and the wisdom of a Numa. The highways round the city he caused to be widened and repaired. He established a band of well-trained musicians, caused an assembly-room to be erected, and filled the pump-room with such new attractions as made it the favourite resort of all the fashionables of England. All this, however, was not to be compared with the wisdom of the code of laws which he drew up for the government of his subjects, and hung up in the pump-room, so that none might trespass through ignorance. These laws remind us in many cases of those which Catherine, the wife of Peter the Great, devised for the reformation of the female aristocracy of Russia. As every kind of quarrelling was to be avoided in a place devoted exclusively to enjoyment, all politics and scandal were prohibited; and as the wearing of swords led to duels, he caused them to be laid aside, on the plea that they tore the ladies' dresses. In consequence of the importance of dress at the public meetings, his sumptuary laws were enforced with the utmost strictness; and on one occasion, when the Duchess of Queensberry appeared at the assembly wearing a prohibited white apron, King Nash stripped her grace of this ornament, valued at 500 guineas, and threw it among the ladies' women in the hinder benches. He could not, however, so easily prevail upon the gentlemen to lay aside their boots, although he sometimes gravely asked them, on their entrance into the ball-room, why they had not brought their horses also. At last he succeeded, through the happy device of a puppet-show, in which Punch himself was introduced booted and spurred upon the scene; and on the affectionate Judy desiring him to pull off his boots when about to go to bed, he squeaked in reply—"My boots! why, madam, you might as well pull off my legs: I never go without boots—I never ride, I never dance without them; and this piece of politeness is *quite the thing in Bath*." Unconvinced by this last argument, and losing all patience, she kicked him off the stage. As Bath was the great matrimonial mart of England, to which the fortune-hunters repaired, another important duty of his majesty, which he discharged very faithfully, was to keep a watchful eye upon these adventurers, and put a stop to their clandestine proceedings. On one of these occasions he made up to a lady of high rank at the assembly-room, and told her bluntly that she had better go home; and on her complying, although with much anger, she found on reaching her door that she had good cause to thank him, for there she found a coach and six drawn up, in which a sharper was about to elope with her daughter. The regal state in which Nash travelled was correspondent with the exercise of such authority, being usually in a post-chariot drawn by six grays, and accompanied with outriders, footmen, and French horns.

It is now full time to inquire how his subjects lived and acted. At an early hour, or what was considered as such, the serious business of bathing commenced, which is thus described by a foreign traveller:—"In the morning the young lady is brought in a close chair, dressed in her bathing clothes, to the Cross Bath. Then the music plays her in the water, and the women who attend her present her with a little floating dish like a basin, into which the lady puts a handkerchief and a nosegay, and of late a snuff-box is added. She then traverses the bath, if a novice, with a guide; if otherwise, by herself; and having amused herself nearly an hour, calls for her chair and returns home." It is not to be supposed, however, that every visitor used the baths, or stood in need of their remedies; on the contrary, the majority came for different purposes, and the reputation of spending a summer "at the waters" was a sort of enlistment in the *ton* of London. After this, the chief part of the day was spent in the pump-room, where the company laughed, chatted, and flirted, until the hours of promenade, the ball, or the theatre, called them to more cheerful recreations. It would have been strange, however, if the gaming-table had not held an important place among such coteries; and in this the principal mischief of a season at Bath consisted. Beau Nash, careful though he was of his subjects, was still a needy adventurer; and as his style of living was so luxurious, he endeavoured to support it by gaming, on which account he introduced and patronized card-playing as the chief attraction of his realm. A universal rush to these tables was the consequence; loo, hazard, and lansquenet were alternated with more desperate trials of chance and skill, and thousands were impoverished or ruined in their fortunes, through their attempts to escape the *ennui* of an idle, monotonous existence. At last the evil became so great, and the victims so numerous, that government was compelled to interfere, and those games through which the mischief mainly originated were suppressed by act of parliament. But the spirit of gambling could not be thus suppressed; and Nash, calculating upon this, encouraged games of a still more questionable character, among which was one called E. O., from which he contrived to extract a large revenue by his connivance with the keepers of the E. O. tables, but at the expense of whatever moral reputation he had still contrived to retain. Only a year before his death, an attempt was made to reconcile this dissipation with the decent externals of religion, and accordingly subscription rooms were opened for prayers at the abbey, as well as gaming at the rooms; but the subscribers to the latter were sixty-seven, and to the former not more than twelve. In 1761 Nash died, and his throne remained in abeyance until 1769, when, in consequence of the election of two rival masters of the ceremonies, a civil war commenced, and its battles were fought in the pump-room, where titled ladies and fashionable beauties came to blows, and plucked one another's caps, gowns, and noses, in a style which Billingsgate has seldom equalled. Such were the refinements of Bath society even later than the close of the present period! Let us hope that, amidst the far higher civilization of the present day, the repetition of such a scene is an utter impossibility; or, at least, that no similar cause will occur to show that such an outrage is impossible.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS AT THE PERIOD.—From a drawing by J. Roberts, in the King's Collection, British Museum.

From Bath to the wells of Tunbridge is an easy transit, as the latter resort was but a colony of the former, which Nash himself established, occasionally repairing for the purpose to Tunbridge, in that royal style of travelling for which he was so famous. It never, indeed, became so fashionable a place as Bath, being chiefly sought after by the families of rich London merchants and country squires; but there appears also to have been neither the same amount of play, dissipation, nor scandalous living. The style of life adopted by the frequenters of Tunbridge Wells, as described by Macky in his *Journey through England*,[1] was the following:—On one side of the well was a row of coffee-rooms and shops, on the other a market, and behind the well was a chapel, in which Divine service was performed twice a-day. At an early hour in the morning the company repaired to the pump-room in an easy dishabille, and drank the waters and conversed with each other till nine o'clock, when the ladies and gentlemen separated to dress and breakfast. At ten they usually re-appeared, when those who were so inclined betook themselves to the church, and others to the coffee-houses. When prayers had ended, the public promenading commenced; bands of music were in attendance upon the walks; and for those who were of more sedentary habits there were gaming-tables and tea-tables, according to each one's liking. At two o'clock was the dinner hour; and this meal being despatched, there was still a whole afternoon and evening for fresh recreation. Then the bowling-greens were opened; and these not only gave facilities for the national games, but also for balls, which were held there four times a-week for the amusement of the young visitors. As the evening advanced, the walks were again frequented, and the long row of shops along the way gave full scope to the agreeable recreations of shopping and friendly meetings; and then succeeded the public amusements, which were usually kept up till midnight. In all this there was something very innocent and very primitive, more especially as the ceremonious precautions for keeping strangers at a distance, so necessary in London and even at Bath, were dispensed with at Tunbridge, and formal introductions to a lady, at play or upon the walk. were unnecessary. But this very freedom, as may easily be supposed, was frequently liable to abuse; and an Irish fortune-hunter, with no revenue but a large cypher prefixed to his name, a sufficient fluency of words, and a good commodity of brass, could often find in this easiness of access a golden opportunity for carrying off a rich English heiress. Such was life during the present period at the most fashionable of the wells of England. After them came Epsom and Bristol, where those fair invalids "bowed to taste the wave" whose resources were too scanty to compete with the water-drinkers of Bath and Tunbridge. But London itself was not without its healing springs also, and these were plentifully frequented by the ordinary citizens, who were wise enough to use the remedy that flowed beside their thresholds, instead of wandering a-field in quest of it. This notice will at once suggest the recollection of Bagnigge Wells, the London Spa, the Cold Bath, Islington Spa, and Sadler's Wells, which only lost their reputation when they were overwhelmed beneath the increase of streets, lanes, and alleys. In what fashion these civic places of resort were sometimes used may be guessed from the example of Sadler's Wells, where its chief place of recreation was a building, half-theatre half-tavern, in which songs, plays, and dramatic spectacles were served up with wine and ale, cakes and tobacco, to a mixed audience, and in which tradesmen and mechanics were too often huddled together with highwaymen, burglars, and prostitutes.

THE COLD BATH HOUSE, CLERKENWELL, AT THE PERIOD.
From a view in the "Mirror."

After the parks and wells, those places of public amusement that were not exclusively aristocratic demand our notice. And first of these may be mentioned the theatre, which was now more frequented than ever, and that also by every class of Londoners. Still, the morality of the English stage had undergone no improvement, the plays being those that had captivated the profligate court of Charles II., or those that were modelled after their character. While Davenant was the Petronius of the theatre, there was some promise that in the proprieties of costume at least some improvement would have been effected; but even this advance in the externals of dramatic art, so necessary, and withal so natural, was abandoned as soon as commenced, and let the country or age be what it might, it was impersonated upon the stage in the English costume of the eighteenth century. In this way, Cato could not repair to his little senate of Utica except in a sedan, and dressed like a lord-chancellor; while Sempronius, whose "voice was still for war," mouthed his menaces against Cæsar from the depths of a full-bottomed periwig. And then—Cleopatra dressed in a hoop, or Statyra ogling Alexander the Great behind her fan! These, and still greater marvels may be seen in the pictorial engravings of the period, where the choicest actors were represented in their favourite characters, but all dressed alike, whether Greeks, Romans, or Spaniards, whether ancient or modern. Sometimes, indeed, a desperate attempt was made to compound something more fanciful or classical with the stiff monotony of modern, every-day costume, especially when a merely mythic personage was to be introduced; but even the best of these was nothing better than Garrick's Comus, half a Greek Bacchus and half an English beau. So inveterate at length became this disregard of the proprieties of dramatic costume that it was not overcome until our own day, when the classical taste of Kemble was confirmed by the approbation of a discerning public.

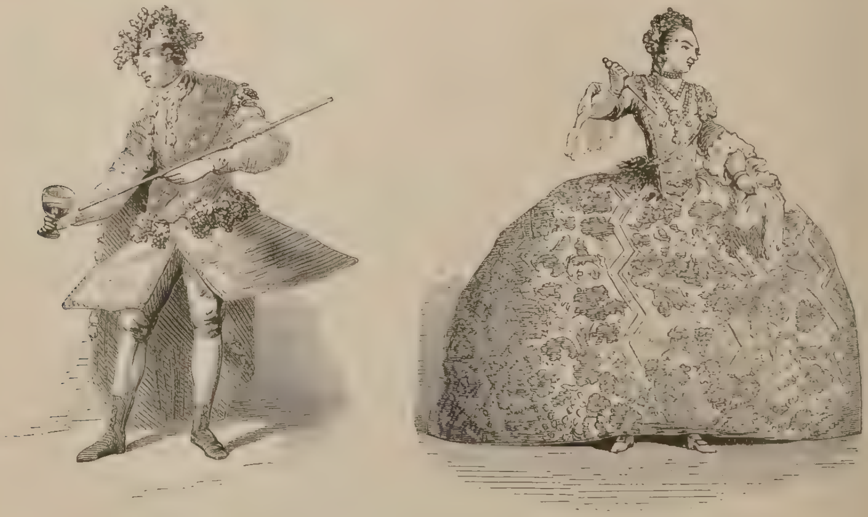
---

[1] *A Journey through England, Scotland, and Ireland,* by John Macky. London, 1722.

As the theatre was so much in the ascendant during the present age, it necessarily constitutes an important part of the history of English society, and therefore demands our further notice. Among the striking particulars by which the stage was characterized, nothing was more remarkable than the feuds, factions, and quarrels of which it was the fruitful source. And first of these may be mentioned the dissensions of rival actors. Formerly the public had given itself little trouble to discover

> "What difference should be,
> 'Twixt tweedledum and tweedledee;"

but now that they had served a long apprenticeship to civil commotion, they were as ready to legislate for the stage as the state, and therefore could enter as keenly into the rivalries of a Quin and a Garrick, as into those of the Stuart and Hanoverian dynasties. In this way the fashionable world was divided, and even the mob enlisted in the quarrel. Then there were rival authors as well as actors, as in the days of Dryden and Shadwell; and thus a play writer who was a favourite of the courtiers, was apt on that account to be obnoxious to the people—or if a Tory, to be in disfavour with the Whigs; so that, when he brought out a new piece, the event was seized by the rival factions as an opportunity for a trial of strength or mutual annoyance.



STAGE COSTUMES OF THE PERIOD—Comus, in the "Masque of Comus," and Zara, in the "Mourning Bride."
From Jeffery's Costumes, 1759.

When a new play was to be condemned at its outset, it was ostracized by the whizzing of catcalls; and amidst such a torrent of discordant din, the actors were reduced to dumb show, and speedily driven off the stage. It was not always, however, that a dramatic feud confined itself to innocent catcalls, for when the play of the "Foundling" was to be performed, Walpole informs us, "Lord Hobart and some more young men made a party to damn it merely for the love of damnation. The Templars espoused the play, and went armed with syringes charged with stinking oil, and with sticking plasters, but it did not come to action." This was certainly a strange way of chastising the disdainful nostrils, and shutting the mouths of the censorious. Sometimes, however, this spirit of condemnation *did* come to action, in which case it was confronted with a violence equal to its own. "It is the way here," says Walpole once more, "to make even an affair of taste and sense a matter of riot and arms. . . . About ten days ago he [the manager] let into the pit great numbers of bear-garden *bruisers* to knock down everybody that hissed. The pit rallied their forces and drove them out. I was sitting very quietly contemplating all this. On a sudden the curtain flew up, and discovered the whole stage filled with blackguards, armed with bludgeons and clubs, to menace the audience."

It was not merely from the fashionables in the boxes, or the critics in the pit, that these dissentient sounds arose which led to such dangerous quarrels. That formidable third estate, in the empire of the drama, enthroned in the upper gallery, and distinguished by the title of "the gods," had now expanded into full power, and was not remiss in the use of it. The chief persons of this portion of the audience consisted mostly of footmen, who on attending their masters and mistresses to the house, had the privilege of a seat in the gallery gratis; and as they were a combined body, and could generally imitate the critical airs and language of their superiors, they could easily give the tone to the shopkeepers and artisans by whom they were surrounded. In this way they became so formidable a middle party, that by throwing themselves into the scale, they were often sufficient to secure the acceptance or rejection of a play at its first appearance. It was a dangerous power to be intrusted in such hands; and so intolerable accordingly was the arrogance into which it grew, and the rudeness with which it was expressed, that in 1737 the portion of the house set apart for their accommodation was closed. Enraged at this exclusion, the footmen resolved to storm Drury Lane Theatre, and recover their gallery by force; and for this purpose they assembled to the number of 300 before the building, burst open the doors, took possession of the stage, though the Prince of Wales and several of the royal family were among the audience, and seriously wounded above a score of persons in the conflict. The riot act was read, but in vain; and the rioters were only overpowered by aid of the auditory, when thirty of their number were captured and imprisoned. Still these incensed knights of the shoulder-knot were not to be quelled by such a defeat; and they sent a manifesto to Mr. Fleetwood, the manager, demanding back their gallery as a right, and threatening that otherwise they would come in a body and lay Drury Lane itself in ruins. In consequence of this menace, a guard of fifty soldiers was placed over the building, and the footmen were compelled to forego their purpose. They had, however, left an example to their successors in the galleries which was not lost upon them for many years after. An incident in the history of the English stage shows how keenly at this time dramatic representations were enjoyed, and how anxious the fashionable world were to have them performed according to their own liking, and without such outbursts of interruption or dictation. In 1751 a party in the fashionable world hired Drury Lane Theatre for the privilege of acting plays for themselves, and the House of Commons actually adjourned business at three o'clock that they might compose the audience!

Scarcely less attractive than the theatre was the opera, as a favourite recreation, giving evidence that the national taste for music was only suspended, not annihilated, and that, under favourable circumstances, it might be recalled to its former vigour. It appears, however, that the scenic decorations and costume of operatic representations were still as incongruous as those of the drama. Thus, rivers of real water were made to trickle through groves of pasteboard; enchanted chariots, that should have been yoked to winged griffins or flying dragons, were drawn soberly forward upon the stage by earth-born Flanders mares; and the hero of the piece, exposed to the horrors of a tempest, set sail in a veritable timber boat through a billowy sea of painted canvas, while he was himself clothed in robes trimmed with ermine. Such incongruities, however, were already detected, and about to be reformed, while they continued to linger in the rival house to the last. With regard to the music, the English, instead of attempting to create a school of their own, had naturally recourse to that of Italy, where musical science had already reached perfection, and where the best singers were produced; and thus, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Italian operas and performers held exclusive possession of the stage. This, however, was the taste of the aristocracy, from which the people were always prone to dissent; and the hostile feeling, perhaps, was not a little heightened, when they thought of the revolting means by which such enchanting voices were produced among the best male singers of Italy. "Rot your Italianos!" was now the popular cry; and when the feeling had commenced, the discovery was made, that there was a German as well as Italian music, and that the one might be as good as the other; at all events, the former was more congenial to the national character, and was therefore adopted by popular patronage. Under these circumstances, a keen contest commenced between the Italian opera on the one hand, supported by the high rank and fashion of London, and the German music on the other, countenanced by royalty, and espoused by popular sympathy. In this way political feeling was mixed up with a question of simple taste; and even those who cared not about music, became keen partizans in the quarrel, from love or hatred to their German sovereigns and the Hanoverian succession. It was then that Handel, a young man and a German, arrived from Saxony; but although the Italian theatre was intrusted to his management, and although he composed for it fifteen such operas as neither Germany nor Italy could have equalled, yet this very independence of taste and superiority of talent gave offence to the aristocracy, and he was compelled to yield to the storm, and withdraw to Ireland, because he was not out-and-out Italian. It was fortunate that while thus unsuccessful with the opera, the failure suggested to him a higher and nobler kind of public entertainment, to which Pope thus alludes in the *Dunciad:*—

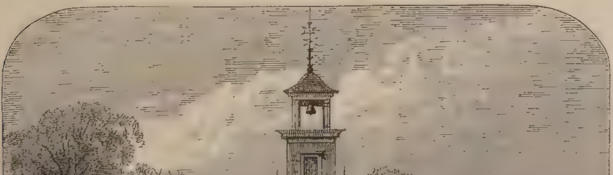
"Strong in *new* arms, lo! giant Handel stands,
Like bold Briareus, with a hundred hands;
To stir, to rouse, to shake the soul he comes,
And Jove's own thunders follow Mars's drums."

This innovation was the oratorio, or sacred musical drama, which he introduced into England in 1720; but as such sublime and complex productions were still considerably in advance of the English taste, it was some time before they could be naturalized in this country, and even the "Messiah" itself, performed in London in 1741, proved a failure. Handel however persisted, until not only the oratorio was fully established, but his own productions recognized as the noblest of all musical compositions.

Among the other places of gay resort and recreation, Ranelagh and Vauxhall deserve especial notice. These gardens of pleasure had now attained such celebrity, and have been so fully described by every class of writers, that their gorgeous exhibitions and moving throngs still rise and live before our eyes. Of these, Vauxhall, or Faux Hall, at first a spring garden in Lambeth, had become a place of popular amusement at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and is thus described by Addison, in 1712:—"When I considered the fragrancy of the walks and bowers, with the chorus of birds that sung upon the trees, and the loose tribe of people that walked under their shade, I could not but look upon the place as a kind of Mahometan paradise." The beauty of this delightful temple suggested those splendid artistic additions by which it became a garden of enchantment; and on being re-opened in 1732, as a place of public amusement, we may form some idea of the risks attending the commencement of such experiments in such an age, when we are told, that of the 400 persons who were present at the opening, scarcely a tenth part were ladies, while 100 soldiers were present to keep order among the visitors. Vauxhall, however, gradually surmounted such obstacles, so that by the close of this period it had become both orderly and decorous. Later in birth, as well as more brief in its existence, was Ranelagh, whose chief feature, the Rotunda, an imitation of the Pantheon at Rome, served as a

VAUXHALL GARDENS.—From a print after S. Wale, 1751.

promenade under cover, a hotel for refreshments, and a theatre for balls and concerts. At its opening, in 1742, a public breakfast formed part of the entertainment, but was subsequently suppressed by act of parliament, as injurious to public morals. Afterwards, masquerades were introduced; but these were found so productive of licentiousness, both through indecent costumes and dangerous love intrigues, that they, too, had to be abandoned. Of the splendid embellishments and gay amusements in which the Rotunda of Ranelagh and the gardens of Vauxhall rivalled each other, and the tastes and occupations of those who frequented them, it is unnecessary to speak, as these have been familiarized to us by every essayist and novelist of the day. The best part of the entertainment at either place consisted of music, and for this purpose they were provided with organs, orchestras, and bands of vocal and instrumental performers. As the pieces selected were from the best composers, and executed in a high style of excellence, the public taste was thus improved even among those who at first sought nothing beyond the glitter of cascades, variegated lamps, and fireworks; and thus Ranelagh and Vauxhall performed their good office, and prepared the public for that higher style of excellence by which themselves were finally supplanted.



Belsize House, Hampstead.—From a drawing by Maurer, 1750.

As characteristic of the amusements of the times we must not fail to mention Belsize House, and a few particulars of its history. The edifice itself was a stately building in front of the highway of Hampstead; and in this age of bold speculation in public amusements, a projector, known by the sobriquet of the "Welsh Ambassador," having hired it, with its large park and gardens, conceived the idea of anticipating those improvements which were afterwards only realized at Ranelagh and Vauxhall. Accordingly, he made due preparations, and opened the place in 1720, with such a bill of fare as might have tempted the most fastidious. "These are to give notice," thus ran the programme, "that Belsize is now opened for the whole season, and that all things are most commodiously concerted for the reception of gentlemen and ladies; the park, wilderness, and gardens being wonderfully improved, and filled with variety of birds, which compose a most melodious and delightsome harmony. Every morning, at seven o'clock, the music begins to play, and continues the whole day through; and any persons inclined to walk and divert themselves in the morning, may as cheaply breakfast there, on tea or coffee, as in their own chambers. And for the convenience of single persons or families who reside at Hampstead, there are coaches prepared to ply betwixt the two places, which, by the least notice given, shall attend at their lodgings or houses for sixpence per passenger; and for the security of his guests, there are twelve stout fellows completely armed to patrol betwixt London and Belsize, to prevent the insults of highwaymen or footpads which may infest the road." A safe, well-guarded road, snug, cheap conveyance to the place of entertainment, and there a paradise of groves, gardens, music, and singing birds, not to speak of good beverages and choice comestibles! What more could have been offered or demanded? All indeed promised well at first, for the company was aristocratic and well titled; and the year after its opening, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and a party of the nobility, dined in the honoured mansion. But this fair prospect was speedily overclouded. Hampstead even already abounded in low and infamous places of public entertainment; and the frequenters of these, allured by the cheap price and superior attractions of Belsize House, resorted thither, in preference to their old haunts, and soon made it an unfit resort for better company. The recreations of promenading, hunting, and fishing, during the day, over the extensive grounds and the fish-ponds, and the balls and concerts in the evening, were not enough for such characters, and were speedily exchanged for deep, ruinous gambling, as well as for profligate intrigues, to which the gardens and retired walks afforded every facility; while the highway from London to this promiscuous haunt of festival became so dangerous, that the patrol had to be increased from twelve to thirty "stout fellows completely armed," independently of two tall grenadiers who mounted guard over the gate of the mansion. The high character of the place was lost as soon as won; the public outcry was loud against it; and even the "Welsh Ambassador," who should have furnished a better example, appears to have become a leader of the prevalent iniquity, for he soon found himself within the walls of Newgate. It is only necessary to add, that the Belsize plan of public amusement, so much in advance of the period, although since often attempted, can scarcely be realized with impunity even in the present day.

MARYBONE HOUSE.—From an old view in the British Museum

The other places of public entertainment may be briefly dismissed. Besides the regular drama performed by living men and women, there was a theatre in which puppets were the actors, while the subjects of the play, frequently selected from Scripture, were designed to inculcate lessons of religion and morality. It was called "Punch's Theatre," as this well-known wooden droll was the presiding high-priest of each exhibition, and was held by a Mr. Powel, in a spacious apartment under the piazza of Covent Garden. Even this place was a fashionable resort during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and Powel, during his day, was almost as famous as Quin or Garrick. Another exhibition was Wynstanley's Water Theatre, situated in Piccadilly, between Park Lane and Hyde Park, and distinguished from the other houses by the figure of a windmill on the top. Mr. Wynstanley, who was no mere showman, but an ingenious mechanist and man of science, here exhibited in the evenings the curious effects of hydraulic pressure in a variety of attractive forms, where every aquatic deity of ancient Greece gambolled in a lake, and blew water through their conches, sometimes apparently mixed with fire. In these various experiments, we are told, sometimes eight hundred tuns of water were used in a single evening; and as the price of entrance was as high as that of the royal theatres, the admission of an indiscriminate mob was prevented. Indeed, in this Water Theatre we may discover the germ of some of those philosophical and scientific institutions for popularizing science, and illustrating it by experiments, which arose in such abundance a century afterwards. Leaving these minor theatres for places of more stirring festive resort, we first come to Marybone. Its ancient manor-house, that stood opposite to the church, had a bowling-green, which, at the beginning of the reign of Anne, was frequented by persons of the highest rank; and to this Lady Mary Wortley Montagu alludes in the well-known line,

"Some dukes at Marybone bowl time away."

Here also John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, with whom the manor was a favourite resort, used to give his annual dinner to his *pendibles*, or bottle-holders, at which the crowning toast invariably was, "May as many of us as remain unhanged next spring, meet here again." As indiscriminate admission to the garden was permitted, the company soon became disreputable enough, so that bullies and sharpers frequented its walks, while a dog-fight formed one of its usual attractions. Here, accordingly, in the "Beggar's Opera," Captain Macheath lost his money in gambling with lords; while Mrs. Peacham thus admonished her timid young highwayman, Filch, "You must go to Marybone to learn valour, child." Out of this unpromising soil, after it had lain fallow for more than half a century, grew the Regent's Park and its Zoological Gardens. Still lower in the scale of social and promiscuous blackguardism, was a place frequently mentioned by the satirists of the last age under the name of Hockley-in-the-Hole.

From the now fermented state of English society, in which the froth and scum was so often uppermost, that it might be finally thrown off, the fairs of London demand particular notice. The time had gone by when "clubs, bills, and partisans" could be promptly invoked to knock a riot on the head; while the season had not arrived in which a well-regulated police, or a general feeling of decorum, would be sufficient to control the wild energies of a mob. These London concourses, therefore, once such sober, matter-of-fact places of buying and selling, were now the great annual concentrations of all the mischief, uproar, and profligacy of the metropolis and its surrounding districts, as well as the occasions on which they were exhibited at their worst. And first of these civic saturnalia, we may specify May Fair, originally called St. James's Fair; the latter name derived from its being originally granted by Edward I. to the Hospital of St. James's, and the former from its annual opening being made on the 1st of May. It was held in Brookfield market-place, and was continued for sixteen days, the first three being devoted to the serious occupation of the sale of cattle and leather. Then succeeded what was now the real business of the fair in the form of shows, swings, and drinking-booths, accompanied with every kind of merriment, riot, and debauchery. In the May Fair of 1702, a specimen of these riots was given, originating in the circumstance of certain thieves and pickpockets having plied their vocation so actively, that the magistrates were obliged to interfere and apprehend them. In this case, the mob took part with the rogues against the officers of justice, and in the affray that followed one of the latter was killed and three others wounded. Thus matters went on for seven years longer, until these annual meetings were prohibited as a public nuisance; but in spite of legal abolition, and the usual pains and penalties of disobedience, the crowds continued to assemble to hold May Fair, until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the practice was abolished only in consequence of the ground being absorbed in streets and buildings.

But the great parent and exemplar of English fairs in general, was Bartholomew Fair—a name not quite unknown even to the Londoners of the present day; and, like May Fair, it originated in the reign of our great English Justinian, Edward I. Its place of meeting was Smithfield, originally the chief cattle-market of England, as well as the place set apart for the tournaments and pageants of the chivalrous ages; but when chivalry itself had expired, its spirit still kept possession of the ground in full vigour, although in a very different form. The pavilions were changed into jugglers' booths, the knights into tumblers and rope-dancers, the heralds into merry-andrews, while the same glitter of paint, gilding, and showy drapery, the same fanfare of trumpets and shouting applause of crowds, continued to predominate as before. And thither also, as in the days of tilts and tourneys, came the sight-seeing lord and the city dame, the country squire and the village milkmaid, the courtier and the clown, the frequenters of St. James's and the Mall, and the unwashed of Wapping and Alsatia—every shade of society and change of occupation which either the vast metropolis or the rural districts could produce. As might be expected, the absence of other public means of excitement, combined with the still prevailing coarseness of all ranks, and that general liberty which an English mob was so prompt occasionally to abuse, had made Bartholomew Fair, by the commencement of the present period, a scene of such wild effervescence as scarcely any other country could have paralleled. Accordingly, during the reign of Queen Anne, while one party felt the space of three days insufficient for such a joyous season, and resolved to extend them to fourteen, the sober part of London, already sick of the riot and licentiousness of such a fair, petitioned against the proposal. Nor were the civic authorities remiss on the occasion. Alarmed at the growth of this portentous misrule, before which they would soon have been swept away, the lord-mayor and city council commenced a regular warfare against Bartholomew Fair. The causes stated were too distinct to be denied; the "great profaneness, vice, and debauchery too frequently practised there;" and in the proclamation that followed, they endeavoured to strike at the root of the evil, by prohibiting all persons connected with the fair to "let, set, or hire, or use any booth, shed, stall, or other erection whatsoever, to be used or employed contrary to law, for interludes, stage-plays, comedies, gaming-places, lotteries, music meetings, or other occasions or opportunities for enticing, assembling, or congregating idle, loose, vicious, and debauched people together, under colour and pretence of innocent diversion and recreation." In this enumeration we have only the same practices that are still common at every country fair; but in that of Bartholomew they had grown into such gigantic bulk, and were carried to such an extent, as to be incompatible with safe and peaceful government as well as common decency and morality. But, as in the case of May Fair, these prohibitions were ineffectual; and therefore, five years afterwards (1707), were repeated with greater stringency, no booth or edifice of any kind being allowed to be erected except for the purposes of sale, while the chief approaches to Smithfield were shut at ten o'clock, and none allowed to remain within except the proper inhabitants of the district. In this way the nuisance was diminished but by no means destroyed. Worthy it is of notice, also, that this huge Vanity Fair, even when it was at the wildest and worst, was confronted by a different kind of remonstrance. Here the apostolic Whitefield dared to set up his rostrum, and preach to the maddened multitudes of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," in the midst of hostile scorn and insult, and even threats of martyrdom, that endeavoured to silence him; and here the voice of human eloquence and Divine truth were so prevalent, that shows and drinking-booths were emptied of thousands who gathered round him to listen and be persuaded. It was the cheering promise of a better day in store for London when such wretched public sensualities as those of Bartholomew Fair would be abandoned in very weariness and shame.

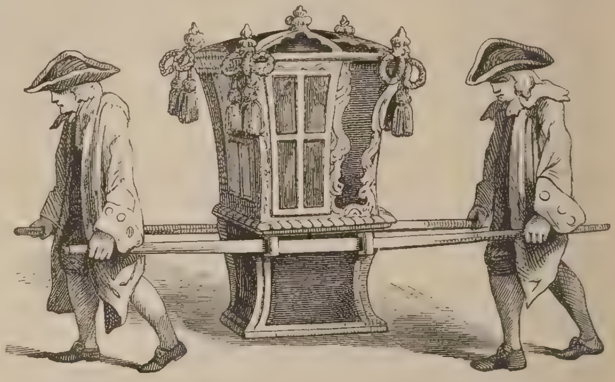
As has been already noticed, the age of temperance, especially in drinking, had not as yet commenced in England; little or no moral stigma was attached to the crime of drunkenness; and therefore, as we have already seen, while high-born nobles and grave statesmen might inebriate themselves with impunity, the ladies could not only tolerate, but sometimes encourage their excesses. It was not to be expected, therefore, that the common people would be distinguished by superior temperance; on the contrary, they now seem to have outdone their former excesses, so that the present period exhibits a melancholy pre-eminence in this vice of the northern races. Wine being still out of the reach of the poorer classes, and ale and beer having been found not sufficiently stimulating, recourse was had to strong waters, of which gin soon became the favourite form. In this way gin-drinking, in preference to beer-drinking, had gradually gained upon the people during the earlier part of the eighteenth century, and that too in the large towns especially, where poverty, toil, and mercantile depressions were most abundant. As might be expected, London took the lead in this unhappy characteristic; and the picture which Smollett has given of the practice among the lower classes in 1736, has been too well verified in more modern periods, to be called in question.[1] But here, in justice, we must offer a qualification. The shamelessness with which the facilities for this vice were advertised—the worse than brute-like inducements that were offered—would never have dared to be placarded to the public eye in the middle of the nineteenth century, or if obtruded, would instantly have been torn down by the lowest of our mob, who would have felt themselves insulted by the invitation. But in those days, the offer of safe cellars and clean straw, in addition to the privilege of getting dead drunk for twopence, was given without hesitation, and accepted without a blush, so that the underground catacombs had no lack of carcasses. "In these dismal caverns," the historian adds, "they lay until they recovered some use of their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion; thus consuming their health and ruining their families in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot, execration, and blasphemy." This state of things could no longer be endured, and petitions from the magistrates of Middlesex were presented to the House of Commons, setting forth the nature and causes of the nuisance, and craving for a remedy. The remedy adopted, after much senatorial discussion, was a limitation of the licenses granted for the selling of gin, which were confined to public brandy-shops, victualling-houses, coffee-houses, ale-houses, and inns, and to apothecaries and surgeons, who should dispense Geneva only in the form of medicine. Of course, not only an extensive illicit sale was the consequence, but a frequent eluding of the act, a disguised gin being sold under the derisive title of "parliament brandy." These causes, and the formidable gin-riots which took place in London and throughout the country, compelled parliament to withdraw their prohibitions, and allow the people to get drunk upon their own terms. An idea of the progress which gin-drinking had made in England may be learned from the fact that, while in 1684, when the distillation of this liquor was introduced into the country, the annual consumption was 527,000 gallons, in 1742 it had risen to the amount of 7,160,000.

The same period of our history that was disgraced by the introduction of gin-drinking into England, was also signalized by that of boxing, which speedily engrafted itself upon the national character. When the age of tournaments had expired, the pugnacious spirit of England was confined to prize-fighting, in which sword and buckler, the quarter-staff, and sometimes that deadly weapon the rapier, were in chief use, while the trial of arms was seldom brought to a deadly issue, the drawing of blood being generally accounted sufficient; and the baffled combatant, who had done enough for honour at the expense of a flesh-wound or a broken head, might continue to fight a hundred such battles, and yet die in his bed of sheer old age. When the quarter-staff had become obsolete, and the buckler was thrown aside, these competitions continued to be waged with broad-sword, sword and dagger, and single-stick; and thus, while every village was regaled in turn by wandering prize-fighters, who roamed the country like knight-errants and sounded their challenges wherever they came, London had several buildings, in which, as in the cock-pits, these exhibitions of combat were a daily spectacle. At length, however, the science of fence was discontinued among the common people, with the abandonment of warlike weapons, while the love of quarrel and fighting was as keen as ever; and in this case a skilful use of the fist was found as effectual a weapon of damage, and even of defence, as broadsword and buckler. Teachers were not long wanting to reduce boxing into a science, and advertise for pupils; and among these instructors, who appeared in London about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the most distinguished was Figg, one of those heroes who make such a conspicuous figure in the levee of Hogarth's "Rake's Progress," and who gave lessons in boxing, as well as broad and small sword fencing. The innovation grew into a fashionable frenzy. Dukes and lords rushed from the cock-pit to the boxing-ring, and betted such sums upon their favourite champions as baited bears and pitted game-cocks had never been able to extract; while strong-bodied, enduring, enthusiastic champions trained themselves for the ring with a patience and self-denial which the ancient athletes of Greece and Rome could scarcely be supposed to have equalled. And now the only stage for a public fight was that of the well-trained bruiser, while the delighted crowds who looked on soon caught the lesson, and learned to decide every private controversy with the fist, so that England, even before the close of this period, had become what it has since continued to be—a nation of boxers. The great prize of competition in these encounters was the belt of the championship of England; and the hero who survived to win it became the cynosure of public admiration, and the chosen companion of princes. Then, also, challenges to a passage of arms were more frequent than ever they had been in the chivalrous ages; while the language in which they were couched was in strange contrast to the stately decorous courtesy of the paladins of old. Let the following moderate specimen, from the cartels of the day, be sufficient:—"Whereas I, William Willis, commonly called by the name of the Fighting Quaker, have fought Mr. Smallwood about twelve months since, and held him the tightest to it, and bruised and battered more than any one he ever encountered, though I had the ill fortune to be beat by an accidental fall; the said Smallwood, flushed with the success blind fortune then gave him, and the weak attempts of a few vain Irishmen and boys that have, of late, fought him for a minute or two, makes him think himself unconquerable; to convince him of the falsity of which, I invite him to fight me for £100 at the time and place abovementioned, when, I doubt not, I shall prove the truth of what I have asserted by pegs, darts, hard blows, falls, and cross buttocks." Such was the slang in which society now delighted—the spectacle that could draw all ranks of either sex together. And yet such meetings could be countenanced by magistrates and legislators as the choicest safety-valves for the outlet of popular energy, as well as the best training for national courage and manliness.

---

[1] Vol. iii. p. 258.

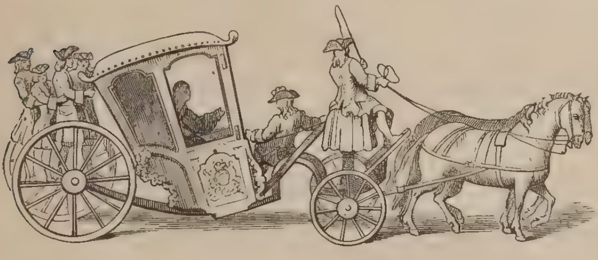
Another evil characteristic of the times was the irregular marriages, which were now of very frequent occurrence. These were chiefly performed by clergymen of scandalous character, who were residents in Fleet Prison, either in consequence of debt or from worse causes; and finding that this part of their office was very profitable, they reduced it to a regular system, and soon had customers enough. In a previous chapter we had occasion to notice the red-nosed flamens who plied in the neighbourhood of the Fleet for customers, and the low ale-houses ticketed with, "Marriages performed here." Such were the chapels in which giddy schoolboys, wealthy minors, fortune-hunting adventurers, drunk sailors, and unreflecting rustics were hastily paired for life with well-dowried girls in their teens, runaway Abigails, and cast-off mistresses—nay, if the swain was still unprovided with a partner, the priest was ready not only to tie the knot, but to find him a mate at a minute's warning. The terms, too, increased the facility of such ominous unions; for amidst the competition which arose in this new species of traffic, priests could be found who were willing to perform the rite for a pint of gin and a roll of tobacco. Besides the Fleet, May Fair was a noted matrimonial market, where an ecclesiastic, who had a chapel of his own, and set all the authority of the diocese at defiance, obtained a large revenue by the celebration of such marriages. The inconveniences to which parties were often subjected in such hasty unions would of themselves form a ludicrous as well as revolting chapter. One of these was the fact, that when the Duke of Hamilton was married to Miss Gunning, no better marriage-ring could be got for the occasion than a ring of the bed-curtain. At length *mésalliances* among noble families became so alarming, that the act against clandestine marriages was passed on the 26th of March, 1754, by which all such unions for the future were declared to be null and void. Such was then the haste and hurry of many parties to avail themselves of the short interval, that 217 couples were married at the Fleet, and sixty-one at the May Fair chapel on the day before the act came in force. Even this obstacle, however, to such alliances was unavailing, so far at least as the higher classes were concerned; for it was found that in Scotland the marriage laws were as free as heart could wish, while they were as binding as those of England; and accordingly Gretna Green took the place of May Fair and the Fleet. In this case nothing but the delays and dangers of a long flight in a chaise and four were interposed, which in most instances only served to give additional zest to the union.



Sedan Chair, of date 1755.—From a print of Hanover Square, in the King's Collection, British Museum.

In looking for the popular sports of England at their head-quarters, the metropolis, we find that these had almost wholly disappeared. The active game of bowls, which had superseded the pastime of archery, was in its turn supplanted by skittle-playing; and the only chance for a citizen to become a good shot lay within narrow dimensions for gun or pistol practice. Even the luxury of hunting he could only enjoy in effigy, and in the back-yard of an inn, according to such advertisements as the following:—"A stall-fed fat deer to be shot for at the Greyhound, in Islington, on Wednesday in Whitsun week, for half-a-crown a man; forty men to shoot." No stirring game seems to have survived but football, which was still played by boys and 'prentices in the open space before Covent Garden, and by gentlemen, who made parties for the sport in the Artillery Ground or upon Hampstead Heath. The causes for this discontinuance we can easily find, not only in the new occupations with which the English mind was occupied, but the rapid growth as well as filling-up of London, by which open spaces were built over, and the country removed to a greater distance. The addition of eight new parishes to the capital within the present brief period of seventy-two years, attested not only its growing wealth and importance, but the increasing difficulty of giving the active healthy sports of old England their full swing; and hence the public ardour for parks, gardens, and theatres, as well as for those places and occasions that were set apart for stationary frivolity, riot, and uproar. In the absence of these sports, therefore, we must look for the predominant characteristics of the day in the condition of the streets and the movements of the passing crowds.

In reference to these streets, then, we find that, with all this rapidity of increase, comfort as yet was but little understood. Foot-pavements or *trottoirs* there were none; and hence not only the usefulness but absolute necessity of sedans—which were now used to an incredible amount, as well as the numerous immigrations of brawny, thick-limbed Irishmen, who were not too proud for such menial and laborious work, and who formed the important corps of London chairmen. In the middle of the roughly paved street was a channel, which in dry weather was a bed of noxious smells and fever, and in wet weather an inky flood, from which carmen and coach-drivers splashed the foot-passengers on either side in a spirit of wanton mischief. Many a large hole, too, was in these streets, where coaches were often stranded, or sometimes absolutely wrecked, and this especially at night, when the light of the lamps was too dim to give notice of the danger. Even in some of the principal streets, no better foot-pavement could be devised than a railing of posts, about four feet high, between the foot-path and coach-road, to protect the passengers from the mud of the carriages; but as such a shelter was so narrow that seldom more than one person could pass at a time, the privilege of keeping the wall was a ground of continual street quarrel, in which the weaker were elbowed into the mire. So late as 1750, when the only public approaches to parliament were King Street and Union Street, these were so wretchedly paved, that when the king went in state to the house, the ruts had to be filled up with bundles of faggots to allow the royal coach a safe transit. While the art of street-paving was thus so imperfect, that of road-making was equally defective; so that the country visitor to the metropolis, and its dangers of coach-driving, had generally a sufficient preparative for the worst during his journey to town. This may easily be understood from the fact that, so late as 1754, few turnpikes were to be seen after leaving the vicinity of London, for 200 miles together, although it had been made felony to pull them down. These roads, indeed, were merely the produce of compulsory pauper labour, contributed by the different parishes; and, like all such work, it was performed in a very perfunctory manner. We read of one curious instance of the obstacles of highway travelling at the earlier part of this period, in a journey of Prince George of Denmark, the husband of Queen Anne, which he made from Windsor to Petworth in 1703. The length of way was only forty miles; but fourteen hours were consumed in traversing it; while almost every mile was signalized by the overturn of a carriage, or its temporary swamping in the mire. How such disasters should occur even among difficulties which a dashing modern Jehu would confront, surmount, and break through in a twinkling, appears wonderful; but the clumsy architecture that still characterized the coaches of the period will sufficiently explain the mystery. Even the royal chariot would have fared no better than the rest had it not been for the relays of peasants, who poised and kept it erect by strength of arm, and shouldered it forward the last nine miles, in which tedious operation six good hours were consumed. At each perilous plunge of the coach, we can easily imagine with what emphasis the wonted exclamation of its princely freight was uttered—"*Est-il possible?*" It was well for him that he encountered no such delays in hastening to join the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay.



COACH, of date 1713.—From a print of the Procession of both Houses of Parliament to St. Paul's.

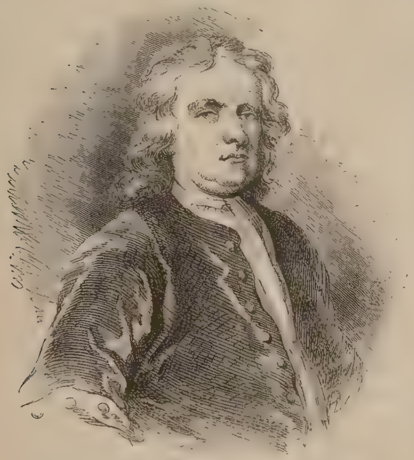
While such was the condition of the English highways, there were still worse obstacles than those of mud and pitfalls to be encountered in the numerous highwaymen by which they were infested. This was especially the case during the present period, when the increase of traffic had made the prospect of booty more certain; and therefore the principal roads to the metropolis were haunted not merely by formidable gangs, but also equally dangerous individuals—the Turpins, Sheppards, Golden Farmers, and Flying Highwaymen, whose deeds afterwards procured for them a high place in modern Newgate literature. Such, indeed, was the insecurity of travelling, that every stranger on the road was regarded with suspicion; while to finish a long journey without the interruption of a robber was accounted a miraculous instance of good luck. As the traveller neared London the danger of such meetings increased with every mile; and such uninclosed wastes as Bagshot Heath and Hounslow Heath were like Arabian deserts, in which every true man had to look to his priming or his horse's heels. It must be added, however, for the honour of the national character, that these robberies were seldom accompanied with murder, or even with violence. The highwayman, like the smuggler, seems often to have liked the fun, frolic, and adventure of his occupation as well as its profits, and was ready, after he had demanded and received his victim's purse, to bid him a courteous "good bye," or hand him back a few shillings of the plunder for the expenses of the next inn. Still this insecurity of travel was intolerable, while the law could devise no better remedy than to let the evil go on until the offender was ripened for the gallows; and thus a strict alliance was often established between the magistrates and the Jonathan Wilds of the period, the latter engaging, for the usual "blood-money," to keep the halter of justice in full occupation.

Amidst these dangers of the English highways, London could scarcely yet be said to possess that "sweet security of streets" which makes a city so attractive in the eyes of modern poetry. On the contrary, Maitland informs us, that in 1728, "The streets of this city, and those of Westminster, having for a considerable time been grievously pestered with street robbers, their audacious villainy was got to such a height that they formed a design to rob the queen in St. Paul's Churchyard, as she privately returned from supper in the city to the palace of St. James's, as confessed by one of the gang when under sentence of death." To cry, "Stand and deliver," to the very sovereign of the realm!—it was the sublime of bandit audacity! "But these execrable villains," Maitland adds, "being busily employed in robbing Sir Gilbert Heathcote, an alderman of London, on his return in his chariot from the House of Commons, her majesty luckily passed them in her coach without being attacked." It was no wonder that a city so large, with only a thousand dim lamps to light it, and these, too, extinguished at twelve o'clock, should afford nightly opportunities for robbery and plunder; and that streets so ill watched and protected, should encourage the most daring atrocities. But it was not merely for the hours of darkness that these London desperadoes waited: so numerous and formidable had they grown, that even in daylight, and when the streets were most crowded, they could assemble in bands from a dozen to a score armed in full equipment, and effect their purposes by open onslaught. Such was the confession made by the lord-mayor and aldermen to his majesty in 1744, when they stated, that "divers confederacies of great numbers of evil-disposed persons, armed with bludgeons, pistols, cutlasses, and other dangerous weapons, infest not only the private lanes and passages, but likewise the public streets and places of usual concourse, and commit most daring outrages upon the persons of your majesty's good subjects whose affairs oblige them to pass through the streets, by terrifying, robbing, and wounding them; and these facts are frequently perpetrated at such times as were heretofore deemed hours of security." Many of these musters had been made for the storming of a round-house, or an assault upon the civil officers, when any of their gang was apprehended; and therefore the address proceeds to show, "that the officers of justice have been repulsed in the performance of their duty, some of whom have been shot at, some wounded, and others murdered, in endeavouring to discover and apprehend the said persons; by which means many are intimidated from duly executing their offices, and others put in manifest danger of their lives."

In the foregoing statements of the general condition of English society from the Revolution of 1689 to the death of George II., a distinct conception may be formed of the barbarism that was still prevalent in the national character, and how much had to be accomplished in the way of improvement during the eighty years that followed. Dissipation and profligacy among the higher orders, coarseness among the middle classes, and a brutal ferocity pervading the general mass, appeared to demand nothing less than whole centuries of continuing improvement before society could be purified and elevated to its present mark. It is true, indeed, that in each of these classes there was such a counterpoise of excellence, as was fitted to vindicate itself against the general corruption; and that the struggle, though a silent one, between the good and the evil, was going onward so successfully, that the former was soon to triumph. But it is to be remarked, that comparatively recent though the period was, immorality, ignorance, and barbarism were still so predominant, as to overlay the opposite qualities, and maintain an unblushing front; while these opposite qualities either formed an exception to the general rule, or were still confined to obscurity. Few contrasts can be therefore more wonderful than the states of society in the eighteenth and nineteenth century; and in turning to the intellectual history of the people as embodied in the progress of religion, science, and literature, we perceive the silent underground working of those agencies by which the great change was effected, and the regeneration of society secured. But here the mere mention of the names of those honoured individuals for whom such a work was reserved would overflow our limits. Happily, however, we have them collectively impersonated in that great intellectual institution called the Royal Society, which, during the present period, had attained its due influence and importance.

This society originated about the year 1645. Its beginning was lowly enough, for it consisted of private meetings of a few persons at the houses of each other, for trying scientific experiments, and holding philosophical discussions. These meetings were finally organized by a code of regulations; the distinction acquired by its chief members in the literary and scientific world gave importance to the institution; and in 1662 it was incorporated, under the name of the "Royal Society," by Charles II., who took an interest in its proceedings, and was desirous to patronize it. In the following year, a new charter with additional privileges was granted to it; and among its members, who now amounted to 115, we find names that would have given lustre to any coalition—Boyle, Evelyn, Bishop Wilkins, Sir Kenelm Digby, Sir Christopher Wren, Dr. Wallis, Isaac Barrow, Dryden, Waller, Spratt, Bishop of Rochester, &c. The first publication of the Royal Society's proceedings, under the title of *Philosophical Transactions*, appeared in March, 1665, of which the series has been continued to the present day. By a list drawn up of the members arranged into seven committees, each for a separate department, we learn the investigations with which the society at this time was occupied. These were:—1. Mechanical; to consider and improve all mechanical inventions. 2. Astronomical and optical. 3. Anatomical. 4. Chemical. 5. Geological. 6. For histories of trades. 7. For collecting all the phenomena of nature hitherto observed, and all experiments made and recorded. Thus, the institution was to be both conservative and creative—to preserve the scientific knowledge already attained, and increase it by new discoveries. And how well it fulfilled these important objects, is attested by its published *Transactions*, and by the discoveries or improvements of its chief members, to the close of the present period. Upon this progress and its eminent promoters, we would fain have dwelt with greater circumstantiality, but for two individuals who occupy the foreground, and by whose superior lustre the others were partially thrown into the shade. Reformers greater still than these were needed for the change of the old intellectual world into a new. And foremost in place among those honoured agents by whom the change was to be effected, the name of Sir Isaac Newton will occur to most of our readers.

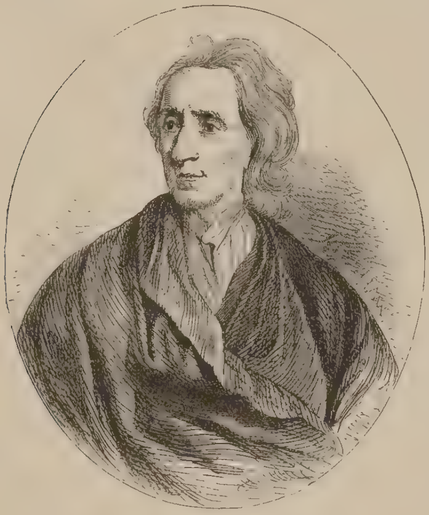
This pre-eminent light of the modern world in mathematical and astronomical science, was born at Colsterworth, in the county of Lincoln, on Christmas Day, 1642 (o.s.) Even his boyhood was devoted to science, and his sports were scientific experiments; for his time was chiefly spent in constructing models of clocks, windmills, and other articles of nice and accurate calculation in mechanics, so that, while at school at Grantham, his lodging-room was a workshop that resounded with continual hammering. He even improved the kites of his school-fellows by contriving their shape and proportions, and adjusting the string, upon mathematical principles. All this was accompanied with such superiority of intellectual power in other departments, that when he pleased, he could outstrip his companions at their daily tasks, and was soon at the head of the school. At the age of eighteen he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he quickly arrested the attention not only of his fellow-students, but Dr. Isaac Barrow, by his rapid proficiency in the science of mathematics. His regular study of Euclid, it has been said, was at first animated by a desire to explore the wonders of judicial astrology; but on having tested it by severe calculation, and discovered its emptiness, he threw both it and Euclid aside, and advanced to higher pursuits. The first result of these studies was his *New Method of Infinite Series and Fluxions*, which was published in Latin. In 1664, he turned his attention to the improvement of telescopes; and having procured a prism, he detected, by careful observation, the fallacy of Des Cartes' doctrine of colours, upon which he published his *New Theory of Light and Colours.* The plague having broke out at Cambridge in 1665, Newton retired to his own house in the country, where he prosecuted his studies in solitude; and while thus occupied, his great theory of gravitation first suggested itself to his mind by the fall of an apple from a tree, while he was sitting in the garden. It was this trifling incident that revolutionized science, and led to the publication of Newton's *System of the World*, which formed the chief part of his *Principia.* Thus, the foundation of all his stupendous discoveries was laid when he was only twenty-four years of age.



Sir Isaac Newton.—From a fine print by Vertue, after Vanderbank.

The career of Sir Isaac Newton after this period, and the works which he published illustrative of his discoveries in the laws of nature and the science of astronomy, would of themselves require a lengthened chapter; it is enough to state that, being revolutions, they met with their full share of envy and opposition. But they established themselves at last as immutable, inexpugnable truths, and the reflective world, upon which they dawned like a sunshine, was lost in delight and wonder. "Does Mr. Newton eat, or drink, or sleep like other men?" exclaimed the Marquis de l'Hospital, himself a very eminent mathematician: "I represent him to myself as a great celestial genius entirely disengaged from matter." The amiable and accomplished Queen Caroline (wife of George II.), who took great delight in the philosopher's society, declared herself happy in having come into the world at a time which put it into her power to converse with him. Honours, both literary and political, were conferred upon Newton; he was appointed professor of mathematics at Cambridge, sent to parliament as one of its representatives, made warden of the mint, and invested with knighthood; but these distinctions which he did not need, and which are now seldom remembered, were themselves honoured by his accepting them. His life, which was extended to his eighty-fifth year, was employed in the same philosophical researches, until its termination on March 20, 1727, when he died, leaving behind him a renown which can only perish with that universe of whose laws of action he was the inspired expounder. His amiable moral qualities, and his devotedness to revealed religion, that were in contrast with the selfish and irreligious spirit of the age, are too universally known to require description.

A fit contemporary for Sir Isaac Newton was John Locke, one of the greatest philosophers and most powerful writers which England, rich in such minds, has produced. He was born at Wrington, Somersetshire, on the 29th of August, 1632. He was educated first at Westminster School, and afterwards at Christ Church College, Oxford, where, having thoroughly studied the philosophy of the schools which still predominated at the university, and acquired all the benefit which its training was fitted to impart, he attained the higher knowledge of perceiving its inefficiency as a guide to truth, and the necessity of better lights than the Peripatetics. This perception was greatly aided by his study of the writings of Des Cartes; and thus both Locke and Newton, though in different ways, owed much to the influence of that bold and original thinker. In consequence of a feeble constitution, Locke combined the study of medicine with that of ethics and metaphysics; but though he never took the degree of doctor, or practised the healing art professionally, his knowledge of it was so respectable, that he was generally addressed by the title of doctor of medicine. After the Restoration he had tempting offers to become a diplomatist; but he preferred the study of philosophy to political honours, although he became the friend and counsellor of the Earl of Shaftesbury. After a life chiefly spent in study, Locke, in 1675, repaired to the south of France for the benefit of his health; and his journal of a four years' residence there, shows how closely he watched, and how sagaciously he investigated the great events that passed before his notice. His connection with Shaftesbury involved him in the earl's disgrace; and when the latter was obliged to retire to Holland, Locke followed at the close of 1683, and remained in that country until the Revolution, when he returned home in the same fleet that conveyed the Princess Mary to England. But during the interval his exile had not been unmolested; for through a groundless charge of treason preferred against him in his absence, he was formally ejected from his student's place in Christ Church College; and in consequence of the Monmouth insurrection, in which he was causelessly suspected to have had a share, an application was made by the English envoy to the Dutch government, to have Locke sent home a prisoner. On the settlement of William and Mary, Locke had high offers to go abroad in a public capacity, but contented himself with the office of commissioner of appeals, which brought him a small revenue of £200 per annum. Matters of greater importance, indeed, and more congenial to his character than embassies and state negotiations, were at present absorbing his attention; for in the following year (1690) he completed and published his renowned master-piece, the *Essay on Human Understanding*, a work which he had begun to plan so early as 1670. Its appearance was startling: it was a revolution in the intellectual world for which men were not prepared, much as they had been lately accustomed to changes; and the schoolmen, especially, were little inclined to unread their learning, abandon their old authorities, and adopt rules of thought and reasoning more accordant with every-day language and common-place reality. In this recusancy the university of Oxford went so far, that at a meeting of the heads of the institution it was agreed, that each should prevent Locke's book from being read by the students of his college. But in spite of this and similar opposition, the principles of the essay forced their way with the resistlessness of truth, and the work was recognized as "one of the noblest, most useful, and most original books the world ever saw." It is not too much, indeed, to say that it constituted a new era in the history of human thought, from the importance of its innovations, and the influence they have more or less exercised upon all the succeeding systems of philosophy. But much though the world has been indebted to Locke as a philosopher, it scarcely owes him less as a political writer; and his productions on toleration, on civil government, on money and the raising of its value, on education, &c., were as bold and original, and as persuasive as his *Essay on Human Understanding*. These, with his religious



JOHN LOCKE.—After Sir G. Kneller.

works in defence and illustration of the doctrines of Christianity, though so numerous as to fill ten octavo volumes, have been frequently republished, not only in portions, but collectively. Having thus, during a sickly but extended life, done so much for intellectual renown, and won the love of all who knew him by his uprightness, meekness, and Christian charity, the close of his life, in 1704, was in consistency with its whole tenor, being spent in the study of the Bible, and a calm, hopeful preparation for eternity. To a young gentleman's inquiry as to the shortest and surest way to attain a true knowledge of the Christian religion, Locke's memorable answer was, "Let him study the Holy Scripture, especially the New Testament; it has God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth without any mixture of error for its matter." Till his last hour its perusal was his chief occupation; and when the dimness of approaching death was gathering upon his eye-sight, its consolatory pages were read to him by his own desire, until the moment of his departure had arrived.

Such were Newton and Locke, the ornaments of the age, who divided between them the empire of human thought, and who taught the world not only by their wisdom, but their example and high moral worth. It was such men whom the age especially needed to give philosophy its right direction, and inquiring spirits their best example. The change, indeed, for the present was imperceptible, and years were to elapse before it could be realized. But its coming was as certain as that of the buried harvest, and the present generation is living in its abundance.

In directing our attention to those other healthful influences by which the great change was accomplished, the fine arts require due notice; and among these, music deserves a conspicuous place, on account of its refining effects upon society at large. The old madrigals and roundelays had disappeared; the grim silence which the rule of the commonwealth had imposed upon the voice of gladness had also passed away; and society was impatient to celebrate with harp and song its present deliverance, as well as future hopes. A new era in the history of English music was the consequence, in which the rude but expressive musical science of the old national character was amplified and refined by that of Italy, while such great masters as Purcell and Lock were at hand to give that new spirit its happiest direction. And then it was that Handel, the greatest of them all, appeared, to perfect what the others had commenced. And now a new school was established in England, in which native originality and strength were blended with foreign refinement; while the wideness with which it was diffused over society by the opera, the oratorio, the public gardens, and other places of entertainment, at length descended to the streets, so that boys carolled and carmen whistled, without being aware of it, those strains which had often enlivened the banks of the Tiber or the Arno, before they were naturalized in England. Among the many other musical composers who appeared during the long reign of Handel, was Dr. Arne, who introduced into the English music a sweetness and tenderness which softened its masculine severity. While the practice of music was thus so carefully cultivated, the theory was not neglected; and several valuable works were published during this period, by which the rules of music as a science were accurately laid down, and distinctly illustrated. To prevent also the utter disappearance, or too great abatement of our own national music amidst these foreign improvements, several institutions were formed, some of them of very high scientific character, for the preservation of the old melodies. Of these, the most distinguished were the Academy of Ancient Music, founded in 1710, for the study and practice of vocal and instrumental harmony, which continued its useful labours till 1793; and the Madrigal Society, established in 1741, and composed chiefly of tradesmen and mechanics, but which afterwards rose in reputation until the present day.

In painting, the progress which England had made was by no means correspondent with that of music. During the earlier part of this period, Sir Godfrey Kneller occupied the pre-eminence which he had so worthily attained, and which he kept till his death in 1723. But when it became the fashion of the great and wealthy to employ him as their favourite portrait painter, his love of money became so predominant, that his pencil threw off faces with careless rapidity, leaving the draperies and background to be filled in by scantily paid assistants. In this way he so greatly lowered the standard of excellence, that very ordinary talent was found sufficient to make a good painter, and the works of his pupils quickly degenerated into mere staining and canvas-daubing. In this style they thought they best imitated the bold, free, easy spirit of their master; while the fruits of their labours in the portraits of chubby-faced squires, arrayed in huge periwigs, and formidable plate armour, are now to be found among the lumber of a sale-room or the ornaments of a garret. Even when an attempt was made, towards the middle of the eighteenth century, to supersede this style by something more natural, the chief improvement consisted in divesting portraits of their stiff coiffures and heavy costume, and laying them almost naked upon the banks of purling streamlets, or beneath broad-spreading beech trees. Such was the established style of portrait painting, which makes us stare at our great-grandfathers, and wonder what sort of unblushing lives they led, or how they could live at all in such a climate as that of England.

In the other departments of pictorial art several painters were distinguished, most of whom, however, were foreigners, attracted to England from the patronage they expected under William and the two first Georges. Among these may be particularized John Van Wyck, a painter of horses, almost equal to Wouvermans; Vander Meulen, the battle-painter; Schalken, who excelled in candle-light effects; and Boit, who wrought in enamel. But of all the painters, whether foreign or native, who appeared during this era, whether in scene or life painting, their merits were of such mediocrity, compared with those who preceded and followed them, that they constituted a temporary lull in the art, instead of an advance in it. Kneller had so effectually marred the national taste that some time was needed for its revival. In the meantime, however, one department of the art deserves to be exempted from wholesale, unqualified condemnation. This was the department of architectural decoration, by the painting of ceilings, halls, and staircases, which Sir James Thornhill seems to have carried to the highest point that this perverted taste would admit. His chief productions were the paintings of the principal events of St. Paul's history, in the dome of St. Paul's Church, and those in the halls of Blenheim House and Greenwich Hospital. Unfortunately, with his excellence, such as it is, he had not improved his taste by a visit to Italy, but was contented with the French models. Although paid in niggardly fashion by the square yard, while foreign artists were bountifully rewarded, such was his industry and the multitude of his performances, that he raised himself to wealth and distinction, and re-purchased the estate of his ancestors, where he died in 1734. With Sir James Thornhill the practice of painting-decoration, in connection with architecture, died in England.

Amidst all this mediocrity, however, in English painting, one distinguished exception must be made. Of the multitude of names, both foreign and native, which have sunk or are sinking into oblivion, that of William Hogarth remains imperishable, and is familiar, not merely to the lover of art, but to all who have the slightest perception of natural delineation. This great moral painter for all time and for every class, was, body and soul, heart and brain, an Englishman, having been born in London, where he trained himself to his art without school or preceptor; and having conned such lessons as foreign travel could not have furnished, from the personages and events of every-day life, who were thenceforth to be perpetuated in a style which Lely and Kneller never dreamed of. To expatiate upon the excellencies of his wondrous moral dramas would now be as superfluous as to explain the meaning of household words; in either case, definition or criticism would only darken what is already so universally understood. What man, indeed, from the prince to the peasant, has not seen the excellence and felt the power of the "Harlot's Progress," the "Rake's Progress," "Marriage à la Mode," and "Industry and Idleness," not to speak of his numerous single pieces, each of which is a sermon more widely known and more deeply felt than all the pulpit productions of the age? William Hogarth was born in 1698, and was bred to the profession of an engraver, in which he continued for several years, engraving the arms of noble families, and furnishing illustrative plates to different works. At length, after several preliminary attempts, in which his "Midnight Modern Conversation" was most conspicuous, he burst upon the astonished world of art, in 1734, with the "Harlot's Progress"—a tale of such life-like reality that all rejoiced in the daring innovation, by which the worn-out phantoms of Olympus and Arcadia were once more superseded by men and women of real flesh and blood, habited like ourselves, and acting their part in the veritable streets and dwellings of London. And then, too, it was no mere passive copy of nature, but a grouping of realities, in which the ludicrous, the pathetic, and the terrible were exhibited in their most impressive aspects, to tell a tale by which the heart was to be made wiser and better. Then followed his other numerous productions, in which his skill and dili-

WILLIAM HOGARTH.—From the picture by himself.

gence as an engraver enabled him to multiply the originals, and make their merits known and appreciated over the whole kingdom. It would have been strange indeed, if the celebrity he attained had been reached without opposition; and therefore, while the painters of the day decried him as a vulgar caricaturist, or mere engraver, his own sturdy independence, and English contempt of everything foreign, involved him not only in artistic feuds, but political and personal quarrels, in which he had Pope, Churchill, Wilkes, and Walpole for his adversaries. But he bravely continued his course until his death in 1764, and ever since has been honoured as the unrivalled delineator of truth and nature—the Shakspeare of English painters.

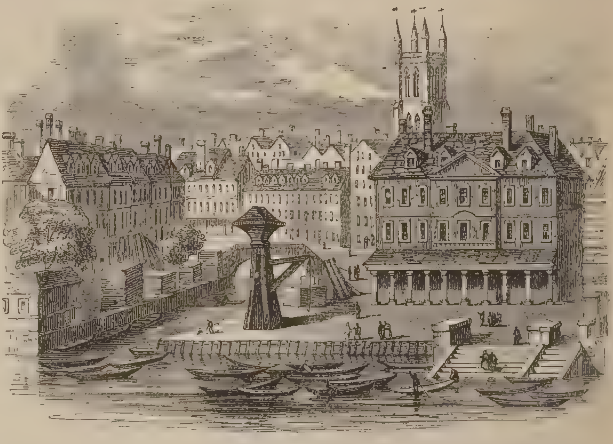
While the art of painting was, upon the whole, in abeyance during the present period, the sister art of sculpture was still more depressed; no Hogarth, or even Thornhill, wrought in stone and marble. This defect was not from lack of demand; for while every country squire or retired citizen wanted statues for his garden, every poet, hero, or statesman sought a commemorative ornament for his tomb. But still the public taste was depraved, and statues were made according to its standard. The horticultural guardian gods were those strange copies or caricatures from the antique, that still linger in some of our old gardens, half-loosened upon their pedestals, as if they would fain run away from the scornful gaze of the nineteenth century — dumpling Cupids, squab, indecorous Ledas, and perplexed Neptunes, with urns that hold no water. As for the higher description of sculpture that was in requisition for the public monuments of the great and good, abundance of specimens may be seen in Westminster Abbey, where Addison, even already, was pointing out their incongruities, and endeavouring (not in vain) to inspire his countrymen with better principles of artistic taste. Where anything like excellence was approached, also, it was in the works, not of native, but foreign sculptors, whom the popular craving for statuary, and the liberality with which it was rewarded, induced to settle in England. Of these by far the best was Louis Francis Roubilliac, a native of France, whose productions in Westminster Abbey are still deservedly regarded with admiration, especially that striking allegory embodied in the figures of the Nightingale Monument, and his statue of Newton, in Trinity College, Cambridge.

From the fine arts to literature, from music, painting, and sculpture to poetry, the transition is natural. The period of Queen Anne has often been called by modern flattery the Augustan age of the poetry of England; but some unintentional satire will be found mixed up with the compliment. It is true, indeed, that under the patronage of the first Roman emperor, refinement in writing was better understood, and great poets more abundant than before; but what they had acquired in artistic execution, was greatly overpaid by the sacrifice of that masculine vigour and originality for which their predecessors were distinguished during the stormy period of the wars of the Roman commonwealth and the dictatorship of Julius Cæsar. In the same manner the poets of England, during the tranquillized period that followed the expulsion of the Stuarts, were, however superior in refinement, of greatly inferior vigour to those of the earlier era of Dryden, Milton, and their contemporaries. Here, however, the analogy fortunately ends. While the Augustan era terminated the history of Roman poetry, so that all which followed were only the spasmodic throes of an expiring excellence, that of the British queen was to be succeeded in the following century by a new school, in which strength and refinement were to be united, and art exhibited in its highest excellence, because she was no longer the mistress but the handmaid of truth and nature.

By far the greatest of the English poets of this period was Alexander Pope. He was born in London, on the 22d of May, 1688. His sickly constitution and tiny distorted form were accompanied with delicate, susceptible feelings, and remarkable precocity of genius; so that although his education was chiefly domestic, he was, even in boyhood, not only an accomplished scholar but a judicious critic. He had also commenced versification so early that his memory was unable to go back to his first attempts; and when

ALEXANDER POPE.—From the portrait by Hudson.

he reached the age of sixteen, he had made himself complete master of the rules of his art. This he manifested by his *Pastorals*, a work that equally astonished and delighted the literary world; and when only eighteen years old, he heightened these feelings by the publication of the *Messiah*. After this his progress to the highest place of poetical distinction was a rapid one. In 1711 he published his *Essay on Criticism*, which was written two years earlier; in the last-mentioned year, also, appeared his *Rape of the Lock*, and in 1712 his *Windsor Forest*. Beside's these, he had already produced his "Odes," "Epistles," and "Temple of Fame." Although now regarded as by far the greatest poet of the day, neither place nor pension rewarded his labours; for being a Papist in religion, and a Tory in politics, every avenue of court patronage was closed against him. He was thus obliged to depend for recompence upon the patronage of the reading public, as yet not numerous enough for a poet's wishes and wants; and therefore, at the age of twenty-five, he commenced in earnest to write for money, by undertaking a translation of the works of Homer, which had long been a desideratum in the literary world, and was so successful that he was enabled, when not more than thirty years old, to purchase his classical villa of Twickenham, on the Thames, where he spent the rest of his life in study combined with gardening. It was here, also, that he found an opportunity to chastise that host of small critics who had ceaselessly buzzed round him with a malignity that irritated, although it could not harm him. As they were too numerous for individual conflict, as well as too insignificant to be thus distinguished, he attacked the swarm collectively, and with one fell sweep, by the publication of the *Dunciad*, in 1728; and who that has read it can forget his description of Fleet River or Ditch, with its dingy wharves and stranded lighters, or the competitions in diving among its dirty waters, by which he ridiculed the dulness and scurrility of his adversaries? It must be confessed, however, that although Pope had thus nursed his wrath so long, he had not allowed it full time for discrimination, and thus several were embalmed in the *Dunciad* whose real merits have survived such obloquy. Of these it is enough to name Colley Cibber, and still more, Daniel Defoe. In 1733–34, he published the three epistles of the *Essay on Man*, a work which, notwithstanding its profound philosophy and transcendent poetical merits, will always, like his "Universal Prayer," be regarded by the religious world with pain, on account of its pantheistic tendencies. After a life in which few of his day were more loved, worshipped, and vilified, he died at his rural retreat on the 30th of May, 1744, after receiving the sacrament of that church for which he appears to have cared little while living, and only to have sought in his dying hour, when its promises of future safety are thought worth the experiment.



FLEET BRIDGE AT THE PERIOD.—From an old print in the Crowle Pennant

In poetry, Pope was the follower of Dryden, who was the founder of what has been called the "poetry of artificial life." But he polished and perfected what the other had founded, and thus became himself the leader of the school, in preference to Dryden. And here the comparison which Johnson has drawn between the pair may be alluded to, as the best estimate which has yet been formed of their respective merits. To Dryden, indeed, belonged a strength, majesty, and fervour which his successor never attained; but on the other hand, Pope exhibited a delicacy and tenderness of feeling, and sustained well-balanced dignity of thought and style, of which Dryden was incapable. This distinction can be easily felt by a comparison of "Alexander's Feast" and "Elegy on Mrs. Anne Killigrew," Dryden's best productions, with Pope's "Epistle of Eloisa to Abelard," "Elegy on the Death of an Unfortunate Lady," and the "Rape of the Lock." In the same manner, as satirists, both were equally terrible, the one in "Mac Flecno" and "Absalom and Achitophel," the other in the "Dunciad" and his "Epistles;" but if Dryden's satire was an iron mace, that shattered and crushed while it killed, Pope's was the keen-edged scimitar of the eastern sultan, that with a silent wave bereaved the shoulders of their head or the body of a limb. While both were thus poets of the highest order, the superior polish and epigrammatic point, as well as better sustained and even dignity of the poetry of Pope, have caused it to be more universally quoted, and given it a greater influence than the more energetic but unequal productions of the other. Indeed, with the exception of Shakspeare, no writer throughout the whole range of English poetry has ever been the source of such frequent reference as the bard of Twickenham.

The effect of the poetry of Pope upon the literary spirit of his day was soon manifested. It became the standard, and he soon found himself surrounded with a host of imitators. But it was more easy to follow the artificial structure and cadence of his lines than the genius that inspired them; and thus every one who could number syllables upon his fingers, and end them with rhymes, became a poet of Pope's own school. Often, too, the very closeness of resemblance was all the more provoking, that at first sight the mere effigy of straw looked like a living man. In this way the artificial school was fully established; and after it had sung monotonously for more than half a century, until society was fairly laid to sleep, a new one succeeded to rouse it "with a rattling peal of thunder." In such a reaction the well-earned reputation of Pope was sure to suffer; and he who had hitherto been worshipped as an Apollo was thrown aside like a discarded idol. Such, till lately, was the usage of the present century, in which it was the fashion to decry him as a mere rhymer rather than a veritable poet. But this feeling is also subsiding; and the time seems not far distant when his merits, freed from the adulation of his friends, as well as the unjust censure of his enemies, will be estimated at their proper value.

Another eminent writer, by whom the artificial in poetry was illustrated, was Joseph Addison. He was born at Milston, Wiltshire, in 1672. His first public attempt in poetry was an address to Dryden, which he wrote in his twenty-second year; and continuing this literary connection, he wrote an essay on Virgil's *Georgics*, prefixed to Dryden's translation, and rendered the fourth *Georgic* into English verse, which Dryden published in his *Miscellany*, in 1693. Addison's next attempt was an "Account of the Greatest English Poets," also written in verse; and this was followed by "A Poem to his Majesty, presented to the Lord-Keeper," which, although sufficiently frigid, was so acceptable that it procured the author a pension of £300 a-year to enable him to make the tour of Italy. Two years were spent in this classical journey, and with such good effect, that his "Letter from Italy to Charles, Lord Halifax, 1701," is the most animated of all his poetical productions. In 1702 he returned to England, where, in consequence of his writing the "Campaign," the best "gazette in rhyme" which poetry could produce, he was appointed commissioner of appeals, and afterwards under-secretary of state. Continuing his poetical attempts, he wrote the opera of "Rosamond," which proved a failure; and a comedy, entitled the "Drummer, or the Haunted House," which was not acted until after his death. But the most popular of all his poetical productions was the tragedy of "Cato," which was acted for many nights with almost unprecedented success, both Whigs and Tories combining in their applause; and it was soon translated into French, Italian, and German. In 1716–17, Addison married the Countess-dowager of Warwick, and was appointed secretary of state; but his marriage was a source of domestic unhappiness, while his constitutional timidity and literary fastidiousness made him so unfit for the duties of the secretaryship, that he was fain to retire from it with a pension of £1500 per annum. His death occurred in June, 1719. His character as a poet may be surmised from the foregoing sketch; but it was as the great moral essayist of England that his influence was best directed, as well as his literary reputation most permanently established. With Sir Richard Steele he established the *Spectator*, in which he was also the principal writer; and by its influence a new literary era was commenced in England, of which the critical, intellectual, and moral refinement may be traced in the journalism of the present age. It is upon this high pedestal that the permanent renown of Addison is placed, and not upon his verses, which were little more than a cold, second-hand imitation of Pope. His "Vision of Mirza," or a single chapter of his "Sir Roger de Coverley," is richly worth not only his "Campaign," but his "Cato" also.

Of less poetical ostentation was Matthew Prior, whom fortune also elevated into political place and statesmanship. He was born in 1664, but where, or by whom begot, is unknown. He was brought up by his uncle, a vintner at Charing Cross, with whom he officiated as tapster; but having been discovered by the Earl of Dorset reading Horace, the kind nobleman sent him at the age of eighteen to St. John's College, Cambridge, and afterwards procured for him the appointment of secretary to the embassy sent to the Hague. Two similar appointments followed—the one to Ryswick, and the other to the court of Versailles. In 1701 he entered parliament as representative for the borough of East Grimstead; but deserted his former patrons, the Whigs, and joining the Tories (whom, however, he afterwards forsook also), and was in consequence appointed to repair with Bolingbroke to France in 1711, to negotiate a treaty of peace. For his share in the treaty of Utrecht the poet was accused of high treason, and imprisoned for two years, but afterwards liberated without trial, although not without the imposition of a heavy fine, which, with the loss of his political offices and prospects of promotion, reduced him nearly to his original poverty. Thus abandoned, he betook himself to authorship as a profession, and published his poem entitled "Alma," and afterwards his more important work "Solomon," which he valued as his best production, although his tales and other smaller pieces are more lively, sparkling, and popular. He was more fortunate also than the generality of authors, for a costly edition of his collected poems procured him £4000, to which an equal sum was generously added by the Earl of Oxford. Thus provided with a competence, Prior retired into private life, and soon after died, in 1721, at the age of fifty-seven. His poetry is natural, graceful, and flexible, combining the correctness and polish of his own day with the ease and vigour of an earlier period—much of the music of Pope, and the masculine nerve of Dryden; while in spirit it is a happy, joyous, dancing inspiration, skimming lightly upon the surface of life, and troubling itself neither with the cares nor the hidden wisdom that lies buried beneath.

A poet in many cases resembling Prior, although inferior to him in ease and elegance, was the happy-hearted, simple-minded John Gay, whom Pope truly characterized as being "in wit a man—simplicity a child." He was born in Devonshire in 1688, and was apprenticed to a London silk-mercer; but soon escaped such uncongenial occupation, and commenced the life of a poet, in 1711, by publishing his "Rural Sports." His next work was the "Shepherd's Week, in Six Pastorals," a production written expressly to ridicule the flimsy pastorals of Ambrose Philips; but in this attempt, which he sought to accomplish by a *bona fide* representation of clowns and shepherdesses instead of an Arcadian one, he, by the very truthfulness of his descriptions, has made the "Shepherd's Week" the best of all modern pastorals. After this he published "Trivia, or the Art of Walking the Streets of London," the most vivid sketch of metropolitan life in the eighteenth century that has come down to us; and the "Fan," a mock-heroic description of fashionable life, in three books. He then attempted the drama; but of the four comedies he produced between 1713 and 1724, only the second was successful. These efforts in writing for the stage were followed by his "Fables," produced for the especial improvement of the boy-Duke of Cumberland, afterwards the victor of Culloden. But of all Gay's productions that of the "Beggar's Opera" was the most distinguished. The idea of a Newgate pastoral, in which thieves, thief-takers, and prostitutes were to form the principal characters, and English music the chief attraction, was suggested to him by Dean Swift, and so successfully improved upon by the author, that the "Beggar's Opera," with certain needful excisions, is still a favourite with the British public. But what must have been the moral taste of those audiences that were wont to applaud it in all its primitive integrity? The run it enjoyed lasted sixty-three nights; and such was its popularity that it originated the English opera, a new species of popular amusement that tended to the further improvement of our own national music. After a happy, though not a long life, in which he enjoyed the patronage of the Duke and Duchess of Queensberry, and the friendship of Pope and Swift, Gay died in December, 1732, after a short illness of three days. Besides his "Fables," his songs are still as familiar and as effectual to charm as when they were first written; and of these it is sufficient to name "Black-eyed Susan," "'Twas when the Seas were Roaring," and "Cease your Funning."

A still more remarkable character than any of the foregoing—himself also a great poet, although poetry did not constitute his chief distinction or source of moral influence—was Jonathan Swift, dean of St. Patrick's. To attempt a sketch of his life, however brief, would include not only a literary but political history of his times. His poetry, which was of a miscellaneous character, and evidently written without effort, as well as without the usual aim at poetical distinction, would of itself, however, have given him a high place, from the vigorous terseness of language in which it is expressed, as well as the keen satirical power with which it scorches and corrodes like a poisonous distillation wherever it falls. It is the quintessence of misanthropy, which formed the chief element of his character; and the very act of reducing his thoughts to poetical measure, seemed with him only the act of concentrating his gall and wormwood, and applying it with more deliberate and deadly effect. But when he condescended to toy with verse, as a relief from the bitter thoughts with which his heart so often overflowed, his homely, but vigorous and most amusing pictures are perfectly unique, in an age of such fastidious, artificial poetry. In proof of this we have only to refer to such pieces as his "Baucis and Philemon," "The Grand Question Debated," and his description of "Morning," and a "City Shower." As a prose writer, however, he was still more widely known, and will continue to be best remembered; and thousands will read his *Gulliver's Travels* who have never perused one line of his poetry. Besides this standard work he wrote others equally popular in their day, although now less highly estimated, such as the *Battle of the Books*, the *Tale of a Tub*, and, above all, the *Drapier's Letters*. His, indeed, was a strange life, whether as poet, divine, politician, or Irish demagogue; and the best apology that can be found for it was perhaps unintentionally expressed by himself, while he looked at a stately elm, of which the uppermost branches were withered: "I shall be like that tree," he said mournfully; "I shall die at the top." He felt that the element of insanity was within him, and anticipated the termination. And it came at last; so that during the three closing years of his life he was reduced to the condition of idiocy or childhood, and he died a "driveller and a show." He left his fortune to build a lunatic asylum in Dublin for the benefit of his countrymen, whom he had not greatly tended to sober—

> "And showed, by one satiric touch,
> No nation wanted it so much."

Justly deserving a high place among the best poets of this age was Dr. Edward Young, the popular author of *Night Thoughts*. He was born near Winchester, in 1681. Having been educated at Winchester School, and afterwards at the university of Oxford, he commenced his literary career as poet, stimulated by the success of Addison's "Campaign," and hoping to secure a share of that court favour which made the latter a secretary of state. But although he wrote political eulogies, the chief leaders of the court paid no heed to them; and notwithstanding his poetical flatteries both of Anne and George I., neither place nor pension rewarded his loyalty. Disappointed in his hopes of court favour, he sought the patronage of the public by writing for the stage, and produced two tragedies, the first of which, "Busiris," was acted in 1719; and the second, the "Revenge," in 1731. But despairing to obtain independence through mere literary merit, Young entered into holy orders in 1728, when he was appointed chaplain to George II., and afterwards endowed with the rectorship of Welwyn, in Hertfordshire. At the age of fifty he married; but the death of his wife and her two children by a former marriage, so deeply affected him, that he poured forth his *Night Thoughts*, a poem that, notwithstanding its stately, artificial style, possesses more true grandeur and impassioned tender feeling than almost any poem in the English tongue. Another cause of its wide and lasting popularity is to be found in its pure moral and religious character, which has secured for it a permanent favour scarcely accorded to the writings of any of his contemporaries. Besides this distinguished production, which was not written till he had passed the age of sixty, and his tragedies, Young was already favourably known by a series of poetical works, the chief of which were, "Love of Fame the Universal Passion," the "Last Day," the "Force of Religion, or Vanquished Love," and a paraphrase of part of the book of Job. Continuing to the close of his well-spent life, he wrote "Reflections on the Public Situation of the Kingdom," a poem addressed to the Duke of Newcastle; a prose work, entitled, "The Centaur not Fabulous;" and several other productions, among which the chief was "Resignation," a poem written in the eighty-second year of his age.

Another religious poet of the day, as well as an eminent theologian and acute metaphysician, was Isaac Watts, who wrote hymns and catechisms for children, lyrics for the matured, and profound disquisitions for the learned and talented—a man whose varied attainments were incessantly devoted to the highest interests of his fellow-creatures. He was born in 1672, and was distinguished by his intellectual precocity and scholarship, which he was anxious to employ as a dissenting minister; but a feeble constitution so disqualified him for public duties, that nearly the whole of his life was spent in retirement. This was the less to be regretted, however, as he was thereby enabled to produce those numerous works by which society was so largely benefited. His poetry consists of hymns for the nursery and childhood—a species of authorship which he may be said to have originated; sacred lyrics, under the title of "Divine Love;" a paraphrase of the psalms of David, and a collection of hymns for public worship. In this way the spirit of Isaac Watts has been interwoven with the feeling of the religious world from infancy to manhood, and immortality been insured to his poetry by solemn heavenward consecration. It is to be observed, too, that he was no mere rhymer, but a poet of genuine power, otherwise he could scarcely have won the universal suffrage which he so quickly obtained, or have kept it unimpaired to the present day. He as well as Young may be said to have discovered the secret which even abler poets than themselves have failed to discover—the secret of poetical immortality.

Poetry had now become a mechanical process—a tuning of words and building up of syllables; and in searching for a poet of nature's own fashioning, we must pass from the artificial state of society now predominant in England, to the still semi-barbarous north, where natural feeling had as yet ample scope, as well as free utterance. And here we find Allan Ramsay, the worthy successor of James I., Dunbar, and Lindsay. Allan Ramsay was born in Lanarkshire, in 1686. At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed in Edinburgh to the unpoetical occupation of a wig-maker, and did not begin to write verses until he had reached the age of twenty-six. His earlier attempts were in small broad-sheets, which were sold for a penny; and as no such poetry had been written in Scotland since the days of "Davie Lindsay," Ramsay's sibylline leaves were soon in every house. Aiming at still higher strains, he then ventured upon a continuation of *Christ's Kirk on the Green;* and produced, in 1725, his pastoral drama of the *Gentle Shepherd*, a work which established his reputation as the Scottish Theocritus, and procured him a poetical renown which promises to be as lasting as the natural characters and feelings he adopted for his theme. Such, indeed, was a due reward of that honest daring which described the loves and the occupations of shepherds and shepherdesses as they really are, and will continue to the end of time, undismayed by their homely dinners of bread and cheese, or the mists and driving showers among which their stray bleaters have to be collected. In the meantime, Ramsay, who possessed all the prudent economy of his countrymen, had so well husbanded his means, as enabled him to exchange the occupation of wig-maker for the more congenial one of bookseller, while his reputation extending into England, procured him the friendship of Pope and Gay. As he had given proof of his discretion, by not venturing forth as a poet until his mind was matured, he furnished one still more difficult and self-denying, by abandoning the tempting occupation before the decay of age had endangered the reputation he had already acquired. In this way, as he tells us, he went on from twenty-five to forty-five, when he thought it full time to stop, after twenty years of successful enterprise. As a song writer, Ramsay is only inferior to Burns; as a translator, his admirable versions from Horace into the Scottish dialect are equal to any translations made by Pope and Dryden; while his poetical tales are superior to those of Prior. But, for his *Gentle Shepherd* it would be difficult to find a comparison in the whole range of pastoral poetry, ancient or modern. In this he stands alone, and as yet unapproached. Even the scenery of his play has now become hallowed ground; and few are the visitors to Scotland, whether English or foreign, who neglect to make a pilgrimage to Habbie's How.

While Allan Ramsay was thus winning a high poetical reputation both for himself and his country, another poet, also a Scot and genuine lover of nature, was in training to accomplish the same high enterprise in England. We allude to the author of the *Seasons*. James Thomson was born at Ednam, near Kelso, Roxburghshire, in 1700. While a school-boy his chief occupation was the writing of poetry; and after he had completed his college education, his early love so strongly predominated that his trial discourse in the divinity hall astounded both professor and students by its poetical sentiments, and the resemblance of its language to blank verse. The severe criticisms which he underwent on the occasion so disgusted him with all further attempts to study for the church, that he abruptly left the college and resolved to try his fortune as a poet in London. Thither he accordingly repaired at the age of twenty-five, and entered the metropolis a stranger, with a pair of worn-out shoes on his feet, and little or nothing in his pocket but the manuscript of "Winter," the first part of his *Seasons*, with the publication of which he purposed to commence the campaign. But the very beauty and simplicity of the language, so unlike the stilted artificial style that was now in vogue, nearly sealed its fate; and it was only by a fortunate accident, after he had hawked his production from one publisher to another, that it fell into the hands of a discerning critic, whose recommendation passed it through the press, and introduced it to the favour of the literary world. The freshness and beauty of its descriptions caught and delighted the public taste; and this happy result so encouraged their author that the other parts of the poem were successively produced, until the whole *Seasons* was completed. It was fortunate for the constitutional indolence of James Thomson that the spur of necessity often quickened his progress, so that, besides his great work already mentioned, he produced a poem on the death of Sir Isaac Newton, another called "Britannia," and a third, in five books, entitled "Liberty." He also turned his attention to the stage, and wrote the following dramatic productions:—"Sophonisba," "Agamemnon," "Edward and Eleanora," the "Masque of Alfred," written in conjunction with David Mallet, and "Tancred and Sigismunda." But his dramatic efforts have sunk into the same oblivion that has buried most of the stage productions of the period. After a precarious life, he was placed in comfortable independence by a pension from the Prince of Wales, and by the situation of surveyor-general of the Leeward Isles—an appointment which he could discharge by deputy. In this position, surrounded by affectionate friends, and with the means of enjoying that luxurious ease which he valued as much as poetical fame, Thomson produced his last and best poem, the *Castle of Indolence*. Never, perhaps, did poet devote himself to a more congenial subject; and in its rich, tranquil descriptions, as well as Lydian music of versification, we have the wellings forth of a heart reclining upon roses, and watching

> "The dreams that wave before the half-shut eye."

It is upon this work, and upon the *Seasons*, that his reputation will rest as one of our greatest as well as most original of poets.

In an age of such artificial poetry as the eighteenth century, the dramatic writers of England could scarcely escape the contagion; and the popularity of Addison's "Cato" was a sufficient index of the public taste for rhetorical declamation, instead of genuine passion. To this also must be added that prurient craving for indelicacy which dramatic writers were as yet compelled, as well as too willing to gratify. In the walk of tragedy the name of Southerne occurs as belonging to the present, as well as the former period of our history, for his long life of eighty-seven years did not terminate till 1746. Of the ten plays which he wrote, the best are "Isabella, or the Fatal Marriage," and "Oroonoko," both of which kept possession of the stage until very recently. Another author of tragedies was Nicholas Rowe, who is best known by his "Jane Shore," the tale of which is of itself pathetic; and his "Fair Penitent," in which Lothario, like the Don Juan of the "Libertine Destroyed," at an earlier period, became the model of those gallant gay scoundrels whose unblushing achievements so plentifully crowd the annals of the eighteenth century. A better dramatic writer than either of these, because more natural and unassuming, was William Lillo, who, leaving kings and heroes, adventured upon domestic tragedy and the calamities of private life. He produced three dramas of this description; the first being the well-known annual exhibition, "George Barnwell;" the others were "Fatal Curiosity" and "Arden of Feversham." The chief fault urged against these productions was, that their subjects are below the notice of the tragic muse; but setting this doubtful question aside, Lillo, on great emergencies, showed himself such a master both of the pathetic and terrible, as entitle him to a high place in dramatic authorship. Of the writers of comedy, William Congreve is worthy of chief notice, not only on account of the great celebrity which he acquired in his day, but the genuine wit and humour with which his productions absolutely overflow. Such, however, is the immorality with which they are pervaded, that now they are never acted, and very seldom read. Besides his comedies, he produced one tragedy, called the "Mourning Bride," written upon the French model, and therefore a cold, stately, dramatic rhyme, in which the unities are carefully observed. The fame of Sir John Vanbrugh will rest with posterity more upon his architectural than dramatic merits, though the "Provoked Wife" and the "Relapse" were among the most popular comedies of the day, while their intrinsic merits fully deserved such distinction. His principal architectural designs were those of Blenheim and Castle Howard. George Farquhar, who wrote seven comedies and died at the premature age of thirty, over-tasked and heart-broken, has left, in his "Beaux' Stratagem," a high promise of what he might have effected with a longer life or under more favourable circumstances. Of Colley Cibber and Mrs. Centlivre, their chief merit consisted in adapting either their own comedies, or those of others, to the best purposes of stage effect, which they were able to accomplish from the experience they had acquired, the former as actor and manager, and the latter as an actress. Cibber's "Careless Husband," and Mrs. Centlivre's "Bold Stroke for a Wife," are still welcome occupants of the English stage.

While the drama was thus declining in England, and the bulky folio romances of the chivalrous or classical ages disappearing, as too ponderous for the volatile generation that had succeeded, it was evident that that indestructible play of fancy, which had thus suffered a temporary interruption, would quickly burst into a new field. Man must have fiction as well as fact; his path in life must be cheered and amused, as well as directed; and the only question now at issue was, the mode in which fiction was to be prepared, in order to meet the universal craving. This was solved by the *novel*, a department of literature, that like a newly discovered mine, was hailed with delight, and sought by adventurers in crowds. Henceforth novel writing was to constitute the most copious, if not the most useful or influential department of authorship, not only in England, which was properly its native birth-place, but over the Continent, and the literary world at large.

The earliest of our novel writers was Daniel Defoe, a native of London, born in 1661. He was a man who in his time played many parts, having been in active every-day life a student for the church, Monmouth insurrectionist, hosier, tile-maker, and woollen merchant; while in literature he was political economist and satirist, poet, reviewer, polemical theologian, historian, and novelist. The last character he did not adopt until every other department had been tried and found unsuccessful; and his first novel, which was his best, was *Robinson Crusoe*, which was published in 1719. If such a strict adherence to nature and probability as to make the tale be at first reading received as a veritable narrative, is the highest quality of a good novel, then, Defoe succeeded in this essential more completely than all who succeeded him; for in the adventures of *Robinson Crusoe* nothing is overstrained or out of place; and while the interest of the narrative is kept up to the close, the incidents are such as might have befallen any man, and in the case of his shipwrecked mariner and wandering traveller, could scarcely have been otherwise than as they are set down in this most veritable biography. The same wondrous life-like power was manifested in many of his other writings, so that his "Memoirs of a Cavalier," "History of the Great Plague of London," and "Apparition of Mrs. Veal" were often quoted as grave historical authorities. But of the many works of Defoe, in all 210 books and pamphlets, of which six are voluminous novels, none have retained the popularity of *Robinson Crusoe*, and it is by this especially that posterity will remember him as long as the English language endures. It is worthy of remark, too, that Swift's best prose work—*Gulliver's Travels*—in which the dean endeavoured to imitate and perhaps to rival Defoe's popular production, derives its principal charm from its close imitation of the truthfulness of the Crusoe narrative.

The next in order of English novelists was Samuel Richardson. He followed the occupation of a printer in London, and was held in general esteem as a thriving tradesman and upright honest citizen, until the talent buried within him was called forth at the age of fifty, in consequence of a request made to him by two London publishers to write a series of useful homely letters on the common affairs of life. Richardson commenced the task in his back-shop during the intervals of business; the work grew upon his hands, and the result was *Pamela*, which was published in 1741. Such was the rapidity with which it was produced, that the whole, we are told, was completed in the incredibly short space of three months. So popular and even so fashionable did it become, that besides being recommended from the pulpit, it was thumbed in kitchens, displayed upon the tables of drawing-rooms, and carried about by fine ladies in their walks, while the ponderous romances which had hitherto formed the staple reading of high life were banished, and for ever. Eight years after, Richardson published his *Clarissa Harlowe*, and in 1753, *Sir Charles Grandison*, by which the popularity he had acquired by *Pamela* was deservedly increased, on account of the higher strain he had now adopted, and their superior style of character, plot, and sentiment. The only fault that can be found with these works, in the present age of railway speed in reading as well as travelling, arises from their bulky character as compared with the modern three-volume standard; but at their first appearance, no such difficulty was felt by those who had waded through the adventures of a Clelia, Cyrus, or Oroondates. And even yet a reaction in favour of Richardson's writings may occur, after the breathless haste of the nineteenth century demands a pause; for what writer even of the present day has equalled his description of the insanity of Clementina or the sufferings of Clarissa?

Very different, both in the style and moral character of his writings as a novelist, was Henry Fielding. In Richardson, while the tale drags somewhat heavily onward, and amidst many deflections, in consequence of the epistolary form which he adopted as fittest for his own peculiar mode of delineation, Fielding becomes himself the narrator. His mode of life also decided his walk in writing, which was rather among the follies and vices, than the virtues of humanity. Of a high family but extravagant habits, he soon reduced himself to authorship as a profession; while his first attempts, which were in farce writing and politics, were unsuccessful. He afterwards became a lawyer, and finally a London magistrate, where his own personal tastes as well as occupations brought him into close contact with all the lowest, as well as worst phases of human character and occupation. Thus qualified, he produced *Joseph Andrews*, *Tom Jones*, and *Amelia*, besides other less distinguished productions, in all of which his own life and experience supplied an inexhaustible store both of thought and incident. His *Tom Jones*, which is his best work, is constructed with all the artistic skill and elaboration of an epic poem or tragedy, while all its characters are perfect sketches, from Squire Allworthy, the type of human excellence, down to Lady Bellaston, the demirep of fashionable life, and Black George, the swindler and poacher. It may be observed also, that novel writing was already becoming that source of pecuniary profit which in after years was its chief inspiration, and Fielding received £700 for his *Tom Jones*, and £1000 for his *Amelia*. If, like Richardson, he had devoted himself to high moral aims, instead of identifying himself with the prurient taste of the day, these works, notwithstanding the obsolete style of life they describe, would still have been cherished productions; but as it is, notwithstanding their unequalled merit, they are now reluctantly consigned to justly merited neglect.

An equally popular novelist, who followed closely in the wake of Fielding, was Tobias Smollett, a native of Scotland. After various changes of life, he went to London as an unbefriended literary adventurer, and, like Fielding, commenced authorship as a dramatic writer, in which he was unsuccessful. He then tried the department of novel writing, in which his greatest strength lay, and for which his previous life had well fitted him, and produced successively six novels, the last (*Humphrey Clinker*) being also the best. Independently of this sustained power, and the voluminous character of his five first novels, the overflow of his invention seems to have been inexhaustible, so that every chapter is crowded with incident, by which he hurries on his readers with untiring interest. Of course, amidst such impetuous fertility, an elaborate, well-constructed plot was in his eyes only of secondary interest; and in this, accordingly, he is inferior to his great predecessor, while he was far beyond him in inventiveness. From the same cause, Smollett was equally indifferent to the moral character of his hero, whom he drove onward in a reckless career of adventures, good and bad, until the close, which was hastily wound up by marriage, reformation, and life in the country. In this way Roderic Random and Peregrine Pickle are bold but selfish and sensual Lotharios, slightly relieved by an occasional dash of generosity; while his Count Fathom is an unmitigated villain, and Sir Launcelot Greaves a hopeless madman. But it is in his delineation of naval characters that the excellence of Smollett has never been surpassed; so that while his novels are now proscribed in the mass, in consequence of their immorality, Lieutenant Bowling, Commodore Trunnion, and Tom Pipes will still continue to be quoted as imperishable episodes. Independently of these productions, his life was one of constant literary activity, as was manifested by his numerous political writings, and especially by his *History of England*, part of which is usually appended to Hume's *History of England*, for the purpose of continuing the narrative where Hume had left it off. As a poet, also, Smollett possessed considerable merit, as was fully shown by his "Tears of Scotland" and "Ode to Leven Water."

The last of the novelists of this period was Laurence Sterne, the English Rabelais. Sterne was born in Ireland, a country whose buoyant susceptibilities he possessed to the full; and he betook himself to the profession of a clergyman, to which neither his mental temperament nor moral tendencies were especially suited. As a novelist, he was in complete contrast to Smollett; for, instead of caring for incident, his story was but a few events thrown together without coherence or congruity. But out of these scanty materials he contrived to weave a web of marvellous beauty and variety. Such was his principal work, *Tristram Shandy*, which was published at intervals during a course of several years, the first two volumes having appeared in 1759. Its principal charm consists in the tender or comic episodes that are introduced into it, which form the richest gems of the work—and the exquisite collection of family portraits which he has grouped together of Mr. Shandy, Uncle Toby, and their several dependants, each of whom is a perfect picture in his way. With all this there is such a constant succession of mirth and pathos throughout the work, that it reminds the reader of the hysteric condition of Jenny Rintherout in the *Antiquary*—"the skirl of the greet at the tail of the guffaw." Such abrupt extremes, however, have been found too much for the present day, while the artificial character and appearance of effort that may be detected under the surface, have aroused the indignant self-love of modern readers into the suspicion that the author is all the while laughing at those sympathies which he has so successfully awakened. They call to mind, that while he wept over a dead ass, he left a living mother to starvation. Besides *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne wrote his *Sentimental Journey*, in which the episode of "Maria" has been so universally admired; and several volumes of sermons, which might as well have been introduced, in the shape of extracts, into his comic tale. After an unclerical life of fiddling, flirting, and field sports, intermingled with such irregular fits of study as sufficed for his episodal writings, he died in London in 1768, at the age of fifty-five.

From the foregoing account of the literature of the period it will be seen that a great desideratum was as yet unsatisfied. Whatever changes it might undergo, a healthy moral character was still wanting, and some powerful influence was needed to elevate and refine it. It was too much that a lady could not venture to witness the production of a new comedy upon the stage without going to the theatre in a mask, or read a new novel except by stealth, unless she had the hardihood to plead guilty to an amount of knowledge unsuited to her sex and character. Happily, however, the healing branch had been already cast into the spring, by which its poisoned waters were to be purified. We allude to that series of moral essays which appeared weekly in a periodical form, and which introduced a new element into our popular literature. The high merit of this innovation is due to Sir Richard Steele, originally a pupil of Charterhouse School, subsequently a student in Merton College, Oxford, and finally an officer in the army, where he was distinguished by his scholarship, wit, and vivacity, as well as other qualifications too much in accordance with the military and fashionable tastes of the period. Still, however, though his conduct might be wrong, his moral convictions as well as tendencies were in the right direction; and of this he gave proof by the publication of the "Christian Hero," which he put forth as a corrective and check upon his own wild career. He then wrote for the stage; and in 1701 produced the comedy of the "Funeral, or Grief à la Mode," which was afterwards followed by the "Tender Husband, or the Accomplished Fools," and the "Lying Lover;" and in these plays it is worthy of remark, that the author, although himself noted as a profligate, disdained to pander to the prevalent taste, and was the fearless advocate of true honour and morality. This was still more completely the case in his "Conscious Lovers," where fashionable vice was stripped of its ornaments, and scourged off the stage with merited contempt, while suffering worth was presented in its native dignity, as well as crowned with its due reward. Here, however, his intrepid advocacy of what was right, with the whole spirit of the age against him, had only commenced; he conceived the happy thought of attempting a small periodical, in which wit, good humour, and smart writing should be directed against the prevalent vices and follies of the day; and with this design he commenced, in 1709, the *Tatler*, which appeared in penny broadsheets three times a-week. Fortunately for such an attempt an abler writer than Steele soon joined it: this was Addison, between whom and Sir Richard an early friendship had commenced at school, which was continued in after life. The plan of the *Tatler* afterwards originated that of the more important work, the *Spectator*, which was commenced by Steele and Addison in 1711, and published daily in a single leaf, each containing a complete essay; and such was its popularity, that at the breakfast table and the coffee-house it was as regular a regale as the newspaper of more modern times. During a temporary pause in the publication of the *Spectator*, in 1713, Steele and Addison published the *Guardian*, also a daily leaf, which extended to 175 numbers.

In this way periodical writing was commenced in England. As it was now so absolutely needed, it could not also have commenced under better auspices; for not only were its two great original authors men of the highest attainments, and the best prose writers of their day, but they were also assisted occasionally by other accomplished contributors, who introduced an agreeable variety into the general composition. So much commanding talent exerted in the cause of common-sense, good taste, morality, and religion, and the attractive style in which folly was ridiculed, vice reprobated, and infidelity refuted, had an authoritative influence upon public character; and from this new department of intellectual labour we may date the commencement of that happy change, both in the literary and fashionable world, which has gone onward with a steady progress to the present day. When the series composed by the *Tatler*, *Spectator*, and *Guardian* had terminated, the success of this plan of writing produced a whole host of imitators, the chief of which were the *Rambler*, *Adventurer*, *Idler*, *World*, *Mirror*, and *Lounger;* but eminent though their merits were, from the distinguished writers who supported them, they could not be expected to possess that freshness and power of novelty by which the first series was distinguished. Where, indeed, in the whole range of English imaginative literature have we a more attractive and finished picture than Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley? When this species of periodical essay writing had fulfilled its mission it fell into abeyance, only in consequence of the wider taste it had created, and the minds it had trained for the supply of the new demand. Something of greater bulk and more varied contents was needed than the light leaf or broadsheet could contain—and then came the MAGAZINE, which, as its name intimates, was meant to be a whole store-house whence every variety of craving could be supplied to the full, from an epic poem to an epigram, and from a theory of politics to a pasquinade. This new series was commenced by the *Monthly Review*, which made its appearance in 1749, and the *Critical Review*, which followed it in 1756; and while the multiplication of such works increased with all the buoyant energy of a new life, the plan underwent every modification from a volume to a pamphlet, and from a quarterly to a weekly issue. In this way magazine writing commenced, with all its manifold varieties; and in its moral as well as intellectual character it bore tokens of the soil in which it had been planted. However obsolete its original types may have become, let us never forget the impensible debt we owe to the *Tatler*, *Guardian*, and *Spectator!*

In this enumeration of the distinguished authors of the reigns of William and Mary, Anne, George I., and George II., we have been compelled, from the condition of society, to notice those influences which it chiefly needed, and by which it was mainly directed, in that slow regenerative process which afterwards went onward during the next four periods. On this account we have been obliged to omit those writers in theology, metaphysics, and natural science, whose labours, although they lived during the present period, were of a slower and less ostentatious character, and the effects of which were not fully evinced until the reign of George III.

BOOK X.

PERIOD FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS.—42 YEARS.

FROM A.D. 1760—1802.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

England.
1760 GEORGE III.

France.
1715 LOUIS XV.
1774 LOUIS XVI.
1793 REPUBLIC.
1799 BONAPARTE (FIRST CONSUL).

Spain.
1759 CHARLES III.
1788 CHARLES IV.

Portugal.
1750 JOSEPH.
1777 PEDRO III. & MARIA.
1799 JOHN VI.

Germany.
1745 FRANCIS I.
1765 JOSEPH II.
1790 LEOPOLD II.
1792 FRANCIS II.

Russia.
1741 ELIZABETH.
1762 PETER III.
1762 CATHERINE II.
1796 PAUL I.
1801 ALEXANDER I.

Denmark.
1746 FREDERIC V.
1766 CHRISTIAN VII.

Sweden.
1751 ADOLPHUS FREDERIC.
1772 GUSTAVUS III.
1792 GUSTAVUS IV.

Prussia.
1740 FREDERIC II. (THE GREAT.)
1786 FREDERIC WILLIAM II.
1797 FREDERIC WILLIAM III.

Poland.
1734 AUGUSTUS III.
1764 STANISLAUS II. (PONIATOWSKI.)
1772 FIRST PARTITION.
1795 SECOND PARTITION.

Turkey.
1757 MUSTAPHA III.
1774 ABDUL HAMED.
1789 SELIM III.

Two Sicilies.
1759 FERDINAND IV.

Popes.
1758 CLEMENT XIII.
1769 CLEMENT XIV.
1775 PIUS VI.
1800 PIUS VII.

CHAPTER I.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1760—1764.

GEORGE III.—ACCESSION, A.D. 1760—DEATH, A.D. 1820.

George II. succeeded by his grandson, George III.—The new king's first proclamation—Nationality of his speech at the opening of the first parliament—Question about the disposal of the premiership—Parliamentary money grants—The office of judge made independent and permanent—Earl of Bute made secretary of state—His previous history—Marriage of George III.—Continuing success of Frederick the Great—His uncertainty of deriving further aid from Britain—His masterly arrangements in eluding the Russians and Austrians—He breaks up their blockade of his camp at Buntzelwitz—Belleisle taken by the British—Pondicherry, the last French settlement in India, taken by the British—The King of Naples succeeds to the crown of Spain as Charles III.—He adopts the cause of France against England—Pitt's proposal to anticipate the hostile purposes of Spain—On its rejection he resigns office—He is soothed by a pension—His scheme of war with Spain adopted upon an inferior scale—Expedition sent out against the Havannah—The Morro stormed—The city of Havannah capitulates—Manilla taken by Colonel Draper—The Caribbee Islands won—Spain commences the campaign in Europe against Britain—Charles III. invades Portugal, the ally of Britain—The Portuguese aided with British troops and money—The Spaniards defeated—They are driven out of Portugal—Capture of a rich Spanish treasure-ship by the British—Alliance between Russia and Prussia—British subsidy withheld from Frederick—The Duke of Newcastle resigns the premiership—He is succeeded by Lord Bute—Bubb Dodington created a peer—Peter III. of Russia assassinated—The conspiracy of nobles against him headed by his wife, Catherine—Successful progress of Frederick the Great—Peace established between Britain and France—Conditions of the treaty—Opposition to it in parliament—Peace between Frederick and his opponents—Continued hostility of Pitt and his adherents to the treaty of Fontainebleau—New taxes imposed—Lord Bute resigns—Mr. George Grenville succeeds him in the premiership—Bute sets up the *Briton* newspaper to advocate his measures—The *North Briton* established as its opponent by John Wilkes—Scurrility of Wilkes—No. 45 of the *North Briton*—It occasions the arrest of Wilkes—Prosecution instituted against him—His popularity on account of the prosecution—Negotiation with Pitt to accept the premiership—His refusal—Sentence of parliament upon No. 45 of the *North Briton*—Immoral life and practices of Wilkes—His *Essay on Woman*—Its condemnation by parliament—Duel between Mr. Martin and Mr. Wilkes—Question of "privilege" debated in parliament—Pitt's deliverance on the subject—The condemnation of the writings of Wilkes passed, and their punishment approved of—Wilkes summoned to the bar of the House of Commons

—He brings actions at law against the two secretaries of state—Continuation of the Wilkes agitation—Wilkes retires to France—He is sentenced to lose his seat in parliament—His charge of breach of privilege discussed in parliament—The decision adjourned—Popular preparations to celebrate the anticipated triumph of Wilkes—Civic honours heaped upon his advocate, the lord chief-justice.

THE sudden decease of George II., on the morning of the 25th of October, left the throne empty for his heir apparent, the eldest son of the late Frederick, Prince of Wales. George was riding out on horseback, in the neighbourhood of Kew Palace, with his groom of the stole and inseparable companion, Lord Bute, when news was brought him that his grandfather was dead, and that he was king. This important intelligence was presently confirmed by the arrival of Mr. Pitt, the real head of the government. They repaired together to Kew, where the new king remained during the rest of the day and the following night. On the morning of the 26th of October George went up to St. James's. When Pitt waited upon him there, he presented the sketch of an address to be pronounced at the meeting of the privy council; but he was told by his majesty that that business had already been thought of, and a speech prepared for the occasion. This seems to have convinced the haughty minister that Bute would not rest contented with a subordinate place, but would aspire to the highest, through the favour of the young king and the warm predilection of the young king's mother. In the course of the day George was proclaimed with the usual solemnities. The next day was a Sunday, and allowed of no business; but on the Monday the Earl of Bute was sworn a member of the privy council, and Prince Edward, Duke of York, the eldest of the king's brothers, was also appointed to a seat at the table. The old Duke of Newcastle pretended to be deeply afflicted at the loss of his dear master, George II., and even protested that he would retire from court and from the world; yet he soon consented to remain at his post, though overshadowed by his great and peremptory colleague, Mr. Pitt. Almost the first act of government of the new king was a proclamation "For the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing of vice, profaneness, and immorality." There was an uncomfortable opinion abroad that the young king might be too subservient to his mother and her favourite, and too partial to the countrymen of Lord Bute; and a paper was fixed on the Royal Exchange with these words:—"No petticoat government—no Scotch minister—no Lord George Sackville!" It was observed, too, as something ominous, that many noble and decided Jacobites, who had never appeared at court, were now hastening to kiss hands, in the joyful forethought of a Tory resurrection. The countenance of Pitt, who was still the popular minister, was evidently clouded, and reports were spread of disagreements in the existing Whig cabinet.

On the 18th of November the new king met parliament for the first time. One clause in his speech strongly excited the feeling of nationality. "Born and educated in this country," said George, "I glory in the name of Briton." He said it would be the happiness of his life to promote the happiness of a loyal and affectionate people; and that the civil and religious rights of his loving subjects were equally dear to him with the most valuable prerogative of his crown. A tribute was paid to the spirit of union and good harmony which prevailed, and, by implication, this praise was made to extend to the existing cabinet, which had found the country in a ferment of faction and discontent, and had tranquillized it by their brilliant series of victories and conquests. Yet, at this very moment, the train was laying for the expulsion of Pitt and his colleagues; and Bute, better fitted to perform Lothario on a private stage, was anxious to act the part of secretary of state, and was busily engaged with that old trimmer and intriguer Bubb Dodington. On the 29th of November, Bute had a long conference with Bubb, who pressed him to act immediately. A few days after this the Duke of Newcastle was again threatening to resign, not, however, in sorrow and grief, but in anger at some court appointments which had been made without his knowledge; yet the duke continued to flatter Lord Bute with the king, and offered to act with or even *under* him. Before the king's speech to parliament was six weeks old, Bute agreed with Bubb Dodington that his majesty ought to make a very different one to the new parliament, declaring that he found himself involved in a war of which he could not approve—that he was convinced the present method of defending Hanover would ruin England—that he was determined to leave that electorate to take its own chance, and apply the money spent on the German wars in exertions more likely to reduce his enemies to a reasonable peace. Bute intimated his doubts whether the king would consent to this system. But Bute was also distressed with another doubt, which was that the present ministers might themselves "have an eye that way," and recommend the very plan which he and Bubb Dodington hoped to have the credit of. His lordship, however, consoled himself with the certainty that ministers were not united in plans or feelings, and that while the Duke of Newcastle sincerely wished for peace at any price, and would go any lengths to obtain it, Mr. Pitt was resolved to stay in office no longer than the war should last, and was, in fact, already meditating a retreat.

A.D. 1761. In the meanwhile great court was paid to Bute by all who longed for peerages, court places, or promotions in the army or navy; and the business of parliament proceeded smoothly. The civil list was fixed at the clear annual sum of £800,000 payable out of the aggregate fund instead of the specific revenues previously devoted to that object. Nineteen millions were unhesitatingly voted as supplies for prosecuting the war. Two hundred thousand pounds were granted to our colonies in America as compensation for the expenses they had incurred and the efforts they had made in the present war — a war which laid some of the groundworks of the independence those colonies claimed a few years later. Towards the close of the session, on the 3d of March, his majesty, in a speech from the throne, recommended an important improvement. By the act passed in the year 1701, under the reign of William III., the commissions of the judges were continued *quamdiu benè se gesserint*, or the power of displacing them was taken from the crown, and their continuance in their important offices was made dependent solely on their own good conduct; but at the demise of the crown their offices terminated and became vacant by law. George now declared his wish to render the bench still more independent, and the administration of justice still more impartial; and he recommended that provision should be made to continue their commissions and their salaries without any reference to the death of one king or the accession of another. A bill was immediately framed for this purpose and carried through both houses: it received the royal assent on the 19th of March, when his majesty put an end to the session. On the same day Mr. Legge, whom we have seen co-partner with Mr. Pitt in patriotism or popularity, was dismissed from the office of chancellor of the exchequer, and Lord Barrington put in his place; and on the same day Lord Holderness, having secured a pecuniary indemnification with the reversion of the wardenship of the Cinque-ports, resigned the office of secretary of state, which was immediately given to the Earl of Bute. It was reported that the king had said, "he was tired of having two secretaries, of which one (Pitt) *would* do nothing, and the other (Holderness) *could* do nothing; and that he would have a secretary who both could and would act." The Duke of Newcastle is said to have rejoiced in the fall of Holderness, and to have made his terms with Lord Bute. That favourite took for his under-secretary Mr. Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Hawkesbury and Earl of Liverpool, and consented to leave the management of foreign affairs in the hands of Pitt; but at the same time both he and his royal master intimated that an end *must* be put to the war.[1]

GEORGE III., at the time of his accession.
From a picture by Allan Ramsay.

As the parliament could only exercise its functions for six months after the death of the late king, a proclamation was issued on the 21st of March, dissolving it and calling a new one. Bute made arrangements with Newcastle as to the management of elections, or, in the broad words of the craft, "he settled the new parliament with the duke."[2] The eyes of all the Tories were fixed hopefully upon the prevailing favourite, who had credit for far more energy and ability than he ever possessed.

John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, was originally a very poor Scottish nobleman. He had received a part of his education at Eton; and in 1737, when in his twenty-fourth year, he was first introduced to public life by being elected one of the sixteen representative peers for Scotland. In the course of the same year he was appointed one of the lords-commissioners of police in his native kingdom, and was first introduced to Frederick,

---

[1] Horace Walpole, *Letters to G. Montague:* Dodington's *Diary; Annual Register.*

[2] Dodington's *Diary.*

Prince of Wales, the father of George III., who was charmed with his acting in the part of Lothario, in the "Fair Penitent," and invited him to Kew and Leicester House. The warm favour of the prince was only exceeded by that of the princess his wife. His royal highness was accustomed to say frequently that Bute was a fine showy man, and would make an excellent ambassador in a court *where there was no business to do*.[1] His lordship is thus described by the Earl of Waldegrave, who knew him well, and was fully competent to judge him:—"Bute has a good person, fine legs, and a theatrical air of the greatest importance. There is an extraordinary appearance of wisdom both in his looks and manner of speaking; for whether the subject be serious or trifling, he is equally pompous, slow, and sententious. Not contented with being wise, he would be thought a polite scholar and a man of great erudition; but has the misfortune never to succeed except with those who are exceedingly ignorant: for his historical knowledge is chiefly taken from tragedies, wherein he is very deeply read; and his classical learning extends no further than a French translation."[2] He continued to charm the prince's court by playing Lothario, and in 1738 he was made knight of the Thistle, and one of the lords of Frederick's bedchamber. On the sudden death of the Prince of Wales he retired for a time into the country; but it was said, and universally believed, that he retained an unbounded influence over the princess-dowager, and directed or prescribed to her the rules she was to follow in educating her son George, the heir to the throne. He soon returned to the "pouting place of princes"—(Leicester House). In the year 1755, his close intimacy with the princess-dowager was one of the commonest subjects of scandal. Notwithstanding the rumours which must inevitably have reached her ears, the princess-dowager continued her intimacy and her unlimited confidence, and by her good offices Bute also became the avowed favourite of the young prince, who was unsociable and shy from the united effects of temperament and education, but disposed to cling closely to the few persons that constantly surrounded him. When a separate establishment was formed (in the year 1756), the great point aimed at by himself and his mother was, to place Bute at the head of it. They had many difficulties to overcome, but eventually the old king's consent was forced from him, and the double favourite was made groom of the stole. From that moment Bute hardly ever suffered Prince George to be out of his sight, and all observers were convinced that in the new reign the groom of the stole would be prime minister.

On ascending the throne George was only in his twenty-third year, but without either the vivacity or the vices of youth. A few months after his accession he married, and from that time his fidelity to his consort was as remarkable as his previous continence. The princess he selected, and who became the mother of his numerous family, was Charlotte Sophia of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, second daughter of the late duke; and to this lady he was united on the evening of the 8th of September. Like George, Charlotte was decorous, devout, rigid in the observance of the moral duties; and those who love or admire them least can scarcely deny that they contributed to a great and striking reformation of manners. The king even in these young days had a strong predilection for a quiet domestic, country life, and the practical operations of farming.

Since the death of the late king the events of the war had been very various. Though he had so speedily driven the Russians and Austrians from his capital, Frederick the Great had still to contend with those two powers on his own territory, and with the French on the side of the Rhine, while the Swedes continued to threaten fresh invasions. But, shaking off a momentary despondency, this wonderful man was planning fresh campaigns when news arrived that George II. was dead—that his successor was anxious for peace—that some of his ministers or advisers were projecting a separate treaty with France—and that there was every probability that the English subsidies would not be continued, as Lord Bute was of opinion that a peace would be best brought about by not supplying the King of Prussia with the means of continuing the war. And, in effect, though the British parliament in the month of December (1760) had granted the subsidy, the money was slowly, reluctantly, and imperfectly paid, and it was the last subsidy they ever voted for Frederick. The great battle of Torgau, the last in which Frederick commanded in person, and in which, though victorious, he lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, upwards of 10,000 men, was fought towards the end of 1760. It gave him once more the command of all Saxony, and before he went into winter-quarters he had the satisfaction of knowing that the Austrians and the Swedes had cleared out of Brandenburg, Silesia, and Pomerania, and that the Russians had again retired beyond the Vistula. But his losses in men had been prodigious, his coffers were empty, his recruiting difficult, and he looked forward with doubt and anxiety to the campaign of the present year, 1761. This campaign was opened early in February by his general, Prince Ferdinand, who, by a sudden attack, drove the French out of their quarters near Cassel. Soon after this advantage the Prussian general, Sybourg, effected a junction with the Hanoverian general, Sporken; took 3000 French prisoners; and in the month of April, still in union with Sporken, defeated the troops of the empire under General Clefeld. Prince Ferdinand followed up these advantages by laying siege simultaneously to Cassel, Marburg, and Ziegenhain; but he failed in all these attempts, and was compelled to retire into the electorate of Hanover. At the same time the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who had advanced towards Frankfort, was totally defeated by the French under De Broglie. At this moment Frederick had certain information that the English were negotiating with the French, and he appears to have been for some time uncertain as to the turn these negotiations might take. De Broglie remained inactive till the month of July, when he was joined by the Prince of Soubise with large reinforcements. He then endeavoured to drive Prince Ferdinand and the combined army of English and Hanoverians from their entrenched camp at Hohenower, which was defended by a river in front, and by rugged bushy ground on one of its flanks. He began a furious attack on Lord Granby's posts on the evening of the 15th of July; but though the English troops were left for some time, without any support, to sustain by themselves the concentrated attack, he was repulsed with terrible loss, and driven into the woods. On the following morning, at an early hour, De Broglie, with Soubise, and nearly the whole mass of his forces, repeated the attack, beginning again with Lord Granby's posts. After a murderous fire, continued for upwards of five hours, the French fell into disorder and retreated on all points, leaving behind them their wounded and several pieces of cannon. De Broglie and Soubise, who never agreed, now accused each other. It was this fierce dissension and ill-will between the two commanders that checked the French much more than the defeat they had sustained. At length they determined to divide their forces and act separately. The rest of the campaign looked more like marauding than war: the French took and plundered some weak, defenceless towns, failed in all their attempts upon fortified places, fought no battles, and went into winter-quarters—Broglie at Cassel, Soubise on the Lower Rhine. Frederick, who had taken the field in the month of April, went into Silesia, where the important fortress of Schweidnitz was once more threatened by an Austrian army under General Laudon. On the approach of his Prussian majesty Laudon halted, fell back, and then threw himself into Bohemia, intending to wait there until fresh columns of Russians, under Marshal Butterlin, should reach the frontiers of Silesia, and another Russian horde, under Romanzow, should re-occupy Pomerania. The Russians in both instances were true to their appointments; but when Butterlin was in Silesia, Frederick with only 50,000 men threw himself between that marshal, who had 70,000 men, and Laudon, who had 60,000, and for some time, and with wonderful skill, prevented their junction. At length, however—but not before the 12th of August—Butterlin and Laudon joined near Striegau. They then conceived that they could hem in Frederick and prevent the possibility of his escape. But his Prussian majesty threw himself into his well-prepared and admirably fortified camp of Buntzelwitz, and from behind its tremendous chain of works he laughed Russians and Austrians to scorn. The allies attempted to blockade him, but there was nothing for them to eat—the country, wasted by long war, was bare of everything, and men and horses soon began to feel the effects of famine. They expected, indeed, 5000 provision waggons, but these were all taken by a flying column of Prussians, led by General Platen, who, moreover, cut the troops that escorted the waggons to pieces, and destroyed three of the largest magazines the Russians had established on the borders of Poland. At this dismal news Butterlin and Laudon broke suddenly away from their blockade of the camp of Buntzelwitz, and separating, the Russian marched into Pomerania, while the Austrian retired to an entrenched camp near Fribourg. It was now the middle of September. At the end of the month Frederick marched towards Upper Silesia—a most unfortunate move—for Laudon rushed from his entrenched camp, made by night

---

[1] Waldegrave's *Memoirs*.

[2] Ibid.

JOHN STUART, Earl of Bute.—After Allan Ramsay.

a general assault upon Schweidnitz, and took that important place by storm. This enabled the Austrians, for the first time since the beginning of the war, to take up their winter-quarters in Silesia. In another direction the Russians, assisted by the Swedes, took Colberg, which enabled them to winter in Pomerania and the new march of Brandenburg. Frederick seemed at last succumbing.

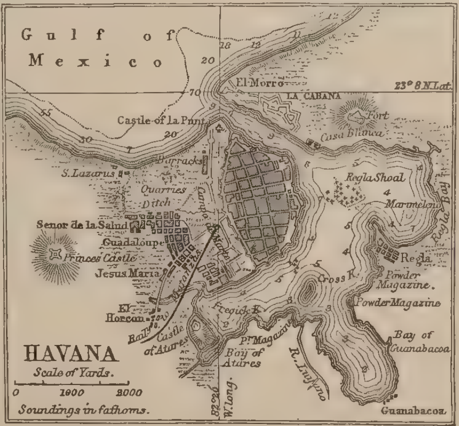
Without learning wisdom from the past, Pitt had insisted on another paltry descent on the French coast; and, in the month of March, a secret expedition, under the command of Commodore Keppel, with troops on board, under General Hodgson, sailed across the Channel. The point selected was Belleisle, on the coast of Brittany; and there the troops attempted to land on the 8th of April. They were foiled, and lost a considerable number of men; but a second attempt was more successful, and after a long siege of a petty fortress we remained masters of that useless island. The negotiations between the courts of London and Versailles did not, during their progress, retard our military operations. Early in the year, Pondicherry, the capital settlement of the French in the East Indies, and their last stronghold, surrendered at discretion to the British troops under Colonel Coote, after the garrison and inhabitants had been reduced to live upon dogs, cats, rats, and other vermin.

In the month of July Mr. Stanley was despatched to Paris, and the Count de Bussy came over to London, when preliminaries were mutually proposed and examined. But the demands of France were soon declared to be inadmissible.

At this time the throne of Spain was no longer occupied by the pacific Ferdinand VI., who, through his wife, Barbara of Portugal, had contracted a predilection for England. That sovereign died in 1759, about a year before George II., of hypochondria, or absolute insanity, produced by grief for the loss of his beloved queen. As he left no children, the crown of Spain devolved on his half-brother Charles, King of Naples. Leaving his Italian throne to his third son, Ferdinand—for Don Philip, his eldest son, was epileptic and imbecile; and Charles, his second, was destined to succeed his father in Spain—Charles repaired thither and ascended the Spanish throne, as Charles III., at a critical juncture. Though by habit, natural disposition, and interest, disposed to be almost as peaceful as his predecessor, Charles had none of his brother's English predilections. The insult offered to him in his Neapolitan capital by an English fleet, in 1742, when Commodore Martin forced him to sign a neutrality, and only allowed him an hour to decide, had rankled in his mind ever since. Instead of the strict and impartial neutrality which had hitherto been observed, he began to favour the French on all opportunities, and to listen to their adroit agents, who represented that, when England had swept their fleets from the ocean, they would not long respect those of the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon; and that, when the proud islanders had possessed themselves of all the French colonies in the East Indies, West Indies, and North America, they would assuredly covet and attack Mexico and Peru, and all the Spanish settlements in South America. It is possible, however, that Charles would long have avoided committing himself with England if France had not tempted him with the offer of Minorca, and the prospect of recovering Gibraltar; but this latter lure was irresistible to a Spanish sovereign, and, with his eyes fixed upon it and dazzled by it, Charles III. consented not only to allow his name to be used in the diplomatic notes of France, but also to strengthen and give virtual efficacy to a family compact by preparing armies and fleets. Immediately after replying to Bussy, Pitt, as foreign secretary, commanded the British ambassador at Madrid, Lord Bristol, to inquire what these preparations meant. Mr. Wall, an Irish adventurer, who had attained to be the leading minister in the Spanish cabinet, answered Bristol in a high or insolent tone, taking care, however, to aver that his Catholic majesty's intentions were pacific. Immediately after this answer to the English ambassador the family compact was signed at Versailles. The French and Spanish monarchs agreed to consider *every power as their common enemy who might become the enemy of either*, and to guarantee the respective dominions, in all parts of the world, which they might possess *at the conclusion of peace.* They engaged to afford *mutual succours by sea and land.*

Although the precise wording of the articles remained a secret, the nature and object of the treaty were thoroughly known to Pitt, and might also have been known to Bute. Full of the subject and its obvious consequences, Pitt represented at the council table that Spain was only waiting for the arrival of her annual plate-fleet from America, and for the completion of her preparations, to declare war; and he boldly proposed that we should anticipate her by declaring war ourselves, and by sending out a fleet to intercept her ships and treasures from the western world—treasures which, if allowed to arrive in Spain, would only be employed to our mischief. Nor did his scheme end here; he pressed for an immediate attack upon their colonies, for the capture of the Havannah, for the occupation of the Isthmus of Panama, and for an expedition thence against Manilla and the Philippine Isles, which should interrupt the communication between the South American continent and the rich regions of the East. But Bute felt or pretended an easy incredulity as to the determined hostile intentions of Spain and the real meaning of the treaty signed at Versailles; and the king himself declared that he had the strongest objections to the scheme. Thus finding himself thwarted, Pitt indignantly declared that he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures he was no longer allowed to guide, and delivering his reasons in writing, he begged permission to resign the seals of secretary. Lord Temple, his brother-in-law, followed his example. On the 6th of October, when Pitt delivered up his seals into his sovereign's own hands, he was affected even to tears by the young king's kindness of manner. And the very next day his majesty intimated to him, through Lord Bute, that he would confer on him the sinecure government of the Canadas, with a salary of £5000 a-year; or the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster, with an equally high salary. Pitt instantly penned a strange, but meaning letter to Bute. He requested his lordship to lay him "at the royal feet, with the humble tribute of the most unfeigned and respectful gratitude;" declared that he was penetrated, overwhelmed, confounded with the extent of his majesty's gracious goodness and bounteous favour—but doubted whether he ought to accept either of the offices mentioned, or whether, considering that which he had resigned, he ought to go again into any office whatever. But in the next paragraph of his letter he more plainly suggested the nature of the reward he wanted, which was a pension that should not die with him, but survive in his family, and a title for his wife.[1] No time was lost in gratifying him in his own way: a pension of £3000 a-year was settled on Mr. Pitt for three lives, and a peerage was conferred on his wife, Lady Hester, and her issue; and the *Gazette* the next day announced the resignation and the honours and rewards together; publishing at the same time a letter from our ambassador at Madrid, brimful of the pacific intentions and friendly assurances of Spain. The title and the pension did, indeed, obscure the popularity of the patriot-minister with many mists and clouds, but a few of his thunderstorms in opposition soon cleared the atmosphere, and he was not, like ordinary minds, to be borne down by any weight of gratitude to royalty, or by imputations or suspicions of any kind. His friends and partisans began at once to raise the most violent clamours against Bute for displacing a minister who had carried on the war with such signal success, and elevated the nation from the most abject state to the pinnacle of glory. The year, also, had not closed ere the ministers who remained found that a rupture with Spain was inevitable, and that by not following Pitt's schemes they had enabled that power to strengthen herself for war. The first intimation was detected by the loud and threatening tone of the court of Versailles. Our cabinet issued a formal declaration of war, to which Spain immediately responded.

The coronation of their majesties took place at Westminster Abbey, on the 22d of September of this year, and among other spectators the young pretender is said to have been there incognito, a witness of those proceedings which could yield him neither pleasure nor advantage. In the month of December the king went down to the House of Peers and gave the royal assent to the bill for settling Queen Charlotte's dowry. When the act passed, her majesty, who was present, and placed on a chair of state on the king's right hand, rose up and made her obeisance to the king. The grant, in case of her majesty's surviving the king, was liberally fixed at £100,000 per annum, with Somerset House and the Lodge in Richmond Park.



A.D. 1762. Lord Egremont, who had been appointed by Lord Bute to the vacant secretaryship, was forced for some time to walk in the very steps which Pitt had chalked out; and the cabinet generally had to follow that minister's mutilated scheme against Spain—mutilated by themselves, because they would not begin in time. Early in the year an expedition was prepared against the Havannah, and on the 5th of March it sailed from Portsmouth under the command of General Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke. It was joined in the West

---

[1] *Correspondence of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham:* edited by William Stanhope Taylor, Esq., and Capt. John Henry Pringle, executors to his son John, Earl of Chatham.

Indies by a strong squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas, and, sailing through the Bahama Straits, it arrived off the Havannah on King George's birth-day (4th of June). It presented an imposing total of nineteen ships of the line, eighteen frigates and smaller vessels, and 150 transports, having on board 10,000 land troops. A landing was effected with little or no opposition, and siege was laid at once to the Morro — the strong fort which defended the harbour, and which was considered impregnable. Great difficulties were encountered in making the approaches on a hard, rocky soil; and the English troops suffered severely from fatigue, sickness, and the fire of the enemy. But fresh reinforcements arrived from New York and our West Indian islands; a detachment of seamen and 800 marines were landed from the fleet; three ships of the line (the *Dragon*, *Cambridge*, and *Marlborough*) bombarded the place one day from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon: the fort was isolated from the town, and on the forty-fourth day of the siege it was stormed through a narrow and perilous breach, and carried at the point of the bayonet. The defence of the Spaniards was as heroic as the assault. Don Louis de Velasco, the governor, and his second in command, died in the breach. The city of Havannah held out a fortnight longer; but on the 13th of August it capitulated, and was yielded up with 180 miles of country to the westward, or all the best part of the island of Cuba. Nine Spanish ships of the line, fit for sea, and three frigates, were taken in the harbour; three ships of the line and a galleon had been sunk previously, and two destroyed on the stocks. The booty that fell into the hands of the victors was estimated altogether at £3,000,000 sterling. The occupation of the Havannah gave us the absolute command of the passage pursued by the plate-fleets of Spain, and seemed to lay the wealth and glory of that empire at our feet.[1] The Isthmus of Panama was not seized, but the Philippines were attacked. Admiral Cornish, with a small fleet, took on board at Madras 2300 men commanded by Colonel William Draper,[2] and appeared suddenly off Manilla, the capital of Luzon and of the Philippine Islands—a place almost as important in the east as was Havannah in the west. Draper threw his forces on shore, and took possession of the suburbs of Manilla before the Spaniards were well aware that their king was at war with the English. The archbishop was governor and supreme head of the island; and, like ecclesiastics of earlier ages, he could fight as well as say mass. He put himself in the most warlike attitude that circumstances would permit, called up the native Indians to harass the assailants in their rear, and with about 800 Spanish regulars opposed their approaches in front. But his poor Indians, armed for the most part with bows and spears, were cut to pieces; and the works of Manilla were carried by storm on the 6th of October, the twelfth day after the landing. Draper's forces, in which there were more Sepoys and Lascars than native British, began to plunder and destroy, and to subject the unfortunate place to all the horrors of war. But the inner citadel, in which the archbishop had thrown himself, still remained untaken; and, in treating for its surrender, his eminence proposed that, in consideration of a fixed ransom, the lives, liberties, and properties of all private parties should be spared by the conquerors. Draper, who piqued himself on his scholarship, drew up the terms of capitulation in Latin, agreeing to accept as a ransom for the inhabitants 2,000,000 dollars in an assignment on the Spanish treasury at Madrid. This paper was signed by the governor-

THE HARBOUR OF MANILLA.—From Vaillant, Voyage autour du Monde.

---

[1] Despatches from Lord Albemarle and Admiral Pococke, in *Annual Register*.

[2] Vice-admiral Cornish was on the East India station, but Draper, who had been patronized by Pitt, was sent out from England as an officer on whose intelligence and bravery government could depend.

archbishop; but doubts seem to have been entertained from the beginning whether the 2,000,000 dollars which Draper had Latinized would ever be paid. Several ships, some artillery, and a considerable quantity of military stores, with all public property whatsoever, became the immediate prize of the captors, who, moreover, succeeded in taking a great Manilla and Acapulco galleon, the *Santa Trinidad*, valued at 3,000,000 dollars.[1] Without further resistance the whole group of islands submitted to the English flag.[2]

A series of attacks on the remaining French West India islands was equally successful. Martinique, the chief of the French Caribbees, an important point in a naval and military view, was reduced, in the month of February, by an army under General Monkton and a squadron under Admiral Rodney; and this conquest was speedily followed by the surrender of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Tobago; and thus we remained in possession of the entire chain of the Caribbees.

But, long before Madrid was thrown into consternation by the arrival of the news of the loss of the Havannah and Manilla, the Spanish court had begun a land campaign on the continent of Europe with a seeming prospect of most brilliant success. Then, as at a later period, both France and Spain chose to consider the King of Portugal as the creature of the King of England, and to advance as a principle the necessity and propriety of compelling the Portuguese to renounce their English alliance. That country had taken no part in the war, and was at the moment observing a strict neutrality; but she was thought to be weak as the lamb, and Spain and France quarrelled with her in the fashion of the wolf. Though so often foiled and frustrated in the attempt, the statesmen of Spain had never given up the hope of incorporating Portugal politically, as it was geographically, with the larger kingdom. At this crisis the kingdom of Portugal was impoverished and disheartened; her army—if such it could be called—did not exceed 20,000 men, badly disciplined and miserably equipped; her fortresses were in ruins; her fleet was reduced to six ships of the line and a few frigates. Charles III. began the attack on the north of the Douro with an army of 22,000 men, commanded by the Marquis of Saria, who presently took Braganza, Miranda, and Torre de Moncorvo. But, on drawing nearer to Oporto, Saria was checked by the militia and the brave peasantry, who, assisted and directed by some British officers, maintained an incessant and destructive war of posts. Another body of 8000 Spaniards, however, succeeded in penetrating south of the Douro into Beira, and in taking post near Almeida. But succour was at hand: the court of Lisbon, in the depth of its distress, had applied to England for money, arms, ammunition, stores, and troops; and the prayers of an old and faithful ally were promptly attended to, the House of Commons voting £1,000,000 sterling to enable his majesty to assist the Portuguese. Eight thousand British troops, commanded by Lord Tyrawley, the Earl of Loudon, General Townshend, Lord George Lennox, and Brigadiers Crawford and Burgoyne, landed in Portugal. Lord Tyrawley soon grew disgusted with the service, the people, and the country, and retired in a very lordly rage: the Earl of Loudon was not of much more use; and the native Portuguese army consented to submit to the command of the Count de la Lippe, an active and experienced German officer, who had commanded the artillery of the British army in Germany. Lippe collected the principal part of the Portuguese forces at Puente de Marcello, to prevent the advance of the Spaniards in the north; and, while the Spaniards south of the Douro were occupied in the siege of Almeida, he detached Brigadier Burgoyne to fall upon Valencia d'Alcantara, on the frontiers of Spain, where large magazines

MARTINIQUE DURING THE ATTACK.—From an old view in the British Museum.

---

[1] They, however, missed the richer galleon, the *Santa Philipina*, after beating after her, in the teeth of the monsoon, for three months!

[2] Official letters from Sir William Draper; Schomberg, *Naval Chronology; Annual Register*.

were said to be collected for the purpose of an invasion along the Tagus. Burgoyne, who displayed activity and gallantry, struck across the mountains by Castel da Vida, and, making a forced march of five days through a most rugged and difficult country, he carried Valencia d'Alcantara by a *coup-de-main*, taking a Spanish major-general with all his staff, a great quantity of arms and ammunition, and all the flour and forage in store there. He also levied a considerable contribution in money; and then, without impediment and with inconsiderable loss, retraced his steps to Lippe, at Puente de Marcello. Almeida surrendered to the Count d'Aranda after a siege of nine days; but Burgoyne's expedition kept the Portuguese in heart, divided the attention, and baffled the plans of the Spaniards. Having left garrisons in Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo, the Count d'Aranda marched away for Castel Branco, with the evident intention of crossing the Tagus at Villa Velha into the Alemtejo. But Lippe, moving with greater rapidity, got to Abrantes, the key of Portugal on the Tagus, and posted strong detachments under the Count de St. Jago and Burgoyne at the pass of Alvite and at Niza, to obstruct the passage of the river at Villa Velha; and, when the Spaniards came up, they found these positions occupied. D'Aranda attacked the old Moorish castle of Villa Velha, and got possession of it in a few days in spite of Burgoyne's protecting fire of artillery across the river; and the Count de St. Jago was driven from the pass of Alvite. But, while the Spaniards were pursuing the count and his Portuguese across the mountains towards Codigos, thus weakening their corps at Villa Velha, Burgoyne threw a detachment under Colonel Lee across the Tagus in the darkness of night; and, while the Spaniards were amused by a feigned attack in front from Niza, Lee entered their quarters in the rear without being perceived till his own musketry and bayonets told the secret. The Spaniards were routed at once with terrible slaughter, and, having destroyed their magazines and spiked or taken their guns, Lee and his men returned to the other side of the Tagus loaded with booty and surrounded by prisoners. After this brilliant affair there was little more fighting: the French invading forces, which D'Aranda had expected to co-operate with him, were nowhere seen or heard of, his provisions began to run short, the autumnal rains to descend in torrents, the peasantry to block up every road and massacre all his out-posts; and, dismantling the few fortresses he had taken, he retreated with little honour to his own country. Such, within ten short months, were the bitter fruits derived by Spain from the war into which she had so unnecessarily thrown herself; and to all these serious reverses and losses was added the capture by the English of the *Hermione*, a register-ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, with treasure on board that amounted to nearly one million sterling. She was taken off Cape St. Vincent, when near the end of her voyage, by two of our frigates. It was ships and prizes like these—it was the traditions of former times, and the tales of dollars and doubloons—it was the certainty of most abundant prize-money, that always rendered a war with Spain so popular in our navy; and it was the knowledge of these circumstances, the sad recollection of past losses, and the conviction that the English fleets, like a wasp's nest broke loose, could sting in a hundred places at once, that rendered a war with England so unpopular with the Spanish people, and gave origin to their constant cry—"Peace with England, and war with all the world!" The only one of our enterprises against Spain which failed this year was a paltry, ill-conceived expedition to Buenos Ayres—a place which seems destined to be a black spot in our military annals.[1]

Our ally, Frederick of Prussia, was relieved when his fortune seemed at the lowest ebb by the death of the Czarina Elizabeth, one of the most powerful of his enemies, and certainly the bitterest. She died on the 5th of January: by the beginning of February her nephew, Peter III., had opened negotiations with Frederick; by the 16th of March a treaty of peace was concluded between them; and by the 5th of May a close alliance was contracted, by which about 20,000 men of the Russian army, which had been serving with the Austrians against the Prussians, were put at the disposition of Frederick to serve with the Prussians against the Austrians. As soon as the English cabinet, or that part of it which submitted to Bute, knew that Frederick was freed from the dangerous enmity of Russia, they pretended that that circumstance alone ought to excuse them from the payment of any further subsidies; and they reminded his Prussian majesty that he had himself assured them that if once he was secured by the neutrality of Russia he should have little occasion for any further assistance from England. And now he had not merely the neutrality, but the friendship of Russia, together with every prospect of the neutrality of Sweden.[2] The old Duke of Newcastle, however, would not admit the validity of this reasoning, maintaining that Frederick ought to have the money he was demanding, and that England was bound in honour to make a new subsidy. We believe, at the sametime, that for other obvious reasons this aged minister was sick of office and tired of changes and subterfuges, which seemed to leave him more and more in dependence on the favourite, and in the utter inability of helping himself or his own friends or party. At the end of April, Newcastle waited on Lord Bute and declared his intention to resign unless the subsidy were granted. Bute—as his manner was with all men except the sovereign—answered coolly and drily, saying, "that if the money were granted the peace might be retarded;" but he never requested him to continue in office, nor said one of those civil things to which the advanced age, the long services, and the high rank of the duke seemed to entitle him. Yet in former days Bute had bowed to Newcastle as to a god. His grace went forthwith to St. James's, demanded an audience of the king—who was much more civil than the favourite had been, resigned his office, and *refused a pension*, which was offered as a reward for his services, and for the large sacrifices made out of his private fortune since he had been minister. He then retired, a comparatively poor man, to find how solitary and deserted could be the mansion of an ex-minister.[1] Lord Bute instantly stepped into his post of first lord of the treasury, or prime minister, leaving the secretaryship he had held to Mr. George Grenville, who had separated his interests from those of his brother-in-law, Mr. Pitt. Bubb Dodington, who had been the go-between for Newcastle and Bute, died about this time, having obtained from George III., or from the favourite, the peerage which had been so long the object of his ambition, but not having worn his blushing honours of Baron Melcombe, of Melcombe-Regis, quite a year, and leaving no son to succeed him.

---

[1] Coxe, *Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon; Despatches and Official Accounts; Annual Register.*

[2] Lord Dover, *Life of Frederick II.;* Voltaire, *Louis XV.*

Backed by Russia, and in friendship with Sweden, which concluded a peace with him towards the end of May, Frederick boasted that he was in possession of more advantages than he could have derived from gaining three pitched battles; and without the English subsidy, though bitterly complaining of the want of it, he took the field. But before his columns defiled to go to the reconquest of Schweidnitz and Silesia, the admiration and imitation which he had excited in Peter III. had proved fatal to that unhappy prince, or had, at least, very materially contributed to precipitate Peter from a throne to a dungeon and mysterious grave: another revolution had happened in Russia—sudden, treacherous, and bloody, and with a mixture of womanly intrigue and lust, in the manner of that country. His tragical catastrophe, however, in spite of his rash and offensive innovations, might have been far distant but for his own wife, Catherine, Princess of Anhalt-Zerbst, who had the fortune to charm the Russians as much as he disgusted them. This most able and remorseless woman was induced to believe that Peter had discovered her adulterous connection with Count Gregory Orloff, and entertained the design of divorcing and imprisoning her, and raising to the imperial throne his own favourite mistress, Elizabeth, Countess of Woronzow. Resolved to anticipate him, she organized a formidable conspiracy, and on the 27th of June (o. s.), habited like a man, Catherine harangued the guards, and proceeded with them to the church of the Virgin Mary of Kasan, where the clergy welcomed her as a deliverer, and where a vast concourse of troops and nobles joined her. The Archbishop of Novgorod performed Divine service, and administered to Catherine, as sole empress, the oath usually taken on the accession of Russian sovereigns. Her oath was succeeded by precipitate oaths of allegiance from all present in the church. She then repaired to the senate, which acknowledged her right, and swore allegiance at once. All the adherents of her husband were arrested; and his own imprisonment and sudden death were the natural sequel to such a deposition. No sovereign was so deeply interested in this sudden revolution as Frederick, who apprehended that he should find in the Empress Catherine an enemy as implacable as her predecessor, Elizabeth. In effect, the Russian troops serving with him were instantly recalled; but here all signs of difference or enmity ceased, and Catherine restored the Prussian territories which had been occupied by Elizabeth, and promised a strict neutrality. Breathing again, Frederick sent the Duke of Bevern and the Prince of Würtemberg to defeat Marshal Daun at Reichenbach, and he wound up the campaign by taking Schweidnitz, gaining by the means of his brother Henry the crowning victory of Freiberg, and driving the Austrians into Bohemia. The campaign of the allied armies under Prince Ferdinand and the Marquis of Granby had led to the reduction of Cassel, the salvation of Hanover, and the expulsion of the French from Hesse—events that were followed by the thorough despondency of the French cabinet.

The successes of the war had not rendered Lord Bute a whit the less anxious and impatient for peace; and his pacific intentions were certainly at this moment encouraged by the feeling and voice of the English people. Having sounded indirectly some of the French cabinet, Bute ventured to engage the neutral King of Sardinia to propose to the court of Versailles a resumption of the negotiations; and Louis XV. no sooner had a hint of these propositions than he embraced them and clung to them like a drowning man to a spar. The negotiations proceeded so rapidly that preliminaries for peace were signed at Fontainebleau on the 3d November, the negotiators leaving the affairs of Germany to be settled separately by the King of Prussia and the empress queen.

---

[1] Horace Walpole, *Letters to the Earl of Hertford and G. Montague; Chatham Correspondence.*

When, in 1768, the old Duke of Newcastle quitted life and politics together, Lord Chesterfield thus noticed his decease:—"My old kinsman and contemporary is at last dead, and, for the first time, quiet. . . . After all the offices which he had held for fifty years, he died £300,000 poorer than he was when he came into them. A very unministerial proceeding."—*Letters.*

By this treaty of Fontainebleau, France formally ceded Canada with all its dependencies, together with Cape Breton and all other islands in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence, stipulating that the French Roman Catholics of Canada should enjoy the right of exercising their religion under their English rulers, and that such of them as chose should be at liberty to quit the country within a limited time; she resigned all pretensions to Nova Scotia or Acadia, where the quarrel which led to the war had begun; she recognized the limits and lines of demarcation carefully drawn by the British negotiators, so as to preclude any future misunderstanding. In the West Indies she resigned the islands of Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and the Grenadas, upon condition of getting back Martinique, Guadaloupe, Mariagalante, Deseade, and St. Lucia; on the coast of Africa she ceded Senegal and its dependencies, to get back Goree; in the East Indies she bound herself to acknowledge the native rulers set up by the British, and never to erect any fortifications in Bengal; but on these conditions her factories and settlements were all restored to her, to be held merely as depôts and places of trade. In the Mediterranean she restored Minorca to Britain, upon condition of our giving up our short and useless conquest of Belleisle; and she submitted to the introduction in the treaty of the old diplomatic formula, the demolition of the fortifications of Dunkirk. France was permitted to catch and dry fish on part of the bank of Newfoundland, and to fish in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, on condition of not approaching within three leagues of the shore (off Cape Breton she was not to approach within fifteen leagues of the shore); and she obtained the small isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon, to serve as a shelter to her fishermen, under the express covenant of never erecting batteries or keeping more than fifty soldiers there. Spain, crippled by a war, which to her had been a very short one, and too happy to be admitted into the treaty, and to recover the Havannah and the Philippines, consented to overlook the grounds of her old quarrels with England, and to refer her maritime disputes about prizes, &c., to the adjudicature of the British court of admiralty; she bound herself to erase her jealous prohibitions, the cause of such frequent quarrel in the Bay of Honduras, and consented that British subjects or their workmen should have full liberty to cut logwood and to build houses and warehouses, provided only they erected no new forts and demolished those which had been built; she gave up her ancient pretensions to a right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland; and she ceded in totality the Floridas, and all the countries east and south-east of the Mississippi—a most important cession, and which, together with the acquisition of Canada, left the colonies of North America rounded and safe from any foreign foe—an advantage of which the most was made by the drawers and admirers of the treaty, who could scarcely be expected to foresee that it would accelerate a revolution and the independence of those colonies.[1] Spain, which had derived nothing but loss and disgrace from her invasion of Portugal, finally consented to withdraw all her troops from the territories or frontiers of that kingdom, and to restore the colony of Sacramento, on the Rio de la Plata, which she had taken from the Portuguese.[2]

---

[1] The connection between the British conquest of French North America and the future independence of the thirteen British colonies there, was foreseen in England many years before, and greatly mitigated in France the pain felt at abandoning all hold of North America. Burke would have given back Canada in order to keep Guadaloupe. "By eagerly grasping at extensive territory," said he, "we may run the risk, and in no very distant period, of losing what we now possess. A neighbour that keeps us in some awe, is not always the worst of neighbours. So that, far from sacrificing Guadaloupe to Canada, perhaps, if we might have Canada without any sacrifice at all, we ought not to desire it. There should be a balance of power in America." Private letters, too, from Guadaloupe gave warning that the acquisition of America would strengthen America to revolt. "One can foresee these events clearly," said the writer; "it is no gift of prophecy. It is a natural and unavoidable consequence, and must appear so to every man whose head is not too much affected with popular madness or political enthusiasm. The islands, from their weakness, can never revolt; but if we acquire all Canada, we shall soon find North America itself too powerful and too populous to be governed by us at a distance."—See *Bancroft*, vol. i. p. 416.

"Reasoning men," says Bancroft, "in New York, as early as 1748, foresaw and announced that the conquest of Canada, by relieving the northern colonies from danger, would hasten their emancipation. An attentive Swedish traveller, in that year, heard the opinion and published it to Sweden and to Europe; the early dreams of John Adams made the removal of the turbulent Gallics a preliminary to the coming glories of his country. During the negotiations for peace, the kinsman and bosom friend of Edmund Burke, employed the British press to unfold the danger to England from retaining Canada; and the French minister for foreign affairs frankly warned the British envoy, that the cession of Canada would lead to the independence of North America." "We have caught them at last," said Choiseul to those around him, on the definitive surrender of New France; and at once giving up Louisiana to Spain, his eager hopes anticipated the speedy struggle of America for separate existence. Vergennes also, when French ambassador at Constantinople, told his friends, on hearing the conditions of the peace, that England would ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. Lord Mansfield, also, used often to declare that he too, "ever since the peace of Paris, always thought the northern colonies were meditating a state of independency of Great Britain."—*Bancroft*, vol. i. p. 416.

[2] Koch, *Histoire des Traités; Annual Register.*

But it was soon found that the opposition, organized and led by Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, were in no humour to approve a peace of Bute's making. A fierce war of words ensued. Bute, who was no orator—whose words fell from him slowly like minute-guns—undertook to defend the work of his own hands in the House of Lords; and Mr. Fox, Pitt's old rival, who had gladly remained in his lucrative place of paymaster of the forces, led in the House of Commons. Pitt, suffering from the gout, and wrapped up in flannels, went down to the commons and denounced the whole tenor of the treaty as derogatory to the honour of England—as unsafe, impolitic, unsound. He said, afflicted as he was with illness, he came at the hazard of his life to attend the house that day—to raise up his voice, his hand, his arm, against the preliminary articles of a treaty which obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith by an abandonment of our allies. Fox replied with less eloquence, but with better arguments. He was supported by George Grenville, and the ministerial majority was certain and large. The definitive treaty was therefore signed, and commercial communications were opened with France. Pitt had declared that the desertion of the King of Prussia, the most magnanimous ally Britain ever had, was insidious, base, and treacherous; yet we had stipulated in the preliminaries that the French should evacuate Wesel, Cleves, and Guelders; and, left with scarcely any other enemies than Austria and Saxony, Frederick, who had baffled nearly all Europe, might well be considered in a condition to take care of himself. In fact, Frederick was so powerful as to induce all the princes and states in Germany to sign a declaration of neutrality; and this compelled the Austrians to propose an armistice. The truce was followed by a congress, and the congress by a treaty of peace between Austria, Prussia, Saxony, and Poland. This treaty of Hubertsburg was not signed till the 15th of February of the following year (1763), but its terms were agreed upon before the close of the present year.[1] Frederick retained possession of Silesia and of all other territories whatsoever that belonged to him before the war; and the other powers who, in the beginning of the struggle, had hoped to deprive him of everything except the barren sands of Prussia proper, or Brandenburg, were forced to rest satisfied, each with what he had before the war, without any reparations or reimbursements for the terrible damages they had suffered and the enormous sums they had spent.[2]

A.D. 1763.

The old Duke of Newcastle made common cause with Pitt; meetings were held at his grace's residence, and the Dukes of Devonshire, Bolton, and Portland, the Marquis of Rockingham, the Earls Temple, Cornwallis, Albemarle, Ashburnham, Hardwicke, and Besborough, the Lords Spenser, Sondes, Grantham, and Villiers, Mr. James Grenville, Sir George Saville, and other Whig commoners of rank, talent, or influence, concerted together the means of making the peace odious and the downfall of the favourite certain. Former differences of opinion, whether upon minor or capital points of policy—previous quarrels, slights, and insults—were all to be forgotten (none of them had so much to forget as old Newcastle!), and coalesced and unanimous they were to fight one battle, and never treat with the enemy till his power was annihilated. Pens, active, pointed, and dipped in gall, were set to work to demonstrate to the nation that in the treaty of Fontainebleau we ought to have retained a great many of the conquests in the East Indies and the West which we restored to France or Spain. Some of these party writers, moreover, took care to hint that such vast sacrifices in diplomacy had not been made without considerations paid by France to the English negotiators; and the hardiest among them intimated very plainly that Lord Bute, the king's mother, and the Duke of Bedford, had all touched French gold. Strictures, which from the beginning of the reign had never ceased, upon the close connection between the Earl of Bute and the princess-dowager, and upon the secluded, shy, retiring habits of the sovereign, were now made with more point and bitterness than ever; and the island rang from end to end with epigrams, scandals, and stories.[3] In the midst of this storm Bute was compelled to propose a loan of £3,500,000, and a new tax, to enable government to pay debts contracted during the war. The business of the loan was doubly unfortunate, for, instead of throwing it open to competition, he disposed privately of the shares, which rose almost immediately to eleven per cent. premium; and hence it was inferred that, at the public expense, he had gratified himself or his own creatures with £350,000. Nor was he more fortunate in his new tax, which came in the shape of a duty of 10*s.* per hogshead on cider and perry, to be paid by the first buyer. No fiscal question had raised such a tempest in the land since Sir Robert Walpole's excise bill in 1733. But Walpole, in the plenitude of his power and abilities, and with wondrous resources at command, bowed deferentially to the popular feeling, and let the scheme sleep. Bute, on the contrary, with a power that had lasted but for a day, and was already undermined, with slender abilities and no resources, was resolutely determined that *his* bill should pass: and it was passed with all its imperfections.

---

[1] Speaking of the peace of Hubertsburg, in 1763, Bancroft, the American historian, says—"Thus was arrested the course of carnage and misery; of sorrows in private life, infinite and unfathomable; of wretchedness heaped on wretchedness; of public poverty and calamity; of forced enlistments and extorted contributions; and all the unbridled tyranny of military power in the day of danger. France was exhausted of one-half of her specie; in many parts of Germany there remained not enough of men or of cattle to renew cultivation. The number of the dead in arms is computed at 886,000, on the battle-fields of Europe or on the way to them. And all this devastation, and waste of life and of resources, produced for those who planned it no gain whatever, nothing but weakness and losses. Not an inch of land was torn from the dominions of Frederick; not a limit to the boundaries of any state was contracted or advanced. Europe, in its territorial divisions, remained exactly as before. But in Asia and America how was the world changed!"—*Hist. of American Revolution*, i. 519.

[2] Koch, *Hist. des Traités.*

[3] John Wilkes, at the beginning of the present year, 1763, had written an ironical dedication to the Earl of Bute, of Ben Jonson's historical play entitled "Fall of Mortimer. It was excessively severe, and was Wilkes' *second* political essay. He always considered it his master-piece.—*Correspondence of the late John Wilkes, Esq., with Memoirs of his Life,* by John Almon. Wilkes had published in the preceding year a pamphlet, entitled *Observations on the Papers relative to the Rupture with Spain*, laid before both Houses of Parliament on Friday, January 29th, 1762. Much of his information on this subject was derived from his friend Lord Temple, whose policy and the policy of Chatham the pamphlet extolled.

But the cider bill had scarcely passed into law when Bute surprised friends and enemies alike by his suddenly and decidedly tendering his resignation. It is said that the king's astonishment was the greatest of all, and that his majesty requested and implored his prime minister to remain in office, assuring him that no desire of change or submission to that desire in others, no weakness or timidity, should ever induce him to withdraw his honest and strenuous support. But, whatever arguments were used, or whatever were the conduct and feelings of the king, Bute threw up everything, and without asking for pension or sinecure proudly and silently withdrew on the 8th of April, 1763. When people recovered a little from their surprise, they speculated very freely on the motives which had led to his retreat. Some of the most passionate admirers of the great orator of the day said, that Pitt had killed him politically. Others gave the credit of the victory over him to Mr. Wilkes and his paper, the *North Briton*. But Bute's own account is entitled to some credit; and the reason he gave for resigning was simply this—he found himself powerless in his own cabinet. He said to a friend—"Single in a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the House of Lords to support me, except two peers (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret); both the secretaries of state silent, and the lord chief-justice, whom I myself brought into office, voting for me yet speaking against me; the ground I tread upon is so hollow that I am afraid, not only of falling myself but of involving my royal master in my ruin. It is time for me to retire!"[1] He was followed by Sir Francis Dashwood, his incompetent chancellor of the exchequer,[2] and by Mr. Fox, his leader in the House of Commons, who had led a very short time, but who, under various ministerial changes, had kept his most lucrative office of paymaster of the forces, and thereby built up a large fortune. Soon after their retirement both Dashwood and Fox were elevated to the peerage, the former as Baron le Despencer, the latter as Baron Holland. Mr. George Grenville, who had forsaken Pitt and his family connections to hold office under Bute, now succeeded both to the premiership and to the place which had been occupied by Dashwood, becoming at once first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. From these and other indications it appeared plainly that Bute, though retired from office, still retained the confidence of his sovereign. He had undoubtedly nominated his successor. What followed was inevitable—Grenville and all the rest of the cabinet were considered as mere puppets that mechanically answered to the strings pulled by Bute. George Grenville, notwithstanding indisputable abilities and much moral worth, certainly proved a fatal legacy: he began an inglorious seven years' war with Wilkes, and, by originating the stamp act, he led to the ruinous war with our American colonies. On first entering into office Lord Bute, at the earnest recommendation of his principal adviser, Bubb Dodington, set up a newspaper, styled the *Briton*, to break the complete ascendency which Pitt and his party were said to hold over the public press, to advocate the peace, and to justify generally the measures of Bute's administration. Richard Glover, the author of the heavy epic poem of *Leonidas*, and of a deal of patriotism in blank verse, appears to have entered into Bute's party, and to have written in his newspaper; and a staff of other writers was hired to support administration and vilify his opponents. To oppose the *Briton*, a paper styled the *North Briton* was set on foot and conducted by John Wilkes, Esq., member of parliament for Aylesbury and colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia, who had been hitherto known as a man of pleasure, wit, and repartee; not very exemplary in his life and morals, but active, enterprising, and daring.[1] If Wilkes' reputation for wit rested solely upon what he wrote, it would be little worth; but his weapon of force was the tongue, not the pen; his success in conversation and society was immense, and some of his repartees were perhaps the smartest and sharpest things said in that day. In the *North Briton* his hardihood and scurrility were far more conspicuous than his wit or genius.

---

[1] Few fine characters in public life are more contrasted than those of Chatham and Bute, and this contrast is remarkably confirmed by their portraits, which reveal at a glance the most opposite dispositions. Both were men of firm purpose, but in this Chatham owed more to a fierce imperious will, Bute to a calm conviction of duty. With all his superiority in genius and eloquence, Chatham had weaknesses which we cannot discover in Bute. The great commoner was not above courting a popularity which, in the then low state of public morals, was shared with Wilkes, though half a century later it would probably have been shared with Bute himself. Yet even popularity Chatham was content to risk and lose, rather than forego the coronet which he thought indispensable to the splendours of rank, or the pension which indulgence in such splendours rendered necessary. Chatham clung to power even when he had to hold it with colleagues who disliked him and disagreed with him, and long after his broken health had unfitted him for business. Bute took office for one specific object—peace; and, having accomplished that, rather than govern by intrigue and management, or with colleagues with whom he was not in perfect accord, he retired from public life in the full vigour of his faculties, with no increase either of rank or fortune. He retired, too, without one ray of that popular favour which had blazed around Chatham, and with the total loss of that intimacy and intercourse with the king, to which it was falsely assumed that he secretly clung with a desperate tenacity long after his retirement. Chatham, on the contrary, strove to patch up ministries that would barely tolerate him, and courted royal favour after having repeatedly incurred his sovereign's dislike. Envying and dreading Bute's favour with George III., he could not divest himself of what is now known to have been the groundless conviction that the latter continued to be secretly influenced by the former long after their public relations with each other had ceased. In all this one sees a deplorable littleness in the great Chatham, and true greatness in the much vilified Bute. Time and impartial criticism have already done much to correct the false impressions of an age that was naturally seduced by the splendour of Chatham's talents to be unfair to his less gifted but still estimable rival. The following letter by Bute to Lord Melcombe proves how very far the former was from meanly succumbing to France, and that George III. had not misplaced his regard for the statesman with whom Chatham's jealousy compelled him to part:—

"*8th October*, 1761.

"My dear Lord,—Whatever private motives of uneasiness I might have in the late administration, I am far from thinking the dissolution of it favourable in the present minute to the king's affairs. Without entering into the causes of the war, it is sufficient to observe that it was a national one, and that the honour of the nation is pledged to support its allies. You, my dear lord, cannot dislike it more than I do; but as we have to do with a most treacherous enemy, whose infamous prevarications have been so lately experienced, we must act with redoubled vigour and spirit, before we can hope to bring them to such a peace as, from our repeated conquests, this country has a right to expect—such a peace as I (with this load of responsibility) durst put my name to. This being so, the change of a minister cannot, at present, make any remarkable change in measures. I sigh after peace, but will not sue for it; not out of pride, or from motives of self-preservation (though both might, without dishonour, be urged), but from a thorough conviction that begging it from France is not the way to procure it. Indeed, my good lord, my situation, at all times perilous, is become much more so, for I am become no stranger to the language held in this great city; *our darling's* resignation is owing to Lord Bute, who might have prevented it with the king, and he must answer for all the consequences; which is, in other words, for the miscarriage of another's system, that he (Pitt himself) could not have prevented. All this keeps up my attention, strengthens my mind without alarming it, and not only whispers caution, but steadiness and resolution."—See Adolphus' *History of England from the Accession of George III.*, vol. i. p. 348.

[2] "Sir Francis Dashwood," says Wilkes, "afterwards my Lord le Despencer, who, from puzzling all his life at tavern bills, had been called by Lord Bute to administer the finances of a kingdom above £100,000,000 in debt, and styled by him, in the royal manner, *my chancellor*."

GEORGE GRENVILLE, Chancellor of the Exchequer.
After William Hoare.

Not contented with defaming Bute and all Scotland, Wilkes pointed his pen at the royal family and at the king himself. In the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton*, published about a fortnight after Bute's resignation, he accused his majesty of uttering a direct falsehood in the speech he pronounced in proroguing parliament. On the 26th of April a general warrant (that is, a warrant in which no person was named, and by authority of which the messengers might seize whomsoever they suspected) was issued from the secretary of state's office, for the apprehension of the authors, printers, and publishers of the libel. After some delay and sundry blunders committed by the messengers, Wilkes was arrested, and carried before Lord Halifax, one of the secretaries of state. In former times Wilkes had enjoyed the countenance and favour of Mr. Pitt; with Lord Temple his intimacy continued, and at this moment his lordship paid him a visit, and at his request went down to the Court of Common Pleas for a writ of habeas corpus in his favour. But before the clerks could prepare the writ, Wilkes, having refused to answer all questions, was hurried in a coach from the secretary's office to the Tower, and committed to close imprisonment. His papers were seized and sealed; and his friends, and even his counsel and solicitor, were refused admittance to him. This happened both to Lord Temple and the Duke of Bolton, who went to see him. His confinement, however, was very short, for on the 3d of May a second writ of habeas corpus, directed to the constable of the Tower, threw open the strong gates of that fortress, and brought Wilkes before the court in Westminster Hall. The court required time to consider the important question; but three days after (on the 6th of May), when he was brought up a second time, Lord Chief-justice Pratt, delivering the joint opinion of the judges, declared that, though the commitment of Mr. Wilkes and the general warrant were not in themselves illegal, being justified by numerous precedents, yet Mr. Wilkes was entitled to a discharge, by virtue of his privilege as a member of parliament—for the privilege of parliament could be forfeited only by treason, felony, or breach of the peace. The prisoner was therefore discharged; but a prosecution was immediately instituted against him by the attorney-general for the libel contained in the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton*. The king deprived him of his commission as colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia, dismissed his backer, the Earl of Temple, from the lord-lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire, and struck his lordship's name out of the roll of privy counsellors. The lord-lieutenancy was at once given to Dashwood, now Lord le Despencer, who had retired from office with Bute. Wilkes had no sooner obtained his liberty and the use of pen, ink, and paper, than he wrote a letter to the secretaries of state, complaining of the treatment he had received, and accusing them of holding in their hands stolen goods, of which his house had been robbed. He printed and circulated this letter; and government committed the folly of writing a reply to it. Considerable and respectable portions of the opposition in parliament rallied round the author of the *North Briton*, more or less openly; and, overlooking various and notorious irregularities of conduct, and many loud accusations, one of which was, that he had dissipated his fortune in extravagance and vicious indulgences, and that his hostility to Bute and the ministry originated in their refusal to employ or pension him, the popular body began to hail, in all places, John Wilkes as the greatest, and bravest, and purest patriot that had blessed the land since the days of Algernon Sidney or of Hampden.

---

[1] Wilkes, had, at one time, respectable *collaborateurs*. Lord Temple is said to have written in the paper, and the *North Briton* has been called *the joint-publication* of his lordship, Wilkes, and Churchill, the poet.

John Wilkes.—From a print after R. E. Pine.

In the month of August the death of Lord Egremont, one of the secretaries of state, deprived George Grenville of his best supporter; and it soon appeared to himself and to every one else that his government could not stand. *Lord Bute*, on the 25th of August, waited upon *Mr. Pitt* by the king's commands, and endeavoured to mediate the return of the formidable orator to his majesty's service. Pitt would only engage upon his own conditions, and was greatly alarmed lest a report of secret intercourse and underhand dealing with Bute and the court should injure his popularity. Thus, when he consented to Bute's prayer to wait upon his majesty at Buckingham House, he resolved to deprive his visit of all appearance of privacy; and he went through the Mall in his well-known sedan-chair at noonday. The king was exceedingly kind and frank; but the negotiation came to nothing. Though desirous of bringing the old Duke of Newcastle, and divers members of the old Whig aristocracy back to office and court, Pitt would not hear of George Grenville being retained in the ministry, and the king had promised to keep him. His majesty said, "Poor George Grenville! he is your near relation and you once loved him." Pitt objected again with a cold and silent movement of the head. The king would not break his promises, and his starched ex-secretary would have his own way or be nothing. Grenville thus remained in office. He sought to strengthen himself by bringing in the Duke of Bedford, who was made president of the council, and his grace's dependant Lord Sandwich, who was made a secretary of state in lieu of Lord Egremont, deceased: but both Bedford and Sandwich were very unpopular.

Parliament met on the 15th of November. Mr. George Grenville related what had passed in the arrest and liberation of Wilkes, and laid the libel on the table; and the commons, by a majority of 237 against 111, resolved that the paper entitled the "*North Briton*, No. 45," was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman. Wilkes, standing up in his place, declared that the rights of all the commons of England and the privileges of parliament had been grossly violated in his person; and he requested the house to take the question of privileges into immediate consideration. The house adjourned the case of privilege for a week. On the same day Lord Sandwich, the new secretary of state, whose character for morality and religion stood quite as low as that of Wilkes, produced in the House of Lords the copy of a burlesque, indecent poem, entitled "An Essay on Woman, with Notes by Dr. Warburton," and attributed to the same pen which wrote the *North Briton*.[1] Lord Sandwich, Sir Francis Dashwood, now Lord le Despencer, their friends, and Thomas Potter, Esq., member for Aylesbury, and son to Archbishop Potter, Sir William Stanhope, Sir Thomas Stapleton, with other men of fashion and dissipation, had notoriously led Wilkes into his worst private excesses, had lived with him, and occasionally upon him, as boon companions and brethren in debauchery. They had initiated him into the frowsy indecencies of the Dilettanti Club, held in Palace-yard, and into the more recondite mysteries of Medmenham Abbey, Bucks, where a society—an imitation or revival of the Hell Fire Club of the Duke of Wharton's days—revelled in obscenity, and made a mockery of the rites of religion. Over the grand entrance of the house which had once been a Cistercian monastery, was inscribed, "FAYS CE QUE VOUDRAS," (*Do what you will*), and the principal jokes of the members consisted in dressing themselves like monks and drinking wine out of a communion cup to a certain pagan divinity.[2] It was chiefly to entertain these men that Wilkes had taken a dear house at the court-end of town, and had incurred expenses which his fortune, crippled by electioneering contests, could ill support. These heroes of profligacy, with Sandwich and Dashwood at their head, had been in the habit of dining at his table, drinking his claret, and encouraging his licentious wit. Yet now Sandwich, as if he had been a very saint, declaimed and exclaimed against the sad profaneness and obscenity of his poetical production. The house was amazed: nobody ventured even to ask a question, and the thing was voted everything that was bad, and a breach of privilege into the bargain. Lord Sandwich then informed their lordships that Mr. Wilkes was indisputably the author. Lord Temple then objected strongly to the underhand manner in which ministers had obtained their copy of the poem *Essay on Woman*. It had not been published—only fourteen copies had been printed at a private press, and the ministry had bribed a journeyman in Wilkes' employment to purloin the copy they held. Lord Sandwich moved to vote Wilkes the author, but Lord Mansfield hinted to the house that it would be necessary first to hear what Wilkes could say in his defence. A near day was therefore appointed for bringing John Wilkes to their lordships' bar; but in the interval a hot member of the House of Commons rendered it impossible for Wilkes to appear at the time appointed.

DOORWAY OF MEDMENHAM ABBEY.—From Book of the Thames.

In the course of the debate in the lower house, Mr. Samuel Martin, member for Camelford, who had been secretary to the treasury during Lord Bute's administration, and who had shared abundantly in the satire and abuse of the *North Briton*, exclaimed, "Whoever stabs a reputation in the dark, without setting his name, is a cowardly, malignant, and scandalous scoundrel." Looking across the house at Wilkes, he repeated these words twice with infinite rage and violence. Wilkes seemed to bear the attack with perfect indifference. But on leaving the house he wrote a note to Martin, and a meeting in Hyde Park on the following morning was the consequence. They fought with pistols, and Martin, at the *second* fire, lodged a ball in the side of Wilkes. The wound was dangerous, and the next day Wilkes was reported to be delirious. The street in front of the house where he lay was crowded with people from morning till night hooting and shouting against his *murderers;* and his friends, instead of keeping him quiet, showed their zeal by visiting him and exciting him. "Should this hero die," says Horace Walpole, "the Bishop of Gloucester may doom him whither he pleases, but Wilkes will pass for a saint and a martyr."[1]

---

[1] The name of Warburton seems to have been introduced on account of his having copiously annotated Pope's *Essay on Man:* and a little, perhaps, on account of his not bearing a high character for orthodoxy. Sandwich was made to figure for St. John (Bolingbroke). We never heard or read more than a very few lines of the *Essay on Woman:* and that sample appeared to us as dull and pointless as it was gross. As we have said before, Wilkes' wit—and wit he certainly had in abundance—was rather on his tongue than in his pen. Other publications, quite as indecent, had certainly been permitted; and the *Essay on Woman*, be it remembered, had never been published at all. We believe the character of that production was correctly given by Thomas Townshend, junior, in a debate on Wilkes' petition for redress in 1769:—"As to the *Essay on Woman*, a jocular man would deride it, a serious man would detest it, and both would throw it into the fire, as devoid of both wit and decency." —Cavendish's *Debates*.

[2] Wilkes was accustomed to say at a later period that, with the exception of Dashwood, who had some imagination, the members of the Medmenham Abbey Society were but dull dogs after all; daring without any imagination, and profligate without any wit. Some account of their orgies is given in the third volume of the *Correspondence and Memoirs of Wilkes*, by Mr. John Almon.

The question of privilege came on upon the 23d of November, and occupied the House of Commons two whole days. Mr. Wilbraham, member for Newton, in Lancashire, objected that Wilkes was involved in it, and ought to be present. Upon dividing upon this question, ministers found their majority considerably reduced. Mr. Pitt, who was suffering from a fever and the gout, attended on crutches, and wrapped in flannels. He had determined with his party to take Wilkes' side on the privilege question; but he was anxious, at the same time, to efface the recollection of his former personal intimacy, and to disclaim any approbation of Wilkes' writings. "He vehemently reprobated the facility with which parliament was surrendering its own privileges; but he carefully impressed on the house, that he was merely delivering a constitutional opinion, and not vindicating the libel or its author. He condemned the whole series of *North Britons*, and called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable."[2] He knew nothing of any connection with the writer of that libel. If there subsisted any, he was totally unacquainted with it."[3] Pitt, worn out by a speech of an hour and fifty minutes, was obliged to retire at ten o'clock, but the debate lasted till two in the morning. Charles Yorke, son of Lord Hardwicke, and then attorney-general, was expected to concur with Mr. Pitt; but he delivered a splendid oration on the other side. Rigby, master of the rolls in Ireland, who has been properly described as a statesman of the second class, and a *bon vivant* of the first, fell furiously upon Lord Temple, and described his behaviour on the commitment of Wilkes. The end of all was a resolution, carried by 258 against 133—"That the privilege of parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence." The resolutions passed on the first day of the session, with the order for burning the *North Briton* by the hands of the common hangman, were confirmed; and a conference was desired with the other house, to claim the concurrence of their lordships. On the 25th the lords at a conference received the resolutions of the commons, and then debated upon them till ten at night. The Duke of Cumberland voted for Wilkes, and Lord Shelburne, afterwards first Marquis of Lansdowne, spoke at length and against the court. In the end the lords supported ministers, and concurred in the resolution, by a majority of 114 to 35. Seventeen peers, however, entered a spirited protest, dwelling at great length upon the danger and unconstitutionality of general warrants. Ministers were said to have threatened to dismiss from their employments several persons who had voted against them, and Mr. John Calcraft, deputy commissary-general of musters, was actually dismissed in a very abrupt manner. On the 1st of December another conference took place, and lords and commons agreed in a very loyal address to the king, expressive of their great detestation of the libels against him. On the 2d, Wilkes was ordered to attend at the bar of the commons in a week, if his health would permit; and on the 3d, there was a riot in the city, occasioned by the burning of the *North Briton* in Cheapside. This farcical affair occupied the attention of parliament for four days, during which nothing else was done except voting a portion of £80,000 to the Princess Augusta, the king's eldest sister, who was about to be married to the Duke of Brunswick. During the examination of witnesses at the bar of the lords, the Duke of Grafton shrewdly extracted the avowal that the whole populace of London was of one mind on the subject of Wilkes. In the meanwhile, Wilkes, from his sick-bed, filled the town with bon-mots and stories at the expense of Lord Sandwich and ministers in general. And, to the infinite increase of the ministerial perplexity and mortification, actions were brought by the printers and others arrested under the general warrant, to recover damages for false imprisonment; and, in the Court of Common Pleas, all those persons obtained verdicts and damages. Wilkes himself, aiming at higher game, had brought his actions against the two secretaries of state, Lord Egremont and Lord Halifax, and against Robert Wood, Esq., late under-secretary. Egremont, as we have seen, died in October, and so escaped the ordeal of a court of law; Halifax stood upon his privilege, and defied the court, till relieved by the sentence of outlawry that was passed upon Wilkes; but Wood had no means of escaping the action, and, after a long trial of fourteen hours, a special jury gave a verdict against him, with £1000 damages to Wilkes. The Lord Chief-justice Pratt, before whom the cause was tried, now ventured to declare peremptorily that general warrants were unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void, and his judgment was afterwards affirmed by the Court of King's Bench. When the day approached on which Wilkes was to appear at the bar of the commons, Dr. Brocklesby, an eminent physician, and Mr. Graves, a surgeon, declared that the state of Mr. Wilkes' wound and health would not permit him to obey the summons. The house then granted another week's delay. At the expiration of this term (on the 16th of December) Dr. Brocklesby and Mr. Graves appeared again at the bar, and made the same report as before.

---

[1] Letters to the Earl of Hertford. In one of his letters to George Montague, written at the same time, he says, more facetiously—"Your cousin Sandwich has out-Sandwiched himself. He has impeached Wilkes for a blasphemous poem, and has been expelled for blasphemy himself by the Beefsteak Club at Covent Garden. Wilkes has been shot by Martin, instead of being burned at an *auto-da-fé*, as the Bishop of Gloucester intended; is reverenced as a saint by the mob; and, if he dies, I suppose the people will squint themselves into convulsions at his tomb, in honour of his memory."

[2] *Chatham Corresp.*

[3] *Parl. Hist.* Pitt *must* have known the close connection which existed between the writer of the libel and his brother-in-law, Earl Temple, whom he was eulogizing.

A.D. 1764. The Wilkes war continued more fierce than ever. The festivity of Christmas was only a short truce. On the 19th of January parliament met, and caused the order to be read for Mr. Wilkes' attendance at the bar. But the droll, who could hardly have been so ill as represented, had gone beyond sea, to amuse the salons of Paris, where he was exceedingly admired.[1] The speaker produced a letter from him, inclosing a certificate signed by a French army surgeon and by one of the French king's physicians, signifying that the wound was still in such a state as to render it dangerous for Mr. Wilkes to leave Paris. Tired of medical reports, the house observed that this certificate wanted the signature of a notary public to give it authenticity, and then resolved to admit of no further delays, but proceed against Wilkes as if he were present. The examination of witnesses and papers and the debate lasted till three hours after midnight; when it was resolved by a majority of 239 against 102, that No. 45 of the *North Briton*, which had been voted a seditious libel, contained expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his majesty, the grossest aspersions upon both Houses of Parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature; that it had a manifest tendency to alienate the affections of the people from the king; to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws; and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against government. Next day it was further resolved that Wilkes should be expelled the house, and a new writ be issued for the borough of Aylesbury. In general the English people dislike all appearances of shirking a question or running away; but on the present occasion they assumed that Wilkes knew he would not have been allowed fair play, and that he would have been treated with barbarity.[2] His popularity, therefore, still continued to grow. Every opportunity was taken by the people to express their sentiments. The king went to Drury Lane Theatre—the play given out for the next night happened to be "All in the Wrong"—the galleries clapped tremendously, and then cried out, "Let *us* be all in the right—Wilkes and liberty!"

On the 13th of February the opposition moved that Wilkes' complaint of breach of privilege, in the matter of the general warrant, should be heard. George Grenville objected, since, by the vote of the 20th of January, Mr. Wilkes had ceased to be a member of the house. Charles Townshend, Sir George Saville, and others said, that at all events Wilkes was a member of the house when he was arbitrarily arrested by the secretary of state's warrant, and that it behoved the house to secure its privileges from such assaults. They gave the minister "some smart raps;" but Grenville had still a considerable majority, and Wilkes' complaint was thrown out after a stormy debate which occupied three days and one whole night. On the 14th the division did not take place till seven o'clock in the morning. Sir William Meredith moved a resolution, "That a general warrant for apprehending and securing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, is not warranted by law." Mr. Charles Yorke proposed to adjourn; but Pitt made a speech, and General Conway and others supported him. "Our cry," says Horace Walpole, who was the bosom friend of Conway, and at the time unusually ardent in opposition, "was so loud, that both we and the ministers thought we had carried it. It is not to be painted the dismay of the latter —in good truth not without reason; for *we* were 197, they but 207. . . . Crest-fallen, the ministers then proposed simply to discharge Wilkes' complaint; but the plumes which they had dropped Pitt soon placed in his own beaver. He, on the 17th, broke out on liberty, and indeed on whatever he pleased, and uninterrupted. . . . Everybody was too much daunted to give the least disturbance to his Pindarics." During his harangue Pitt broke out in censures against ministers for their dismission of officers who had voted with the opposition. George Grenville, with very little truth, denied the charge of menacing officers, &c. At that moment General A'Court, who had just been dismissed from his command of the second regiment of foot-guards, walked up the house, as if to give the minister the lie. The little incident produced a great sensation, and this was increased by another trifling accident. The speaker chanced to call Barré by his usual military rank;—"I beg your pardon, sir," said Barré, "you have given me a title I have no right to: I am no longer a colonel; they have dismissed me from my regiment and from the office of adjutant-general." After a most stormy discussion, the house again divided, at seven o'clock in the morning, when it was carried by a majority of only fourteen—the numbers being 232 against 218—that Meredith's motion should be adjourned for four months. A few weeks after, General Conway, whose brother, the Earl of Hertford, was then ambassador at Paris, was pettishly deprived of all his employment, both courtly and military.[1]

---

[1] The Abbé Galliani, in writing to a friend, says—"We have here in Paris a strange, squinting Englishman, who has more wit and vivacity than all Paris put together." But the most amusing thing is that the Parisians considered Wilkes to be on a par with Pitt; and a French diplomate in London thought him self obliged to inform his court that there was a considerable difference in character and importance between the two patriots! —Ségur, *Politique de tous les Cabinets.* The best society of Paris, and the wits, and the literati continued, however, to show Wilkes the most marked attentions.

[2] It appears from Wilkes' own letters that he was not without apprehension of being arrested for debt if he returned to London. As he was no longer defended from his creditors by the panoply of parliament he might have been thrown into the King's Bench Prison as a debtor, instead of going there, as he afterwards did, as an oppressed patriot.

In anticipation of a victory by the opposition, bells, bonfires, and an illumination from the Monument had been prepared in the city; and it was said that Lord Temple had fagots ready for two bonfires of his own. On the last day of the debate the lame and the sick were brought to vote by both parties. "One would have thought," says Walpole, "that they had sent a search-warrant for members of parliament into every hospital. Votes were brought down in flannels and blankets, till the floor of the house looked like the pool of Bethesda."[2]

Lord Temple having engaged to bear all the expenses of the law proceedings, Wilkes entered an appearance, and the trial for libel went on in the Court of King's Bench, where Wilkes was found guilty of publishing both the *North Briton* and the *Essay on Woman.* But this triumph of ministers was more than balanced by the city of London giving their freedom to Lord Chief-justice Pratt, and ordering his portrait to be placed in Guildhall; and by the common council voting thanks to the city members for their behaviour in parliament on that important question, and their spirited endeavours to assert the rights and liberties of the people. The city of Dublin, and other places in the two kingdoms, followed the example of London; and freedoms and gold snuff-boxes fell almost as thickly upon Pratt as they had fallen upon Pitt a few years before.

CHAPTER II.—CIVIL AND MILITARY HISTORY.—A.D. 1764—1768.

GEORGE III.

Proposal to tax our American colonies—The resolution thoughtlessly passed—Indignation of the colonists—Their additional difficulties from the hostile Indians—Their opposition to the proposed taxes—They send Benjamin Franklin to England as their agent—His fitness for the office—Pitt's independence—Unpromising opening of parliament—It persists in the design of taxing the American colonies—Carelessness with which the resolution is adopted—The Wilkes prosecution resumed—Serious illness of George III.—Excitement in parliament from the proposal of a regency bill—Complaint of the importation of French silks—Riot of the Spitalfields weavers—Fresh efforts to induce Pitt to return to office—His refusals—A new administration formed, with the Marquis of Rockingham for premier—Hostile demonstrations of the Americans against the stamp act—Pitt's speech in parliament against American taxation—Complaints of Lord Bute's influence with the king—Their groundlessness—Grenville attempts to justify the stamp act—Pitt's reply—The stamp act repealed—Repeal of the obnoxious cider act—General warrants declared illegal—The Rockingham administration dissolved—Pitt commissioned to form a new one—Altercation on the subject between him and Lord Temple—Pitt created Earl of Chatham—His selection of members for the new ministry—Popularity of his speeches among the American colonists—Scarcity of corn, and famine riots—An embargo laid on the exportation of wheat and flour—Debate in parliament upon the justice of the embargo—Difficulties of the Earl of Chatham's administration—Secessions among his adherents—New appointments to fill their places—Chatham reduced to inaction—The land tax diminished—Consideration of the American colonies resumed—Further threats of taxing them—Bill to that effect passed—Political rivalry between Charles Townshend and the Earl of Chatham—Chatham's refusal to command or advise—He keeps aloof from the political difficulties—The ministry constituted anew as the Duke of Grafton's administration.

IT was at this troubled and inauspicious moment that George Grenville, the "gentle shepherd," as he was usually termed, brought forward his proposition for shearing the great flock on the other side of the Atlantic. As the English people were complaining of burdens, it was resolved to tax our colonies in America; and on the 10th of March a series of resolutions respecting new duties to be laid on foreign goods imported by the Americans, was brought into the house and passed with little notice. General Conway is said to have been the only member who directly protested against these duties, the bill imposing which received the royal assent on the 5th of April. The minister also proposed to raise a direct revenue from the colonies in the shape of a stamp tax; but this scheme was withdrawn for the present. At the same time, however, certain restrictions were laid upon the profitable contraband trade carried on by the Americans with the Spanish colonies—a trade of which the Spanish government was constantly and bitterly complaining to the court of Great Britain. It was undeniably this interference with the profitable practice of running tobacco and dry goods to South America that was considered as one of the worst infringements on the liberties of our subjects in North America; and Grenville had rashly determined to intrust the execution of his prohibitory orders to military men and to captains in the navy, who were little acquainted with the niceties of the excise law, or of any other law, and who, from the habits of their lives, were too much disposed to carry matters with a high hand. The country gentlemen congratulated themselves on the pleasing prospect of the non-increase or diminution of the land tax; no class seemed aware of the mighty mischief set in motion; and the king, in proroguing parliament on the 19th of April, expressed his hearty approbation of the measures, calling them wise regulations, calculated to augment the public revenues, to unite the interests of his most distant possessions, and to encourage and to secure their commerce with Great Britain. But in the course of a few months this pleasant dream was dissipated by a strong blast across the Atlantic—by news that our American colonists had received these wise regulations like knives put to their throats. Besides being unpalatable in themselves, they had the additional misfortune of arriving when the colonists were in a very bad humour. On quitting Canada the French government had not broken off all connection with the native Indians; and, partly through the encouragement of their agents, and in part through some encroachments made by the British on their hunting-grounds, the Indian nations or tribes flew to arms with the intention of making a combined attack on all our back settlements in harvest time. In some places their secret was betrayed and their movement anticipated; but they fell like a flight of locusts upon Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, plundering, burning, and destroying, till the frontiers of those three provinces were left bare and void of inhabitants. The Indians also surprised several British forts in Canada, and massacred the weak and unsuspecting garrisons they found in them.

---

[1] Horace Walpole's and General Conway's own letters to the Earl of Hertford.

[2] Letter to the Earl of Hertford.

Fortunately Sir William Johnston was enabled to detach the Indians of the six nations from the confederacy, and induce them to join the British against the other Indians. After various skirmishes and surprises, the savages submitted to conditions, or retired farther into the depth of their native wilds and forests. The worst part of these calamities had befallen our American colonists in the summer and autumn of the preceding year (1763); but the recollection of them was recent, and the losses that had been sustained were making themselves more and more painfully felt when Grenville's acts arrived. Every citizen, moreover, was armed for the defence of his home and property against the Indians; and when men have muskets in their hands, and in their hearts the certainty that their quarrel will become a general one, they are not likely to limit themselves to murmurs and complaints, petitions and remonstrances. To those who mildly represented the moderate amount of the taxation proposed in Grenville's acts,[1] they replied that this moderation could only be meant as an experiment on their temper; and that, if once they submitted to the right of the mother-country to tax them, there was no possibility of saying to what extent she might proceed in relieving the British subject by throwing the burden upon the Americans. Taking the lead the provinces of New England passed strong resolutions, and transmitted them to their agents in London to be laid before government. They also circulated their printed papers and opinions throughout the other provinces, and begged their fellow-citizens to make no further use of the articles of luxury upon which the duties were to be laid. Pennsylvania appointed a new provincial agent, and chose for the important office an individual of extraordinary ability, perseverance, and energy. This was the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, the son of a tallow-chandler at Boston, in New England, who, from the condition of a poor journeyman printer, had raised himself, by force of steadiness of purpose and astonishing industry, to be a man of property and of science, a leading magistrate, a high functionary in the local government, a powerful writer, a statesman, and philosopher. Franklin had been in England twice before—once as a journeyman printer, and the second time as agent to manage a difficult controversy before the privy council, in which his ability and success were so eminent, that (besides Pennsylvania) Massachusetts, Maryland, and Georgia severally appointed him their agent. He had only returned to America in 1762; and when he came back to London at the end of the present year he was already well known to our ministers and public men, and in possession of a high reputation both for his discoveries in natural science and for his political shrewdness. The instructions which he now brought with him from his native country were to oppose to the very utmost the stamp act and every other act that might be proposed in the British parliament to tax the people of America without their consent.

---

[1] It was calculated that the taxes or duties would only draw from the American colonies about £200,000 per annum.

In the autumn of this year, when George Grenville seemed sliding from his seat, and the whole cabinet was in confusion and dismay, Mr. Pitt abruptly broke his recently formed league with the old Duke of Newcastle, telling his grace in a decisive letter that he was determined henceforward to act "for his single self," to keep himself "free from all stipulation," and to oppose or support measures in parliament "independent of the sentiments of others." It was, however, reported in the month of September that Pitt was listening to overtures made by the Duke of Bedford, who remained in the ministry. The opposition apprehended that they might be weakened by the disseverance of the Duke of Newcastle and the great orator; but they nevertheless confidently predicted that the ministry could not stand beyond the Christmas holidays.[1] At the end of the year, or early in the next, Pitt, who was singularly fortunate in legacies, was left by a Somersetshire baronet about £30,000 in ready money, and the estate of Burton Pynsent, worth about £2500 a-year. Sir William Pynsent is described as "an old man of ninety, who quitted the world on the peace of Utrecht, and, luckily for Mr. Pitt, lived to be angry with its *pendant*, the treaty of Paris."[2]

A.D. 1765. Parliament assembled on the 10th of January, when the king, in his speech, alluded to American taxation and American discontents; and, unwarned by the gathering storm, recommended the carrying out of Grenville's scheme and the enforcing obedience in the colonies. The royal speech also announced the approaching marriage of the Princess Caroline, George's youngest sister, with the prince royal of Denmark;[3] an inauspicious union, which, in the course of a few years, was attended with tragical consequences. The opening of the session did not promise serenity. Mr. Beckford took up a letter written by Sir William Draper, and complaining that the court of Spain had not yet paid the Manilla ransom. Lord Granby, the idol of the army, and at the time a great favourite of the people, declared his disapprobation of the dismission of excellent officers for party reasons. Sir William Meredith notified his intention of taking up the affair of general warrants; and nothing seemed wanting but an harangue from Pitt, who was absent, and reported to be very ill of the gout. To accommodate him the great question of the warrants was put off. The ministry attempted to conciliate the Americans by offering to drop the proposed stamp tax, if they on their part would contribute about an equal sum in any other way more acceptable to themselves. To this Franklin and the other agents replied that they were instructed to oppose Grenville's act, and any other bill whatsoever that assumed as a principle the right of taxing the colonies. But the British king and the British cabinet were resolutely determined not to yield their claim of right; and the British legislature, with a small number of exceptions, seemed either to consider the right indisputable, or the question of little moment. The debates on the whole were languid, and failed to draw full houses. Even Pitt, who had shown on former occasions that he could attend and harangue in flannels and upon crutches, and defy gout and fever, for far less momentous objects, now kept away from the house. Was this the effect of ignorance as to the life-and-death importance of the matter? or did Pitt purposely withhold his warning and potential voice, in order that his political adversaries might take the fatal step—he not caring for the humiliation of his country, or for the miseries to be inflicted on humanity, provided the hostile administration were rent to pieces and the powers of the crown thrown at his feet?

Fifty-five resolutions proposed by a committee of ways and means were agreed to by the commons, and incorporated into an act for laying nearly the same stamp duties on the American colonies as were payable at the time in England. On the 7th of February there was what Walpole styles "one slight day on the American taxes;" and Burke, who sat in the gallery during the progress of the bill, said that he never heard *a more languid debate*. Charles Townshend, supporting the act, received "a heavy thump" from Colonel Barré, "who," says Walpole, "*is the present Pitt*." But Barré's startling prediction of a coming outburst of American independence was not heeded—it was treated merely as the complaint of a colonel who had lost his regiment; few or none seconded his vaticination; the opposition were still waiting for the absent Pitt, and they mustered only a thin majority of forty on this vital question. There was only one division during the whole progress of the momentous bill.[4] Petitions presented by English merchants trading with the colonies, and by others who were both interested in and acquainted with American affairs, were treated with contempt; and the house refused to receive four petitions offered by the agents of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, and Carolina; and another petition, from the traders of Jamaica, was treated in the same manner. The House of Lords were still more expeditious and indifferent than the commons, for they passed the bill without division or protest, and apparently without debate. With all these encouragements the king joyfully gave the royal assent, and the stamp act became law on the 22d of March. Franklin had told them before, and he now told them again, that the Americans would never submit to its operation.

---

[1] *Chatham Correspondence:* Prior, *Life of Burke*.

[2] Horace Walpole, *Letters to the Earl of Hertford*.

[3] Before the nuptials were solemnized the prince royal was King of Denmark.

[4] Mr. Grenville, at a subsequent period, said in the House of Commons—"I did propose the stamp act, and shall have no objection to have it christened by my name. There was only one division in the committee against it, and not a single nega-

Wilkes, who remained in Paris, instead of returning to receive judgment in the Court of King's Bench, was visited with the more serious sentence of outlawry. Williams, the printer or reprinter of the *North Briton*, was condemned to stand in the pillory in Palace-yard. He went in a hackney-coach, the number of which was *forty-five*, as if glorying in the particular number of the paper which had contained the libel. While he was standing in the pillory the mob erected a gallows opposite to him, on which they hung a boot with a straw bonnet on the top of it (emblematical of Lord Bute and the king's mother); and then they made a collection for the printer, which amounted to near £200. Thus every proceeding against Wilkes or those concerned with him, only elicited an increase of popular favour for him and them, and the most unequivocal demonstrations against Bute and ministers.

In the end of March, not a week after giving his assent to the American stamp act, it was reported that the king was very seriously ill and in great danger. He was kept close and every possible secrecy was preserved; it was given out that he had a bad cold, and that the rheum had fallen on his chest; then it was rumoured in some quarters that he had been seized with a sudden vertigo or giddiness; but now it appears to be pretty clearly ascertained that the illness was more in the brain than on the lungs, and that it was, in fact, a slight attack of that terrible malady which thrice afterwards afflicted George III., and finally incapacited him for the duties of government. This time the malady was transient; and as soon as his majesty recovered he appeared suddenly and unexpectedly at his levee at St. James's, and a few days after he acquainted his ministers that he was anxious for a regency bill, and told them the particulars of his intention. Mr. Fox, now Lord Holland, drew up the sketch of a bill which left the regent *in petto*, or to be named by the king. This injudicious regency scheme, which was somewhat altered in its passage through parliament, but which was never acted upon, provoked a dreadful storm in both houses, and exposed the fact that the members of his majesty's government had no concord or agreement among themselves. Grenville, the premier, seemed to admit that the Princess-dowager of Wales, on account of her unpopularity, ought to be for ever excluded from a share in the regency. The bill was managed throughout in a foul spirit of faction, those who held the princess-dowager as innocent, and those who accused her, being alike led by merely party motives, and all of them playing a game which must ever remain unintelligible in many of its parts.

The mob seemed determined not to leave all the black work to ministers, lords and commons, but to take their share of noise and confusion. On the 15th of May, when the king went down to give his assent to the regency bill, a multitude of journeymen silk-weavers and others from Spitalfields, went up to St. James's Palace with black flags and other symptoms of distress and mourning, to present a petition in which they complained that they were all reduced to a state of starvation by the importation of French silks. They surrounded both Houses of Parliament, making a great noise and insulting various members. They carried red flags mixed with their black banners; they terrified the House of Lords, where thirty members were not present, into an adjournment; and in the evening they attacked Bedford House and began to pull down the walls, shouting out that the duke had been bribed to make the treaty of Fontainebleau, which had brought French silks, poverty, and all other curses into the land. The riot act was read, and detachments of the guards, both horse and foot, were called out. The mob then fled, many of them being much cut and trampled on, but no lives lost. For some days after London presented a melancholy aspect, the streets being crowded with soldiery, and all kinds of reports spread of mutinies among the sailors at Portsmouth, insurrections among the weavers of Norwich, tumultuous gatherings in Essex, and riots and marchings from Lancashire. "And what is worst of all," says Horace Walpole, "there is such a general spirit of mutiny and dissatisfaction in the lower people, that I think we are in danger of a rebellion in the heart of the capital in a week. In the meantime, there is neither administration nor government. The king is out of town; and this is the crisis in which Mr. Pitt, who could stop

---

tive in the House of Lords. It is easy to give an *ex post facto* judgment; but of all who acted with me in the government I never heard any one prophesy that the measure would be opposed. After the event prophecy is very safe. The honourable colonel (Barré) did indeed say that he knew not what anger it might occasion in America."—Cavendish's *Debates*.

every evil, chooses to be more intractable than ever."[1] In fact, not only the cabinet but the country also seemed going to pieces.

On the 16th of May, when ministers went to receive his majesty's commands for his speech at the end of the session, which was to have been on the 22d, he told them that he would not have parliament prorogued, but only adjourned. They asked if he then intended to make any change in his administration? He replied, certainly; for he could not bear it as it was. He then sent for his uncle the Duke of Cumberland, and despatched him to Hayes in Kent to treat with Mr. Pitt. "The hero of Culloden," says Walpole, "went down in person to the conqueror of America, at Hayes, and, though tendering almost *carte blanche—blanchissime* for the constitution, and little short of it for the whole red-book of places—brought back nothing but a flat refusal. Words cannot paint the confusion into which everything is thrown. The four ministers, I mean the Duke of Bedford, Grenville, and the two secretaries, acquainted their master yesterday, that they adhere to one another, and shall all resign to-morrow, and, perhaps, must be recalled on Wednesday." The Duke of Cumberland continued for a day or two his endeavours to form a ministry; but nobody worth having would undertake when Mr. Pitt had refused; and the king was reduced to the extreme mortification of retaining his old ministers. It is said, and may be easily believed, that these functionaries, who would have been turned off if the king had had power to do it, were disrespectful and even insolent to his majesty. The king, most uneasy under what he considered a state of thraldom and dishonour, soon made fresh efforts to deliver himself. It is said that as early as the 20th of June, he sent for Mr. Pitt, and held a long conference with him at Buckingham House; that Pitt said he could not engage without Lord Temple; that Temple was then sent for; and that through his lordship's objections the negotiation fell to the ground. Early in July the king once more applied to his uncle, and this time the Duke of Cumberland undertook to treat with old Newcastle, whose great parliamentary weight seems always to have been considered nearly as important as Pitt's oratory and popularity. The Duke of Newcastle, always at least more tractable than Pitt, joined Cumberland in addressing himself to the more moderate section of the opposition, and by the 15th of July a new ministry was adjusted. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury; the accomplished General Conway was intrusted with the management of the House of Commons, and named one of the secretaries of state; the other secretary was the Duke of Grafton; Mr. Dowdeswell became chancellor of the exchequer; the Earl of Hertford was removed from his embassy at Paris to be Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the Duke of Newcastle satisfied himself with the privy seal. One of the first acts of the new cabinet was to elevate Chief-justice Pratt to the peerage, by the title of Lord Camden, an appointment which was exceedingly popular.

A more honest, honourable, and well-intentioned man than the Marquis of Rockingham has rarely occupied the post of premier; nor was it matter of slight moment that he had for his private secretary Mr. Edmund Burke, who now, for the first time, obtained a seat in parliament. General Conway had eminent abilities, and a power of fascination seldom exceeded; other members of the cabinet had, at the time, a fair reputation; and there seemed a reasonable hope that this Rockingham administration would obtain strength and durability: but it had been already proved that no administration could stand of which Mr. Pitt was not a member; and this was not destined to be an exception to the general rule. The party, moreover, was somewhat weakened by the death of the Duke of Cumberland, which happened in the month of October.

CHARLES WENTWORTH, Marquis of Rockingham.
After Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Meanwhile the fatal effects of George Grenville's stamp act had raised the storm beyond the Atlantic to an absolute hurricane. In New York, the obnoxious act was printed with a skull and cross-bones instead of the royal arms, and hawked about the streets by the title of "England's Folly and America's Ruin;" at Boston, the colours of the shipping were hoisted half-mast high, and the church bells were muffled and tolled a funeral knell; at Philadelphia, the people spiked the guns on the ramparts; and everywhere there was a ferment and a resolution to risk extremities rather than submit. It had been assumed that anything like a stern opposition would be confined to the Presbyterian and democratic colonies of New England; but it was presently found that the Episcopalian and aristocratic colonists of Virginia were in a disposition no less alarming. In fact, the loudest note of defiance now proceeded from that quarter.

---

[1] *Letters to the Earl of Hertford.*

When the stamps arrived it was found impossible either to put them in circulation or to preserve them from destruction.[1] At Boston a mob testified its dissatisfaction by lighting a bonfire in the streets and burning the records of the court of admiralty; and similar riots broke out in other cities The news of the change of the ministry in England encouraged the colonists to hope that the stamp act would be set aside, but did not relax their activity. The freeholders of Boston passed a vote of thanks to Conway and Barré, and ordered their portraits for the town-hall; but, nevertheless, nine out of thirteen of the colonies sent their delegates to a general meeting at New York, where the king's governor declared such meeting to be unconstitutional and unlawful, but did not venture to give it any further molestation. Fourteen strong resolutions were presently adopted at the New York meeting. Claiming the right of petitioning king, lords, and commons, the delegates drew up three several petitions, and then withdrew to their respective homes to promote associations against the importation of British manufactures until the stamp act should be repealed by the British parliament.

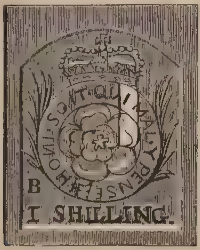
Parliament did not meet till the 17th of December, and then, as if it had met in the most "piping time of peace," it was almost immediately prorogued for the Christmas holidays, the king having merely mentioned in his speech that something had occurred in America which would demand the serious attention of the legislature, and the legislature having done nothing beyond the issuing (by the commons) of a few writs to fill up the vacancies.

A.D. 1766. Parliament re-assembled on the 14th of January, when his majesty spoke more at length on the subject of the American colonies, and informed the houses that he had ordered the proper papers to be laid before them. For the rest, he left it to the wisdom of his parliament. In the debate which ensued, two or three important facts glared out. The Rockingham administration had used various condescensions towards Mr. Pitt, and had appointed his solicitor and friend, Mr. Nuthall, to the important, confidential, and profitable office of solicitor to the treasury; but these, and, we believe, still greater favours and lures, had been thrown away upon the recluse of Hayes, whose gout had now conveniently left him. It was also made evident that all the members of the cabinet did not look on the stamp act through the same medium, and that there was a difference of opinion on various other points. When the great orator rose, all eyes were bent upon him, as if with a gesture and a word he was to decide the fate of the new government. He did not leave them long in doubt.

Pitt said that, personally, he could not object to the members of the present administration; they were men of fair characters and such as he liked to see in his majesty's service; he had never been made a sacrifice by any of them; to some he had given his advice, but his confidence he could not give them. And then followed one of the most frequently quoted of his oratorical displays:—Bowing to the treasury bench, with great grace and dignity, he said—"Pardon me, gentlemen, confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence. There is a clause in the act of settlement to oblige every member to sign his name to the advice which he gives to his sovereign. Would it were observed! I have had the honour to serve the crown, and, if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve it; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments; it is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in a cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and found it, in the mountains of

---

[1] The engraving represents one of the famous government stamps prepared for America, in 1765. The impression was made upon dark blue paper, to which was attached a narrow strip of tin foil, represented by the light oblong in the engraving. The ends of the foil were passed through the parchment, or paper, to which the stamp was to be attached, flattened on the opposite side, and a piece of paper with the rough device and number, shown in the second cut, pasted over to secure it.



the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men! men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to overturn the state in the war before the last.[1] These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world:—detested be the national reflections against them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. When I ceased to serve his majesty as a minister, it was not the *country* of the man (Bute) by which I was moved—but the *man* of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom." He disapproved of the tardiness displayed in giving notice to parliament of the troubles in America; he reminded the house that, when the unfortunate resolution was adopted to tax those colonies, he was confined to his room by illness. He proclaimed his opinion that Great Britain had no right to lay a tax upon the American colonies; making, however, at the same time, the seemingly contradictory assertion, that her authority over those colonies was *sovereign and supreme.* After dwelling still more upon the distinction between legislation and taxation, he fell upon the idea of some who had maintained that the colonies, like many places in Great Britain that sent no members to parliament, were, nevertheless, represented by the aggregate of the members sent by other places. And here he announced what has been called the first germ of parliamentary reform; though, in fact, nearly as much had been said in the house by others at an earlier period, and more by Pitt himself in conversation and in letters. "There is," said he, "an idea that the colonies are virtually represented in the house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire, in any county in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation was augmented to a greater number! Or will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough which, perhaps, its own representatives never saw. This is what is called the *rotten part of the constitution.* It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop, it must be amputated."[2] He concluded his brilliant declamation by repeating, that the commoners of America, represented in their assemblies, had ever been in possession of the constitutional right of giving and granting their own money. When he sat down the house was awed, and for some time no one rose to reply. At last General Conway stood up, and frankly declared that his sentiments on the general question were conformable to those of Mr. Pitt. He excused ministers for their tardy notice to parliament, by saying, that the first news of the troubles was very vague and imperfect. But in denying the continued ascendency of Lord Bute, Conway spoke with more warmth. He said, "An overruling influence has been hinted at; I see nothing of it—I feel nothing of it—I disclaim it for myself; and as far as my discernment can reach, for the rest of his majesty's ministers." Conway was the very soul of honour, and one that would never have ventured this assertion if he had not felt it to be true; yet even Conway, with all the weight of his character, and his then great popularity, could not remove the conviction carried into the popular mind now, and down to a still later date, by the philippics of Mr. Pitt; and, in obedience to that mighty magician, the opaque shadow of Bute long continued to be seen over the throne and cabinet. Since those days of strife and faction, some pains have been taken to prove the unreasonableness of the allusion, and the unfairness of the accusation. Those who go the greatest lengths on the side of the king maintain, that from the month of August, 1763, when Bute failed in his negotiations with Mr. Pitt, his lordship retired into absolute privacy, and so scrupulously abstained from all communication with the king, that he never once saw him in private, and resented as a personal offence the indiscretion of a person who once attempted to bring him into the presence of his majesty in the garden of a country-house.[3] Others, on the contrary, and, as it seems to us, upon better grounds, maintain that the total disseverance between the king and his ex-minister did not

---

[1] Some of the pleasantest letters to read in all the four volumes of the *Chatham Correspondence* are two or three which passed between Pitt and the Honourable Colonel Simon Fraser, the brave and honourable son of that arch-traitor, Simon, Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower-hill. After being confined for some time in Edinburgh Castle, the gallant and then *young* man was liberated by government. In 1751, he received a full pardon for all that he had done in the rebellion of 1745. He entered into the service of George II., and a few years after raised a regiment of 1800 men in the Highlands. Being appointed their colonel, he went out with these brave fellows to North America, and distinguished himself in Pitt's war at Louisburg and Quebec. In 1762, he served with Burgoyne as brigadier-general in the forces sent to relieve Portugal. After the war which was ended by the treaty of Fontainebleau, he sat in the British parliament for the county of Inverness; and in 1774, he was restored to the lands and estates forfeited by his old father's treason.

[2] Just four years after this striking declaration he read the lesson backwards, declaring that the rotten boroughs, corrupt as they were, must be considered the natural infirmity of the constitution—that, like the infirmities of the body, we must bear it with patience, and submit to carry it about with us—that the limb was mortified indeed, but that amputation might be death. But it should be remembered that this splendid orator contradicted in the like manner nearly every principle in defending which he had employed his best oratory, and earned his highest popularity.

[3] *Quart. Rev.*, No. cxxxi.

SOME WORKS PUBLISHED BY

BLACKIE & SON, Limited,

LONDON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH, AND DUBLIN.

A LIBRARY IN ITSELF.

THE POPULAR ENCYCLOPEDIA.

NEW ISSUE, REVISED.

A GENERAL DICTIONARY OF ARTS, SCIENCES, LITERATURE, BIOGRAPHY, AND HISTORY.

EDITED BY

CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D.,

Editor of Ogilvie's "Imperial Dictionary of the English Language."

Profusely illustrated with Engravings.

To be completed in Fourteen handsome Volumes, super-royal 8vo, bound in rich cloth, red edges, at 12s. each.

The POPULAR ENCYCLOPEDIA is a perfect library in itself, superseding, practically, the necessity of having recourse to a large number of books on different topics, and furnishing, at moderate cost, a complete body of information on all subjects.

In its survey of human knowledge it will compare in point of fulness of detail with the best works of its size, while in its clear concise style, and in its avoidance of technicalities, the needs of the general reader have been constantly consulted.

It is a Universal Gazetteer.
It is a Universal History.
It is a Biographical Dictionary.
It is a Commercial Dictionary.
It is a Dictionary of Political Theories and Facts.
It is a Dictionary of the Sciences.
It is a Dictionary of Philosophy.
It is a Dictionary of Theology.
It is a Dictionary of the Fine Arts.
It is a Dictionary of the Practical Arts and Handicrafts.
It is a Dictionary of General Information.

This work has been aptly called a Conversations-Lexicon, since in it a man has the clue to all topics of interest and conversation in all professions, trades, and walks of life, and is enabled by it to equip himself to play a many-sided and intelligent part in the world.

It is A BOOK FOR THE HOUSEHOLD, being of value and interest to all its members, old and young alike. It is in itself a liberal education, and, indeed, the best POPULAR EDUCATOR, and it will be found of the highest service to the younger members of families in the prosecution of their studies, and especially in the preparation of their written exercises.

It abounds with pictorial illustrations, many printed in colours, which extend to above 200 pages of Engravings, including over 2000 separate figures. In addition, there is a series of coloured Maps, forming a valuable accompaniment to the geographical and historical articles.

NEW EDITION—REVISED AND GREATLY AUGMENTED.

OGILVIE'S IMPERIAL DICTIONARY
OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

A COMPLETE ENCYCLOPEDIC LEXICON,
LITERARY, ETYMOLOGICAL, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNOLOGICAL, AND PRONOUNCING.

BY JOHN OGILVIE, LL.D.

NEW EDITION, CAREFULLY REVISED AND GREATLY AUGMENTED.

EDITED BY
CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D.

ILLUSTRATED BY ABOVE THREE THOUSAND ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD.

To be completed in Eighteen Divisions, stiff paper covers, at 5s. each; or in Four Volumes, imperial 8vo, cloth, at 25s. each.

The reception accorded by the press and the public to this new edition of the IMPERIAL DICTIONARY has been such as to show that the care and labour bestowed upon it have met with due recognition, and to prove that it will continue fully to maintain its established position as a standard lexicon of the English language, and as a work of the highest utility for the purposes of general reference and everyday requirement.

The four volumes of the new edition comprise a total of 3000 pages, each consisting of three columns closely printed in a clear and distinct manner. The number of words now contained in the work is estimated at not less than 130,000.

Of modern terms belonging to science, technology, and the arts, a very complete collection will be found in this work. The number of such words introduced in recent times, and now continually to be met with in periodical and general literature, is so great that a dictionary explaining such terms is indispensable.

As an Encyclopedic Dictionary the IMPERIAL combines the advantages of an ordinary dictionary with those of an encyclopedia. And as there are many objects and terms of which no adequate description or definition can be given by mere words, this dictionary does not rely upon verbal description alone, the definitions being supplemented by upwards of 3000 accurate and beautiful wood engravings.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

So far as vocabulary and treatment are concerned, we should not wish for anything better than the new 'Imperial.' Few, except specialists, are likely to come across terms not to be found here; and the definitions are accurate and intelligible, developing into detailed explanations where necessary. The etymology is clear and concise, and the illustrations are copious, appropriate, and well executed."—*Times.*

"Beyond all question the fullest and most faithful record in existence of the English language in its present stage of development. The Imperial Dictionary in its revised form will at any rate serve the requirements of the present generation."—*The Scotsman.*

"In every particular this new edition of Dr. Ogilvie's work is a great advance upon the old one. The encyclopedic method of treatment which has been adopted will be found of the greatest service, affording as it does to the reader the advantage of the ordinary dictionary combined with those of the encyclopedia. Scientific and technical terms are fully represented."—*Athenæum.*

"A monument of patience, industry, and good work. From beginning to end it has received the same thorough and conscientious care; it is copious, it is trustworthy, it is beautifully illustrated, and it is admirably printed. It will be for many years the most highly valued of English dictionaries."—*Saturday Review.*

DESCRIPTIVE ATLAS OF THE WORLD
AND GENERAL GEOGRAPHY.

COMPRISING

ABOVE ONE HUNDRED CAREFULLY EXECUTED MAPS; A DETAILED DESCRIPTION OF THE WORLD, PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED; AND A COPIOUS INDEX OF PLACES.

PREPARED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF

W. G. BLACKIE, Ph.D., LL.D.,

Fellow of the Royal Geographical Societies, London and Edinburgh.

To be completed in 12 divisions at 5s. each, forming a handsome volume, 16 inches × 12 inches.

The Atlas will consist of sixty-four sheets of Maps, comprising seventy-five numbered maps and above thirty inset maps, making in all above One Hundred Maps beautifully printed in colours, prepared from the most recent and most authoritative materials available.

While the older countries of the world will all be fully shown, special prominence will be given to Great Britain and its world-wide possessions, and also to the regions recently opened up by the enterprise of adventurous travellers.

Two of the maps are worthy of special notice. The Commercial Chart of the World, showing existing and available fields of commerce; and The British Empire at one view, showing all the possessions at home and abroad, drawn to one scale, and thereby enabling their relative size to be clearly appreciated.

The General Geography which accompanies the maps forms a very important section of the work. It supplies information geographical, historical, statistical, commercial, and descriptive, of the countries and regions of the world, and has been prepared from recent and authoritative sources. Its pages are enriched by a series of Pictorial Illustrations, consisting of striking views of natural scenery, remarkable edifices, town and river scenes, and picturesque groups of natives, and of animal life.

As a useful adjunct both to the Maps and the General Geography there will be given a Pronouncing Vocabulary of Geographical Names. In addition to this, an Extensive Index of Places will form a very useful section of the work.

To be completed in 14 parts, super-royal 8vo, at 2*s*. each; or in 4 divisions, stiff paper cover, at 7*s*. each, forming one handsome volume; or in 4 divisions, cloth, at 9*s*. each.

The Household Physician:

A Family Guide to the Preservation of Health and to the Domestic Treatment of Ailments and Disease. By J. M'Gregor-Robertson, M.B., C.M. (Hon.). With an Introduction by Professor M'Kendrick, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Glasgow University. Illustrated by about 400 figures in the text, and a series of 19 Engraved Plates, many of them printed in colours.

This work is written in the simplest possible language, and includes full information on the conditions of health, and on the ordinary means, as regards food, clothing, exercise, &c., by which health may be maintained in the infant as well as in the full-grown person.

The book treats of the human body in health, and the various changes produced by disease. On Hygiene, or the conditions of health as regards food, drink, clothing, exercise, &c., and the rules to be observed for the promotion of health, both of individuals and communities. An explanation of the nature and mode of action of drugs and other remedial agents. On methods of dealing with Accidents and Emergencies, and on various ailments requiring surgical treatment. Also a chapter on Sick-nursing, and an Appendix containing recipes for Invalid Cookery and medical Prescriptions.

In 15 parts, super-royal 8vo, 2*s*. each; or 4 vols., cloth elegant, burnished edges, 9*s*. 6*d*. each.

NEW EDITION, Continued to 1890.

Gladstone and His Contemporaries:

Sixty Years of Social and Political Progress. By Thomas Archer, F.R.H.S., Author of "Pictures and Royal Portraits," &c. Illustrated by a series of 34 authentic and beautifully executed Portraits.

"*This work is not so much a biography of Mr. Gladstone as a political History of England during his lifetime. It is a book which has evidently been compiled with no ordinary pains and care, and with a praiseworthy desire to be impartial.*"—Daily News.

"*It is probably true that the biographical form of history is the best in dealing with times within the memory of men yet living. The life of a man, prominent in affairs during a particular period, may be taken as a central point round which matters of more general history group themselves.*"—Standard.

THE HENRY IRVING SHAKESPEARE.—SUBSCRIPTION EDITION.

The Works of Shakespeare.

EDITED BY

HENRY IRVING AND FRANK A. MARSHALL.

With a General Introduction and Life of Shakespeare by Professor EDWARD DOWDEN, and nearly six hundred illustrations from designs by GORDON BROWNE and other Artists. To be completed in 25 parts, super-royal 8vo, 3*s.* each; or 8 volumes, cloth elegant, 10*s.* 6*d.* each, with gilt edges, 11*s.* 6*d.* each.

The universal popularity of the works of our GREAT DRAMATIST has induced the publishers to issue a sumptuous edition, of such comprehensive excellence that it is fitted at once to meet the requirements of the general reader, the lover of fine books, and the student of Shakespeare. This important edition in many respects has never been surpassed.

⁂ Every subscriber for this edition of Shakespeare's Works will be presented, on the completion of his copy of the book, with an impression of the admirable PORTRAIT OF HENRY IRVING AS HAMLET, from the painting by EDWIN LONG, R.A., executed in Photogravure in the most finished manner by Boussod Valadon et Cie. (Goupil), of Paris. The size of the engraved surface is 19¼ × 13¾ inches, and with margin suitable for framing 27 × 20 inches.

"*On the care with which the text itself of the plays has been prepared we have nothing but praise to bestow. . . . The general result of this care and labour is, however, so good that we must congratulate all concerned in it: and in particular we must congratulate the publishers of the work on one especial feature which could hardly fail to ensure its success as a popular edition—it is profusely illustrated by Mr. Gordon Browne, whose charming designs, executed in facsimile, give it an artistic value superior, in our judgment, to any illustrated edition of Shakespeare with which we are acquainted.*"—The Athenæum.

"*This handsomely printed edition aims at being popular and practical. Add to these advantages Mr. Gordon Browne's illustrations, and enough has been said to recommend an edition which will win public recognition by its unique and serviceable qualities.*"—The Spectator.

In 17 parts, extra demy 8vo, at 2*s.* each; or 5 volumes, cloth elegant, gilt edges, at 8*s.* 6*d.* each.

NEW PICTORIAL EDITION.

The Works of Robert Burns,

With a series of Authentic Pictorial Illustrations, Marginal Glossary, numerous Notes, and Appendixes. Also the life of Burns by J. G. LOCKHART, and Essays on the Genius, Character, and Writings of Burns, by THOMAS CARLYLE and PROFESSOR WILSON. Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D., editor of the "Imperial Dictionary", &c.

In this edition of Burns his writings are presented in two sections, the one containing the poetry, the other the prose. Marginal explanations of Scottish words accompany each piece that requires such aid, enabling anyone at a glance to apprehend the meaning of even the most difficult passages.

The Pictorial Illustrations, which consist of Fifty-six beautiful Landscapes and Portraits, engraved on steel in the most finished manner, form a very distinctive feature of this edition. The Landscapes embrace the principal scenes identified with the Life and Writings of the Poet, and are from pictures painted by D. O. HILL, R.S.A.

Altogether in no other edition is so much light thrown from all points of view upon Burns the poet and Burns the man, and it may therefore be said to be complete in the best sense of the word.

In 18 parts, super-royal 4to, at 2*s.* each; in 6 divisions at 6*s.* each; and also in 2 volumes, large 4to, elegantly bound in cloth, gilt edges, price 24*s.* each.

The Natural History of Animals

(CLASS MAMMALIA—ANIMALS WHICH SUCKLE THEIR YOUNG), In Word and Picture. By CARL VOGT, Professor of Natural History, Geneva, and FRIEDRICH SPECHT, Stuttgart. Translated and Edited by GEO. G. CHISHOLM, M.A., B.Sc. Illustrated by above 300 fine Engravings on wood.

This account of the animals comprised in the class Mammalia has a decidedly popular character—not through lack of scientific value, but because the author presents the facts in an attractive form, and studies to smooth the path of those who can give only their leisure hours to learning the results of scientific research. The author's style is above all things clear, simple, and direct, and where occasion offers, lively and animated.

The artist has portrayed in the most spirited manner the animals as they appear in the varied circumstances of real life, in quest of their prey, caressing their young ones, or sporting with their fellows. The engravings have been executed in the most careful and finished manner, under Mr. Specht's own direction.

In 19 parts, 2*s.* each; or 6 divisional-volumes, super-royal 8vo, cloth elegant, 8*s.* 6*d.* each.

A History of the Scottish People

From the Earliest to the Latest Times. By Rev. THOMAS THOMSON and CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D. With 40 Original Designs by W. H. MARGETSON, ALFRED PEARSE, WALTER PAGET, GORDON BROWNE, and other eminent artists.

It is a full and detailed History of Scotland from the Earliest Times to the Latest.
It is a History of the Scottish People, their manners, customs, and modes of living at the various successive periods.
It is a History of Religion and Ecclesiastical Affairs in Scotland.
It is a History of Scotland's progress in Commerce, Industry, Arts, Science, and Literature.

In 14 parts, 2*s.* each; or 4 vols., super-royal 8vo, cloth elegant, 8*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Cabinet of Irish Literature.

A Selection from the Works of the chief Poets, Orators, and Prose Writers of Ireland. Edited, with biographical sketches and literary notices, by CHARLES A. READ, F.R.H.S., author of "Tales and Stories of Irish Life," "Stories from the Ancient Classics," &c. Illustrated by a series of 32 admirable Portraits in mesochrome, specially prepared for this work.

The Publishers aim in this Work to supply a standard work in which the genius, the fire, the pathos, the humour, and the eloquence of Irish Literature are adequately represented. The specimens selected, which are arranged chronologically from the earliest to the present time, will both present a historical view of Irish Literature, and enable the reader to judge of the individual style and particular merit of each author, while to those not critically disposed the infinite variety presented in this convenient collective form will afford both instruction and amusement.

In 12 parts, demy 8vo, 2*s.* each; and 4 half-vols., cloth elegant, 7*s.* 6*d.* each; or gilt edges, at 8*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Poets and Poetry of Scotland:

FROM THE EARLIEST TO THE PRESENT TIME. Comprising Characteristic Selections from the works of the more Noteworthy Scottish Poets, with Biographical and Critical Notices. By JAMES GRANT WILSON. Illustrated by Portraits.

In the preparation of this Work the first object has been to present, not a collection of the ballads or songs, or the writings of the poets of any particular district of the country, but a comprehensive view of the poetry of Scotland in all its forms from the earliest to the present time. Besides original contributions and poems by living authors, the Work will contain poems, hitherto unpublished, by ROBERT BURNS, WILLIAM TENNANT, Mrs. GRANT of Laggan, JAMES HYSLOP, HENRY SCOTT RIDDELL, JOHN LEYDEN, WILLIAM MILLER, and others.

The Illustrations will consist of Twenty-four life-like Portraits, engraved on steel in the most finished manner.

In 15 parts, 2*s.* each; or two handsome vols., super-royal 8vo, cloth, 36*s.*

The Works of the Ettrick Shepherd,

IN POETRY AND PROSE. Centenary Edition. With a Biographical Memoir by the Rev. THOMAS THOMSON. Illustrated by Forty-four fine Engravings on steel, from Original Drawings by D. O. Hill, R.S.A., K. Halsewelle, A.R.S.A., W. Small, and J. Lawson.

Hogg's Works comprise *Tales in Prose,* illustrative of Border history and superstitions. They comprise likewise Poems of great imaginative power and descriptive beauty; Ballads full of humour and touches of tender pathos; and Songs which, besides being universally popular when first made public, are still cherished as among the finest productions of our native lyric muse.

"*Certainly we may now recognize him as the only one of Burns' followers who deserves to be named in the same breath.*"—Press.

To be completed in four half-volumes, super-royal 8vo, at 12*s*. 6*d*. each; or in twelve parts at 3*s*. 6*d*. each.

The Steam Engine:

A TREATISE ON STEAM ENGINES AND BOILERS. Comprising the Principles and Practice of the Combustion of Fuel, the Economical Generation of Steam, the Construction of Steam Boilers; and the Principles, Construction, and Performance of Steam Engines—Stationary, Portable, Locomotive, and Marine, exemplified in Engines and Boilers of Recent Date. By DANIEL KINNEAR CLARK, M.Inst.C.E., M.I.M.E.; Author of "Railway Machinery"; "A Manual of Rules, Tables, and Data for Mechanical Engineers"; &c. &c. Illustrated by above 1300 Figures in the Text, and a Series of Folding Plates drawn to Scale.

This work provides a comprehensive, accurate, and clearly written text-book, fully abreast of all the recent developments in the principles and practice of the Steam Engine.

Written in full view of the great advances of modern times, it expounds the principles and describes the practice exemplified in the construction and use of Steam Engines and Boilers, in all their varieties.

In 20 parts, 2*s*. each; or 5 divisions, royal 4to, 8*s*. each; or one vol., cloth, gilt edges, 42*s*.

Suggestions in Design;

A comprehensive series of Original Sketches in various Styles of Ornament, arranged for application in the Decorative and Constructive Arts, comprising 102 plates, containing more than 1100 distinct and separate "suggestions", by JOHN LEIGHTON, F.S.A. To which is added descriptive and historical letterpress, with above 200 explanatory engravings, by JAMES KELLAWAY COLLING, F.R.I.B.A.

These suggestions are throughout *original*, designed in the spirit, and with the proper art feeling of the various styles to which they severally belong, and are the accumulated result of long and arduous studies, extending over many years of investigation and thought.

This work will be found to be eminently suited to the wants of nearly every one who has occasion for decoration in whatever form;—to the worker in stone, wood, metal, ivory, glass, and leather—to the house-painter, decorator, &c. &c.

In 20 parts, super-royal quarto, 2*s*. each; or 8 divisions, 5*s*. each.

The Carpenter and Joiner's Assistant.

By JAMES NEWLANDS, late Borough Engineer of Liverpool. *New and Improved Edition.* Being a Comprehensive Treatise on the selection, preparation, and strength of Materials, and the mechanical principles of Framing, with their applications in Carpentry, Joinery, and Hand Railing; also, a complete treatise on Lines; and an Illustrated Glossary of Terms used in Architecture and Building. Illustrated by above One Hundred Engraved Plates, containing above Nine Hundred Figures; and above Seven Hundred Geometric, Constructive, and Descriptive Figures interspersed throughout the text.

***"We know of no treatise on Carpentry and Joinery which at all approaches this in merit. . . . We strongly urge our practical mechanics to obtain and study it."*—Mechanic's Magazine.**

In 24 parts, demy 4to, at 2*s*. each; or in 6 volumes, artistically bound in cloth extra, with olivine edges, at 10*s*. each.

The Works of Shakspeare,

Revised from the best Authorities; with a Memoir and Essay on his Genius by BRYAN W. PROCTER (Barry Cornwall), Annotations and Introductory Remarks on the Plays by Distinguished Writers, and numerous Illustrative Engravings from Designs by KENNY MEADOWS and T. H. NICHOLSON.

The most distinctive, as well as the most attractive feature of this edition of the Works of Shakspeare consists in the pictorial illustrations with which it is so copiously enriched. These are upwards of 750 in number, and bring most vividly before the reader the scenes and incidents occurring in the different plays.

By far the greater number are by the well-known artist KENNY MEADOWS, and so important are these illustrations that the edition of which they form a part has been appropriately named the *Kenny Meadows Shakspeare*.

Each play is accompanied by an original introduction, and explanatory notes from the pens of various writers distinguished for their critical acumen and their wide knowledge and high appreciation of Shakspeare's writings. Altogether this work will be found not unworthy of him who "was not of an age, but for all time".

In 12 parts, small 4to size, price 2*s.* each; or 4 volumes, cloth elegant, gilt edges, 9*s.* each.

Our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria:

HER LIFE AND JUBILEE. By THOMAS ARCHER, F.R.H.S., Author of "Pictures and Royal Portraits"; "Fifty Years of Social and Political Progress"; &c. Illustrated by a series of 28 highly-finished Etchings.

It is believed that for the multitudes of men and women who regard the Queen with a sentiment that may be spoken of as that of personal regard and affection, no more fitting memorial can be provided than a complete and worthy Life of our Sovereign Lady—a "Life" such as that which is here announced. The narrative presents a biographical rather than a historical record: a record, faithful, interesting, and well illustrated, of the Royal Family and of the Queen as Sovereign Lady rather than as Sovereign Ruler.

The ILLUSTRATIONS consist of a series of twenty-eight highly-finished etchings, including portraits of Her Majesty, the late Prince Consort, and all the members of their Family; also scenes and events in which the Queen has personally taken part.

In 23 parts at 2*s.* 6*d.* each; also 2 vols., cloth extra, gilt edges, price 35*s.* each.

Pictures and Royal Portraits,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH HISTORY, from the Introduction of Christianity to the Present Time. This Work will comprise a Series of 69 Magnificent Plates engraved on steel in the most finished manner, with descriptive Historical Sketches, by THOMAS ARCHER. Printed on fine medium quarto paper, forming 2 elegant volumes, cloth extra, gilt edges, with richly ornamented boards.

"Pictures and Royal Portraits" will present a series of line engravings of historical designs, beautifully executed in steel, and produced in a new and attractive style, which imparts to them the appearance of highly-finished drawings in sepia. The series will include faithful reproductions of important paintings by some of the most eminent historical painters of the present century.

To be completed in 15 parts, folio (size 16¼ × 11¼ inches), price 5*s.* each.

The Practical Decorator and Ornamentist.

For the use of ARCHITECTS, PAINTERS, DECORATORS, and DESIGNERS. Containing one hundred Plates in colours and gold. With Descriptive Notices, and an Introductory Essay on Artistic and Practical Decoration. By GEORGE ASHDOWN AUDSLEY, LL.D., F.R.I.B.A., and MAURICE ASHDOWN AUDSLEY, Architect.

The highly practical and useful character of this important Work will at once commend it to those interested in decorative art, to whom it is more immediately addressed.

It will be found useful to the Modeller, the Plasterer, the Stone Carver, the Wood Carver, the Fret Cutter, the Inlayer, the Cabinetmaker, the Potter, the Engraver, the Lithographer, the House Painter, the Architect, the Interior Decorator, and, indeed, to every workman who has anything to do with ornament and design. To the student in drawing and ornamental design it presents a wide field of suggestive study.

Fourth Edition. Large 8vo (1000 pp.), cloth, 16*s.*, or half-morocco, 20*s.*

A Manual of Rules, Tables, and Data

FOR MECHANICAL ENGINEERS, based on the most recent investigations. By DANIEL KINNEAR CLARK, author of "Railway Machinery", &c. &c. Illustrated with numerous Diagrams.

This book comprises the leading rules and data, with numerous tables, of constant use in calculations and estimates relating to Practical Mechanics:—presented in a reliable, clear, and handy form, with an extent of range and completeness of detail that has not been attempted hitherto. This (the fourth) edition has been carefully revised, and in its preparation advantage has been taken of many suggestions made by those using the former editions.

"Mr. Clark writes with great clearness, and he has a great power of condensing and summarizing facts, and he has thus been enabled to embody in his volume a collection of data relating to mechanical engineering, such as has certainly never before been brought together. We regard the book as one which no mechanical engineer in regular practice can afford to be without."—Engineering

---

To be completed in 21 parts, super-royal 8vo, 2*s.* each; or in 6 volumes, cloth extra, 9*s.* 6*d.* each.

NEW ISSUE.

The Imperial Bible-Dictionary,

HISTORICAL, BIOGRAPHICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, AND DOCTRINAL. Edited by Rev. PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D., author of "Typology of Scripture"; &c. With Introductions by the Right Rev. J. C. RYLE, D.D., Lord Bishop of Liverpool, and Rev. C. H. WALLER, M.A. Illustrated by about seven hundred Engravings.

This Edition will be augmented by an interesting discussion on the subject of INSPIRATION, by the Rev. C. H. WALLER, Principal of the London College of Divinity. To this is prefixed a luminous introduction on the same subject by the Right Rev. JOHN CHARLES RYLE, Lord Bishop of Liverpool.

The Work takes up in alphabetical order all the subjects which enter into the contents of the Bible, while the several books of which the Bible is composed in every case receive careful and attentive consideration. In the treatment of the different topics, full advantage is taken of the materials which modern criticism and research have accumulated.

The Pictorial Illustrations include representations of the plants and animals mentioned in Scripture, notable scenes and places, manners of social life, and the manifold productions of human skill. In addition to these illustrations, a Series of Views engraved on steel in the most finished manner, accompany the work.

New Issue, to be completed in 6 half-volumes, imperial 8vo, cloth extra, 9*s.* 6*d.* each.

The Whole Works of John Bunyan,

Accurately reprinted from the Author's own editions. Collated and edited, with an introduction to each treatise, numerous illustrative and explanatory notes, and a memoir of Bunyan, by GEORGE OFFOR. Illustrated by engravings on steel and on wood.

Among the Illustrative Engravings will be found the Portrait of Bunyan after Sadler; and a careful copy of the interesting Portrait by R. White, now in the British Museum; Views of Bedford, and Prison on Bedford Bridge; of Bunyan's Cottage, the Market-house and Church, Elstow; and of Bunyan's Tomb in Bunhill Fields. Also, a Series of beautiful Illustrations of *The Pilgrim* from Stothard's elegant designs; with Facsimiles of Bunyan's Writing, and of the earliest wood-cut illustrations to *The Pilgrim*, and to the *Life of Badman*.

All the excellencies of this much admired and highly valued edition of Bunyan's Whole Works (of which over twenty thousand copies have been sold) are retained, the work being simply reprinted with occasional improvements in typography.

Eleven vols., post 8vo, cloth, red edges, 3*s.* 6*d.* each; or in handsome case, £2, 1*s.*

Commentary on the New Testament,

Explanatory and Practical. With *Questions* for Bible-classes and Sunday-schools. By ALBERT BARNES. Edited by the Rev. ROBERT FREW, D.D. With numerous additional Notes, and an extensive series of beautiful Engravings and Maps, not in any other edition.

Shortly before his decease the Author completed a revision of his Notes on the New Testament, to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, the only section of the New Testament respecting the exposition and illustration of which modern research had accumulated new and important materials.

In making this new issue the first three volumes have been re-set so as to embody the author's latest corrections and additions, and they are now presented for the first time to readers in this country. This issue will consequently be the most complete and perfect of any published in Great Britain.

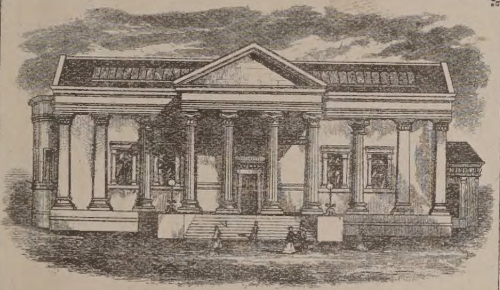
In royal 4to, cloth, gilt edges, 30*s.*

Family Worship:

A Series of Devotional Services for every Morning and Evening throughout the Year, adapted to the purposes of Domestic Worship; Prayers for Particular Occasions, and Prayers suitable for Children, &c. By above TWO HUNDRED EVANGELICAL MINISTERS. Illustrated by Twenty-six fine Engravings on steel. New and Improved Edition.

The work comprises 732 Services, adapted to be used in the family, being a service for *every* MORNING *and* EVENING throughout the year, with Special Services for the Morning and Evening of New-year's Day. Each Service is composed of Praise, Prayer, and Scriptural Exposition. Thus it points out a suitable psalm or hymn to be sung; next it refers to a portion of Scripture to be read from the Bible itself, and adds some brief explanatory and practical remarks; and the whole closes with a plain and earnest Prayer.

LONDON: BLACKIE & SON, LIMITED; GLASGOW AND EDINBURGH.



PAISLEY
Free Library & Museum.
FOUNDED BY SIR PETER COATS, 1870.

REFERENCE DEPARTMENT
H
3186

No Book to be taken out of the Room.

J. & J. COOK, PAISLEY.